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A NEW
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O F

Ecclesiastical Writers :

Containing an ACCOUNT

Of the *Authors* of the several Books of
the OLD and NEW TESTAMENT;

Of the *LIVES* and *WRITINGS* of the

PRIMITIVE FATHERS;

An Abridgment and Catalogue of their WORKS;

Their Various Editions, and Censures Determining the
GENUINE and SPURIOUS.

Together with a

Judgment upon their *Stile* and *Doctrine*.

A L S O,

A Compendious History of the COUNCILS;
With Chronological TABLES of the whole.

Written in *FRENCH*

By *Lewis Ellies du PIN*, Doctor of the *SORBON*, and *Regius*
Professor of Divinity at *Paris*.

VOLUME the THIRD;

Containing the *AUTHORS* that flourished in the *Fifteenth* and *Sixteenth AGES* of the
CHURCH.

THE THIRD EDITION, CORRECTED.

D U B L I N:

Printed by and for *GEORGE GRIERSON*, at the *Two Bibles* in
Essex-Street, MDCCXXIV.



T O T H E

Most Reverend Father in GOD,

T H O M A S

Lord ARCHBISHOP of

C A N T E R B U R Y,

PRIMATE of All *England*, and

M E T R O P O L I T A N.

May it please Your Grace,



HAVING undertaken to examine with the Original, this Translation of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Monsieur *Du Pin* into *English*, I humbly presume to offer it to your Grace. Tho' its Author be of a different Communion, a Doctor of that Church which esteems and treats us as Hereticks; yet his great Candour and Impartiality may reasonably exempt him from the Croud of Writers of his own Church, and give him a Title to our Value and Regard; which Regard is more especially due for his Account of the *Sixteenth Century*, and particularly for this Volume which is now published.

This, my LORD, I please my self, will not be disagreeable, because a great Part of this History owes very much to the Patronage and Assistance of one of your Grace's Predecessors. For Father *Paul's* History of the Council of *Trent*, upon which this is founded, was first printed by the Procurement of Archbishop *Abbot*. So that any future Narrative of the

D E D I C A T I O N.

the Proceedings of that Assembly has a sort of a Title to Protection from Your Grace's See.

But, My LORD, I do not lay before You a bare Abstract out of Father *Paul*; Our Author has consulted all the other printed Accounts of that Time, and given us also Memorials hitherto unpublished of great Importance. So that his may justly be esteemed a new Work, how much soever he may be indebted to those that went before him.

If the Subject, therefore, of this History be such, as has formerly been thought worthy of the greatest Patronage; it will not now be esteemed improper to inscribe this Account of it to Your Grace, and it gives me an Opportunity, which I cannot overlook, of testifying in publick, what the Lovers of their Country make the willing Subject of their private Conversations, how happy this Church is in having Your Grace at this Time at the Helm. Less Sagacity in discerning what was truly for the Advantage of the Church; and less Steadiness in putting proper Resolutions in practice, might in these latter Years, during those unfortunate Divisions which have arisen among our selves, have proved very fatal. Whereas now by that Constancy and Wisdom, which even those who unhappily made the greatest Opposition must admire; Your Grace has secured the Rights of that Church, of which the merciful Providence of God has constituted You Primate, and that too, without exasperating those who have the Misfortune to dissent from Her.

This is but one of the many Instances of your Grace's admirable Wisdom and Prudence: But then this was the most proper to be mentioned here, before a Book which gives a particular Account of the most artificial, and, at the same time, most violent Attempts that were ever made to destroy the Privileges of the Episcopal Order, by endeavouring to subject the whole Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and that too, by a pretended Commission from Jesus Christ to the sole Power of the Bishops of *Rome*.

That Your Grace may long continue to be a Support and an Ornament to the Church of *England*, is the hearty and unfeigned Prayer of,

May it please Your GRACE,

Your GRACE'S most dutiful, and

Most obedient Servant,

W. Wotton.

T H E

The TRANSLATOR's P R E F A C E.

WE are now come to the third and last Volume of Mr. *Du Pin's* Ecclesiastical History, where, in a more noble and various Scene of Affairs, than in any of the former, discovers it self. We find in the fifteenth Century, the famous Schism of the Popes quite extinguished, tho' by nothing less than the strong Hand of the Council of *Constance* (after several others had been called in vain) supported by all the Kings of *Europe*: And the usurped Authority which the imperious See of *Rome* had, through so many Ages, been endeavouring to establish, not only over each particular Order of the Clergy, but the whole collective Body of the Church, extremely humbled, and made subject to a General Council, by the Council of *Basil*. And here I presume it will be no disagreeable Entertainment to the Reader, to compare the Treatment which the Prelates of the Council of *Basil* gave *Eugenius IV.* using him as if his Authority had been a meer Phantome, wholly depending on them, with that which *Pius IV.* received from those of the Council of *Trent*, who not only acknowledged themselves called and continued by his Authority, but likewise at their breaking up, submitted all their Decrees to him, as of no Force without his Confirmation; and yet both these are received by the Church of *Rome*, as general and infallible Councils! It was in this Century the Light of the *Reformation* first dawn'd, in *Wicklif* and his Followers, after the dismal Gloom of Superstition and Errors that so long overspread the Church. We need not wonder to find some Opinions charged on those great Men, by the Councils that condemned them, that may seem something shocking; since 'tis so common a Practice, by wresting Mens Words, to accuse them of Errors they never thought of: And even if they had held some false Notions, it is not very surprizing; since, when Men have a gross Darkness to pierce through, they will sometimes stumble, and take Meteors for Stars.

The Affairs of the first Part of the sixteenth Century, are of so nice a Nature, and so nearly relating to us and to the Church of *Rome*, that it seems necessary to speak more largely of this Part of the Work, and the Translation of it.

Under this Period, which takes in fifty Years, the History of the *Reformation*, in the most considerable Part of *Europe* is comprized. In *Germany* *Luther* rises, sees the Papacy disowned in *Saxony*, *Brandenburg*, *Hesse*, *Pomerania*, the greatest Part of the Territories that belong to the House of *Lunenburg*, and most of the free Cities, and dies. In *Sweden* and *Denmark*, his Doctrine is absolutely and quietly settled. In *England*, *Henry VIII.* takes away the Pope's Power, pulls down Monasteries, and scatters the sworn Defenders of the Papal Hierarchy; and his Son *Edward VI.* builds upon his Foundation, and goes on with that *Reformation* which his Father had begun. The Church of *Rome* is in Confusion, distrustful of every Body, afraid of every thing, dreading to lose those it keeps, and solicitous to recover those it has lost. The Council of *Trent* is not yet open'd, and thereby a great Part of the Christian World is unsettled in their Belief: And all this at first occasioned by the preaching of a private Monk, whom his Enemies would have crushed with a high Hand, and despised till it was too late.

It was no Wonder therefore, if the Smart of the Wounds which the Church of *Rome* then received, sharpen'd the Stiles of her own Historians. We complain, and justly too, that they have not observed the Rules of common Justice towards us: That their Accounts of what past at this Time, are Invectives, rather than Histories: That the Motives which led on the first Reformers, are basely misrepresented: That their good Actions are all concealed, and their Infirmities industriously divulged and heightened: And in short, That no Pains nor Art has been omitted, to make them and all their Actions appear as infamous to all Posterity. And, on the other side, whereas we say, That at the Beginning of the *Reformation* the Church was so abominably corrupt in the Head, and in the Members, that all Conditions and Orders of Men had long groaned, and then loudly cry'd under that Oppression. The Popish Historians either conceal all these Abuses, or tell us, That, in the main, these are Calumnies: That the Preachers of Indulgences under Pope *Leo* the Tenth, might perhaps be guilty of some Indiscretions, but that they did by no means justify *Luther's* Conduct: That the Church had a sufficient Power within it self to reform it self, and was ready to do it, whenever a reasonable Time should offer it self: And that Lust and Avarice, and Pride and Passion, were the secret Springs which moved the Princes and the Preachers that first introduced the *Reformation*. And tho' we have often complained of this ill Usage, and by authentic and indisputable Proofs, demonstrated the Suggestions of our Adversaries to be calumnious; yet their latest Writers have copied after their earliest, and the Reproaches of *Sanders*, *Surius*, and *Cochleus*, have been repeated in *Palavicini*, *Raynaldus*, *Maimbourg*, and *Varillas*.

An impartial Account therefore of the Principles and Actions of our first Reformers was hardly to be expected from an Adversary; and the hard Treatment which *Thuanus* and *F. Paul* met with from Men of their own Communion, deterred others from affording us fair Quarter. The Truth is, their Cause will not bear it. We desire only a full Hearing: Let our Principles be set in a good Light, and, by God's Blessing, we trust the Deeds of Darkness shall be made sufficiently manifest.

Such an Account in the main our Author has here given: Such an Account from a Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, (in a Country where the Protestant Religion has been lately rooted out) as we ought to bless God for, and of which admirable Use may be made. For when he tells us what *Luther's* Doctrine was, he fetches it out of his own Writings, and represents it nakedly as it is. The Abuses and Corruptions of the Church of *Rome* he dissembles not: So that one may from him make a right Judgment of the State of the Church at that Time; especially if what he says of *Luther* and *Erasmus* be compared together. His Abstracts out of the Writings of *Erasmus*, are as candid as one would desire; and tho' he had long

and sharp Controversies with *Bedda*, and some other Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, as stupid as he, yet our Author always gives his Judgment on the Side of the Truth, even where it bears hard upon the Honour of his own Body. A hearty Love for Learning and Purity of Manners in all Christians, especially Churchmen, shines through that whole History of *Erasmus's* Works, which is very long, and very entertaining.

In his History of the Reformation, *Sleidan* and Bishop *Burnet* are usually his Guides; and though he seldom names them, yet he very often follows them, where his own Party have slandered the Persons whom he has Occasion to write of; which will be visible to every one that will compare *Sander's* Calumnies that are collected at the End of Bishop *Burnet's* History of the Reformation of the Church of *England*, with *Du Pin's* Relations of the same Things.

The Words *Heresy*, *Heretick*, *Schism*, *Schismatick*, *Innovator*, and the like, he frequently uses. It is the Language of the Country where he lives; and if they belong not justly to us, they are but Words of course, and consequently hurt not.

But though he calls *Luther* and *Zuinglius* *Hereticks*, yet he opens the Grounds upon which they went: He shews how *Luther* was used, and what his Concessions were at first: How he made the *Scripture* his Guide of Controversies, and laboured to explain and translate it for the Use of the People: How he wrote against the Corruptions of the Church, and the Authority of the See of *Rome* by degrees, and by establishing the Doctrine of *Justification by Faith alone*, and destroying the Doctrine of the *Merit of good Works*, he sapped the Foundations of all those Opinions and Practices which had most enriched the Church of *Rome*. In his Account of the Sacramentarian Controversie, he states the Question fairly between *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, and the Church of *Rome*, thereby putting it into every Man's Power to judge for himself: And if, after all this, the Reformers are called *Hereticks*, no more is meant by it than this, That they reject the Pope's Authority: An Accusation, how terrible soever in *France*, or *Spain*, or *Portugal*, which will do their Followers little hurt here.

It was however debated by those that had the Care of the Translation of this Part, whether those Words should not be left out, and what he had said at any Time hardly of the Protestants, be soften'd. It was proposed that *Reformation* should be substituted for *Heresie*, *Popish* for *Catholick*, and the like. But upon mature Deliberation, it was resolved that M. *Du Pin's* Words should be strictly kept to. It was said, That the Case was different between *Books of Devotion* and *Books of History*: That if one were to put *Francis de Sales*, or *F. Parsons's Christian Directory*, or any Books of that sort, into the Hands of the People, it might be necessary to take what was directly Popish out of those Books, because otherwise instead of teaching them, according to the Form of sound Words, one should instill into their Minds pernicious and damnable Doctrines. That in a History we desire not only Matters of Fact to be laid open, but the Relator's own way of telling it kept entire: That if he is not of our Side, his Authority when it makes for us is more valuable, especially if it appears at first sight that he is an Adversary: That otherwise the Papists may retort the Accusation which we exhibit against them, and charge us with purging their Books, as we accuse them of garbling ours: That Books of this kind rarely come into the Hands of those that may not safely be trusted, being chiefly read by Scholars, and Men that have a competent Knowledge of the Matters in Dispute between us and the Church of *Rome*: And last of all, That the Inconveniencies of not publishing all manner of Books entire, are so great, that perhaps it had been better if no *Popish Books of Devotion* had been what we call *Reformed*, since it gives an unavoidable Scandal to the Adversary, and puts a Calumny into his Mouth against us, as if whatsoever we pretend, we durst not trust our People with the Truth.

For as for Books of Piety and Devotion, the Protestants stand in no need of their Adversaries Assistance: They can write, and have written as edifying ones as any the *Roman* Catholics can boast of, and to seem to be under an Obligation of borrowing from them in so tender a Subject, may have too dangerous Effects in the Minds of those who are any ways unsettled in their Faith. So that it seems to be the most prudent Course, either to print Books written by Papists entire, or to let them alone. For if what we so print should make against us, our Adversaries would at least applaud our Ingenuity; and if it makes against them, we can the more boldly alledge it as an Evidence.

As to the second Part of the sixteenth Century, it is necessary to acquaint the Publick, That the History of the Council of *Trent* has been compared with Father *Paul's* and Cardinal *Pallavicini's* Accounts of that Council; and, after such a Comparison not negligently made, we are able to attest the Faithfulness of our Author's Relation. The Reasonings of those Prelates, the Speeches of those publick Ministers, and the Disputations of those Doctors that laboured for Reformation, and that exclaimed against the Corruptions of the Court of *Rome*, are neither suppress'd nor palliated; and though his Reflections upon the Debates and Decrees of that Assembly are not so long as Father *Paul's*, yet he says enough to convince every considering Man, that the whole Drift of the Popes and their Agents in that Council, was to establish Tyranny and Oppression by Craft and Fraud. He is so little afraid of following Father *Paul*, that he copies *Amelot de la Houffaye's* Version of his History, which is a very faithful and a very judicious one, very often blindfold, and as often where *Pallavicini* contradicts him, as where they agree. Nay, he scruples not to follow *Vargas*, the King of *Spain's* Agent at *Trent* and *Rome*, whose Letters have as yet been published only by Protestants, which are sharp Invectives upon *Julius III.* and his Ministers at *Trent*. Several Things also he informs us of out of MSS. with which the World before was unacquainted. So that in the whole, this is the largest and most exact Account of all that relates to the Understanding of the Transactions of the Council of *Trent*, that has ever yet appeared.

The Decrees also and Canons of that Council are set down at length; and there the Reader is desired to take Notice, That the *French* Text has been compared with the *Latin* Original, to which this Translation has been adjusted: And therefore, if any Man hereafter shall have the Curiosity to compare this Version of the Decrees and Canons of the Council of *Trent* with the *French* of Monsieur *Du Pin*; if he finds any Variation, let him recur to the *Latin* Copy of those Decrees and Canons: For that there is truly the Original, and as authentick a one as the Church of *Rome* can make it.

In the other Part of the History of this half of this Century, wheresoever our Author speaks of Men or Things, he draws his Account from their own Historians. In his Narration of the *English* Reformation under *Edward VI.* and *Queen Elizabeth*, the Incomparable History of the Bishop of *Salisbury* is his Text: When he speaks of the *Lutherans* of *Germany*, the *Calvinists* of *France*, and the *Anti-Trinitarians* of *Poland*, he still copies the Writers of those respective Sects, tho' here, as in all the precedent Volumes, he seldom quotes the Authors from whom he takes his Memorials.

The particular Usefulness therefore of this part of this Volume to a Protestant is evident. The Church of *Rome* is an United Body of great Strength and Interest: It pretends to nothing less than Infallibility, and to an immediate Title granted by Jesus Christ, the True Head of his Church; to the Bishops of *Rome* as his Vicars to govern the Catholick Church. Nothing therefore could have been more Providential, than that the History of the Council of *Trent*, which brought Popery to the Form, in which we now see it, should first have been written by a Man who lived and died in that Communion, and that in such a manner as a Protestant would wish to have had it written; that afterwards this History should have been faithfully turned into *French* by a Profess'd *Roman* Catholick; and last of all, that his Version should have been copied by a Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, and interwoven so far as made for his Purpose into his own History.

Now, that this part of the History might be useful to those Gentlemen of the Church of *Rome*, who, though they will not, or rather dare not, read our Writings, yet will readily read what a Doctor of their own has said; Care has been taken here, as well as in the precedent Volumes, that nothing should be added to, or taken from, our Author's Text throughout this whole Work. They have it as it first appeared, the Ideoms of both Languages being allowed for, and from the *Paris* Edition approved by two Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, and ratified with the Royal Privilege; that so they may have no Suspicions in the Judgments they shall make concerning that great Assembly.

They are desired therefore to compare its Negotiations with the History of the first and purest Ages of Christianity. We appeal to themselves; they must at least own, that contrary Courses were then followed from those which our Saviour and his Apostles took, when they preached up that Kingdom which Jesus Christ himself said was not of this World.

The Spirit of God at that Time used no By-Arts, no Fraudulent or Violent Courses to establish the Visible Church of Christ. Its first Preachers set its Doctrines before Mankind plainly as they are; and if it was any where refused, then these Evangelists only shook the Dust of one City off their Feet, when they went away for another. Whereas here, How did Popes dread to be Reformed! What Tricks, what Artifices did they use to stave off a General Council: With what Violence did their Legates intimidate those Divines who were willing to bring back Episcopacy to that Primitive Power, without which no Reformation could be effectually carried on? In short, when this History is carefully read, one may safely say as *Joseph's* Brethren did in another Case, *Vide an hæc sit Filii tui Tunica? Was this Council inspired by the Spirit of God?*

Whether this be the Age in which Popery is to be destroyed, and the Gospel of Christ to be preached in its utmost Purity throughout the World, Time will shew. This may be looked upon to be a considerable Step towards it, that now *Roman* Catholicks themselves give up the Calumnies which their Ancestors cast upon the first Reformers, and upon all they did; and thereby tacitly own themselves to be ashamed of their former Practices. It would have been fairer indeed for our Author to have owned ingenuously from whence he takes his Memorials in every Thing. But that, perhaps he durst not do; all Men have not, as Father *Paul* said of himself, *The Spirit of Luther*; and perhaps what Monsieur *Du Pin* says, may do more Good in *France* whilst it appears as it does than it could have done had the People known from whom he took his Authorities.

The Author's Preface.

THE fifteenth Century of the Church is full of great Transactions, which deserve a very particular Consideration: The Schism of the Popes, which appeared at the Beginning of it, was for many Years the great Care and Business of the Prelates, and Christian Princes of the West: After this, the Difference between the Council of *Basil* and Pope *Eugenius* IV. and the Project of the Reunion of the *Greeks* to the *Latin* Church, were the great Concerns of the whole World; but the former had not those mischievous Consequences which were fear'd, nor the latter that Success which was hop'd for. Some time before this Century, there arose a * Heresie in *England*, which hath since produc'd great Revolutions in *Europe*; for it travelled from *England* into *Germany*, and there kindled great Commotions both in Church and State. Among many bad Effects, it produced these two good ones; it put Men upon the Study of useful Learning, and chiefly upon Searching into the holy Scripture and Tradition; and it obliged the Prelates to labour after the Reformation of the Manners of Christians, and of the ecclesiastical Discipline. The Faculty of Theology at *Paris* was considerable in this Century, not only for the great Men which came out of its Bosom, but for the Care it took to proscribe the Errors which appeared, and to maintain the Purity of Faith and Manners by its excellent Censures, which are as full of Wisdom and Prudence, as of Knowledge and Learning. This is one of the most delicate and curious Morfels of the History of the fifteenth Century, which therefore we have handled with great Care, by relating exactly what we find of it in our Registers.

The Ecclesiastical History of the sixteenth Century deserves a particular Attention from all those who are at all concerned for Religion. There is no Age in which greater Revolutions have been effected in the Church in less Time: She saw with Grief a great Part of *Europe* ravished from her. Several Provinces of *Germany*, *England* and *Scotland*, and the Kingdoms of the North were a Prey to Heresy: And *France*, which, till then, had been free from such Monsters, produced some who were not less hurtful to the State than to Religion. But if the Catholick Church lost a good deal of its Extent in this Century, it recompensed this Loss, in some sort, by the Reformation of Manners and Discipline. It applied it self to distinguish Truth from Error, and to preserve the Purity of the Faith, by condemning Heresies, by refuting Hereticks in their Conferences, and by their Writings; by expressing its Doctrine in clear and exact Terms, and by distinguishing what is of Faith from what is not. It restored the Honour of the Clergy by correcting the Disorders of Churchmen; by obliging them to do their Duty; by regulating their Conduct and their Manners; by repressing their Avarice, and suffering no ignorant or vicious Ministers. It caused the Piety of the People to revive, by cutting off a great many Superstitions; by causing them to be instructed in the Word of God; by bringing them to perform the Duties of Religion; by re-

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storing the Majesty and Order of the divine Service; by prescribing Rules of Penance; by exhorting the Faithful to come to the Sacraments; by putting a stop to the licensing of clandestine Marriages, and by punishing scandalous Crimes, according to the Rigor of Ecclesiastical Laws. This is what so many Decrees and Regulations made in Ecclesiastical Assemblies, and especially in that of *Trent*, tend to; whose Design was to condemn Errors, to preserve the Purity of the Faith, and to labour after the Reformation of Discipline.

The History of the Council of *Trent* is very considerable, and has great Variety, for which Reason we look'd upon our selves to be obliged to treat of it at full Length. And therefore, we have not contented our selves with setting down the bare Decrees and Decisions of the Council, but we have also entred into the Particulars of what pass'd in those Congregations, in which those Decisions were prepared; and we have carefully collected the Disputations of the Divines, the Opinions of the Prelates, the Discourses and Protestations of the Ambassadors of Princes, Letters written by Popes, by Princes and by Legates, and, in a Word, all the Particulars which are to be met with in authentick Monuments, or are set down in the Historians of the Council.

Every body knows, that among those who have written its History, two are more especially famous, who have compos'd their Accounts with very different Views: The first is *F. Paul*, a *Venetian*, of the Order of the *Servites*, whose Design seems to have been to disgrace the Court of *Rome*. Cardinal *Palavicini* is the other, who has taken the contrary Part, and turns every thing to the Advantage of that Court. But what is wonderful, is, that these two Authors whose Views are so opposite, yet agree generally in the same Facts, tho' the Inductions they draw from them be directly contrary, and one makes them serviceable to debase, the other to exalt, the Power of the Pope. They both shew, that the Pope and his Legates exercised a great Authority in the Council. But then the one would infer from thence, that the Council was not entirely free: And the other makes use of it, to establish the Pretensions of the Court of *Rome* above Councils. One labours to render the Conduct of the Court of *Rome* odious, by representing it as exercising an insupportable Dominion: The other seems to have had no other Aim but to lessen the Authority of the Council, by raising that of the Pope above the just Bounds. One treats the Divines and Bishops who were devoted to the Court of *Rome* with Scorn, and magnifies the Opinions of those that were in the contrary Interests: The other passes over the Opinions of those who were not favourable to the Pretensions of the Court of *Rome* slightly, and sets down the Reasons of the Speakers of the other side in their full Extent and Emphasis. In short, one Blames, the other Praises, whatsoever comes from the Court of *Rome*. To conclude; as *F. Paul* undertook to attack the Court of *Rome* in every Place, so *Palavicini* made it his Business to thwart and refute him throughout; upon which account, the Histories of those two Authors are filled with many useless Reflections and Disputes. For our Parts, we have kept our selves to the Relation of certain Facts, and have taken particular Care to avoid the Malignity of the one, and the Prejudices of the other. What remains of the History of this Century, is much shorter. We take notice of nothing but the Principal Revolutions of Religion in the several Kingdoms of *Europe*, without entering into the Detail of the innumerable Wars and Disputes, which either accompanied or followed them: The principal Decrees of some Provincial Councils; the Regulations made by the Assemblies of the Clergy of *France*; the Censures pass'd by the Faculty of Divinity of *Paris*; and the Original of several Orders, among others, of that of the *Jesuites*, of which we have said nothing but what is related by their own Historians, or proved by Publick Acts.

Advertisement before the fifth Book, in the French Edition.

Of the AUTHORS.

THE Reader needs only be acquainted in the beginning of this Volume, that it contains the Continuation of the History of Ecclesiastical Writers of the sixteenth Century. In the former, the Author mentioned only those Writers that died before the Year 1550: This treats of those that lived till the End of the Century, who yield to the former neither in Number nor Value. He has been obliged, as well in this Volume as in the former, to make choice only of some, it being impossible to write the Lives and History of all. But then he thinks himself obliged to acquaint the Publick, that he does not pretend, that the Choice which he has made of some Authors should prejudice others. It is possible that he may have omitted some, who deserved to have been preferred to some of those that here find Place; for besides, that in this Choice he has followed his own particular Judgment and Inclination, which he does not propose as a Rule to others: Chance, and the Easiness or Difficulty of procuring Books, may have also had some Share in it. He does not think, however, that he has omitted any very considerable ones. The sixteenth Century will soon be follow'd with the seventeenth, which will compleat the Work that he undertook near twenty Years ago. To God it is that we are indebted for carrying him on so far without any Assistance, and with some Contradiction from Men; and it is from God alone therefore that we expect the Recompence of our Labour.

THE

T H E C O N T E N T S

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A N
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
C O N T R O V E R S I E S
And Other
Ecclesiastical Affairs,
Transacted in the
C H U R C H
In the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Ages.

VOLUME the THIRD.

C H A P. I.

*The History of the Councils of Perpignan, Pisa and Udine; and of the Popes,
until the Council of Constance.*

*Councils
appointed
about the
schism in
the year,
1408.*



was to meet on *Whitsunday* the next Year: And the third at *Pisa*, by the Letters of the Cardinals of the two Obediences, assembled at *Leghorn*, dated *July 14th.* in the Year 1408. which was to meet on the *25th.* of *March* in the next Year.

Benedict being more diligent than the rest, opened his Council *November 1st.* of the same Year, with
V O L. III.

a Discourse of *Alphonfus* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, Administrator of the Church of *Sevil*, to the Prelates there present; after which the Council was prorogued until the *15th.* of the same Month. On the *14th.* *Benedict* gave the Title of Archbishop of *Antioch* to the Treasurer of *Maguelone*, Administrator of the Church of *Aske*, and the Title of Patriarch of *Jerusalem* to *Francis Ximenes* of the Order of the Friars Minors; who were consecrated the *20th.* of the same Month. The second Session of the Council was not held till the *17th.* and then nothing else was done, save that *Benedict* read a Profession of Faith, and declared to the Council that he believed it. In the third Session, which was held the *21st.* a Report was made to the Assembly of all that *Benedict* had done since his Advancement to the Papal Dignity, and the Progress he had made towards obtaining the Peace of the Church. The Council was then made up of the Bishops of *Castile*, *Aragon* and *Navar*, and some Prelates of *France*, *Gascony* and *Sa-*

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The Coun-
cil of Per-
pignan un-
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boy, being in all about 120, besides the four Archbishops, honoured with the Titles of Patriarchs, and the Archbishops of Toledo, Saragosa, and Tarragona. They spent five Sessions in examining the Account of what had been done by *Benedict* for restoring Peace, and the Extirpation of the Schism. In fine, in the Session held the 5th. of December, *Benedict* desired their Advice, as to the Means which were most proper to obtain Union, and to remove the Scandal, Errors and Schisms. It was not easie for them to decide this Question in their present Circumstances, and the Bishops of the Council were perplexed and divided into several Opinions about it. Some were of Opinion, that *Benedict* should immediately grant Power to his Legates to renounce the Papal Dignity; others thought that it were better to delay it for some time longer; a third sort proposed other Expedients. After this Difference arose, which lasted a long while, the greatest part of the Bishops withdrew from *Perpignan*, and the Council was reduced to the number of 18; but at last the Patriarch of *Constantinople* and the Prelates that remained, gave him their Opinion on February the first of the following Year, viz. that the Council did hold and acknowledge him for the true Pope, the catholick and lawful Vicar of Jesus Christ; that they did believe him to be very far from being a Heretick or Schismatick, or a Favourer of Hereticks or Schismatics; that they thanked him for the Offers his Holiness had made towards an Union, and prayed God to direct him, and make the Design successful for his own Glory. But withal they humbly beseech'd his Holiness and advis'd him, 1. To pursue effectually, in spite of all manner of Hindrances or Persecutions, the Design of uniting the Church by the way of Renunciation, which they preferred to all other ways, yet without excluding any. 2. To enlarge the Offer he had made of renouncing, if the Intruder should renounce or happen to die, to this Case further; if the Intruder should be really and actually deposed with the consent of those of his own Obedience. 3. To send Nuncio's in his Name to the Intruder, to the Anti-Cardinals, and the Cardinals at *Pisa*; with full power to treat and agree upon the Place where his Holiness himself may be present in person to execute what shall be agreed upon, or to send some persons thither authorized by Deputation from him to do it, and even to resign the Papal Dignity if there shall be occasion. 4. To draw up this Instrument of Deputation in the largest and best Form that can be contrived. 5. To make provision, in case he should happen to die, that no stop be put to the Design of Union, nor any new Schism be suffered to arise. 6. To make Constitutions forbidding all persons, under certain Penalties, to raise a new Schism. This Writing, sign'd by the Prelates who were still at *Perpignan*, was presented by the Patriarch of *Constantinople* to Pope *Benedict*, who agreed to it, and accepted the Conditions contained in it, and promised to make choice of fit Persons for executing this Agreement in a solemn Session held, Febr. 12. and accordingly he named seven Legates on the 9th. of March, whom he sent to *Pisa*, to see on what Conditions a Peace might be concluded.

Preparatives of the
Council of
Pisa.

While these things were transacted in *Arragon*, the Cardinals of the two Colleges being assembled at *Pisa*, were labouring earnestly to persuade all Christian Princes to acknowledge their Council, and approve what they should do. The King of *France* of his own Accord was very well affected towards them, and had already congratulated them by Letters in the

[(a) He had withdrawn his Obedience from *Benedictus* by a Decree of the Parliament of Paris, forbidden all the Pope's Servants to gather any First-Fruits; and when two of them brought Bulls which thunder'd Excommunication against the King and his Princes, they were crowned with Mitres of Paper, and disgracefully dragged about the City in a

Design they had in hand (a), and exhorted them to chuse a Pope for all Christendom, assuring them that he should be acknowledged by all Christian Princes, and that for his own part he would not only acknowledge him, and cause him to be ac-

knowledge in his Kingdom, but that he would employ his whole Power and Authority to support him. England was also very much inclined to own the Pope that should be chosen by the Council of *Pisa*, and the Cardinal of *Bordeaux* who was sent thither by the Cardinals found no Enemies there.

(b). There remained only Germany where Gregory was supported by Robert Duke of *Bavaria*, King of the Romans; and thither the Cardinals sent in the Beginning of the Year 1409, *Landolph* Cardinal of *Bar*, who came to *Frankfort* to hold there an Assembly of the Prelates and Princes of Germany, that he might persuade them to come or send Deputies to the Council of *Pisa*, and this Cardinal was kindly received by the Princes. Gregory also sent the Cardinal *Anthony* his Nephew, who being present with the Cardinal of *Bar* at the Assembly of *Frankfort*, endeavour'd to justify his Uncle, and made bitter Invektives against the Cardinal of *Bar*; which displeased the greater part of the Princes: But the King of the Romans, who favoured Gregory, would suffer no other Resolve to be taken hereupon, but the Ambassador should be sent into *Italy* to labour after an Union. Robert chose for this Embassy the Archbishop of *Riga*, and the Bishop of *Worms*, then newly elected to the Bishoprick of *Ferden*. Gregory persuaded this latter to go to *Pisa* in the Name of his Master, for there were already a great number of Prelates assembled, and to present unto them some Articles which contain'd among other things, that if the Cardinals would make choice of another Place, that was secure for Gregory and themselves, Gregory himself would come thither; and whether *Peter de Lima* should come or no, he would resign up his Papal Dignity at such time as the Council should prescribe unto him. But when the Cardinals refused to accept of this Proposal, the Bishop of *Ferden* appealed in the Name of King Robert, and signified in his Act of Appeal, that it belonged to the King of the Romans to call the Council; and declared, that since the Council of *Pisa* was assembled against his Will and without his Order, it could decree nothing against Gregory. This Appeal he caused to be fixed upon the Gates of the Church, and then retired suddenly and secretly.

The 25th. of March, which was the Day appointed for the Meeting of the Council, being come, it was opened in the Cathedral of *Pisa*, by the Cardinals of *Palestrina*, *Albano*, *Ostia*, *Puy*, *Tuzi*, *Saluces* and St. *Angelo*, of the Obedience of *Benedict*; and by the Cardinals of *Naples*, *Aquileia*, *Colonna*, *Ursini*, of *Brancacio*, *Ravenna*, *Landi* and St. *Angelo*, who were of the Obedience of Gregory. The Bishop of *Meaux* was present there in the Quality of Ambassador from the King of *France*, and the Bishop of *Gap* in the Name of the King of *Sicily*, with two Knights and a Secretary: One Knight, one Doctor and one Clergyman, were present from the King of *England*. The Cardinals were placed on high Seats at the right hand of the Entry into the Quire, the Bishops and Abbots on both sides of the Nave of the Church, and the Deputies of Chapters and Monasteries underneath them; and the Ambassadors who were not Prelates, and the Doctors, in the Body of the Church. The Processions, the solemn Mass, and other usual Prayers being ended, two Cardinal-Deacons, two Archbishops, and two Bishops, together with some Doctors and Notaries, went by Order of the Council to the Gate of the Church, and ask'd with a loud Voice, whether *Peter de Luna* and *Angelus Gorarius*, Competitors for the Papal Dignity, were present, or any

Dung-Cart. Carol. Molin. de Monarch. Franc. n. 140, 141, etc.] Councils appointed about the Schism in the year 1408.

[(b) Henry IV. of England had withdrawn his Obedience from Gregory XII. after his Cardinals were forced to fly to *Pisa* for promoting the Union, who wrote into England, that the vast Sums of Money which were yearly brought thence, was the great Cause why the Cardinals were so ambitious of the Papal Dignity, and so tenacious of it when once they were advanced to it; whereupon by the King's Command, it was decreed in a Synod held this Year 1408. at London, that no Money should be raised out of Bishopricks or Benefices, to be paid into the Exchequer of Rome. Spelman's Councils, Vol. 2d.]

Council of
Pisa.

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one for them? And no Person appearing, they made their Report to the Council, who nominated some Managers or Proctors in the Name of the Universal Church, to plead, enquire, and do whatever should be necessary or expedient for the Extirpation of Schism, against the two Competitors for the Pontificate; and for the Union of the Church. These Officers, named by the Council, presently accused them, and required that they should be declared contumacious in the Matter of Faith, and of Schism and that they should be pronounc'd in contempt. They caused to be read the Acts by which the two Competitors had been summoned, and the Verbal Process of the Citation. But the Council, notwithstanding the Affair was now ripe, put off any further Consultation about it until the next Session, which was to be held on the Morrow: And then the Council caus'd them to be cited again as they were at first; and when no body appeared for them, they put off this Affair until the 30th. of the next Month. When this Day was come, the Competitors being called again, and no body appearing for them, they were declared contumacious in Matters of Faith and of Schism, and the Sentence was pronounced against them by the Cardinal of *Palestrina*, (otherwise called, of *Poitiers*) with the unanimous Consent of the Fathers of the Council; and the further Prosecution of this Affair was deferred till the 15th. of April. On this Day it was ordained, that the Cardinal of *Todi* should be cited as adhering to *Gregory*, and the Cardinals of *St. Sabine*, *St. Adrian*, *St. Mary in via lata* of *Flisque*, and *Challont*, as adhering to *Benedict*; and that if the two Competitors and the Cardinals should not appear at this time, they should proceed further against them. The Cardinals of *Milan* and *Ber*, who had been at the Assembly of *Francfort*, arrived in *Pisa* at this Session, and brought with them ninety, partly Archbishops and Bishops, partly Abbots and Doctors, who had not been present at the preceding Sessions.

The Ambassadors of *Robert Duke of Bavaria*, Elect King of the *Romans*, appear'd at the Fourth Session, and propos'd several Objections against the Authority of the Council, and requir'd that it should be remov'd and assembled in another place, at which *Gregory* offer'd to appear. Their Reasons were demanded in Writing, and Time was given them till the 24th. of the same Month to bring in their Answer. *Charles Malatesta* of *Rimini* made the same Demand of the Council on behalf of *Gregory*, and propos'd more Difficulties. Two Cardinals of each Obedience were deputed to confer with him, who gave him to understand, that he could not hope to obtain what he demanded, and answer'd his Objections. Notwithstanding this Remonstrance they went on with the Process, and after they had ask'd at the Church-gate if any of the two Competitors were come, they were declar'd anew to be Contumacious, and the next Session was put off to the 24th. In this Session the Advocate of the Council alledg'd all the Facts concerning the Schism from its first beginning, and from thence prov'd the Collusion, the erroneous Proceedings and the unworthiness of the two Competitors, in 57 Articles; and requir'd, in the Name of the Proctor of the Council, that the Assembly should declare that the Union of the two Colleges was lawful and just, that the Cardinals had Power to appoint the General Council, and that the City of *Pisa* was a fit Place for holding the Assembly; that the Citations given to the two Competitors should be confirm'd, and that they should be reputed Contumacious, and their Favourers and Adherents should be depriv'd of all their Dignities, Benefices and Offices, and that it should be lawful for the Secular Judges to punish and chastise them in case they should oppose the Decree that was to pass against them; and that Kings and Princes should be absolv'd from their Oaths, and from any Obligation of Obedience to

the two Competitors. He added, that altho' the Facts alledg'd against them were notorious, yet he requir'd that the Council should name Commissioners to inform themselves more fully about them. The Council from this Day declar'd that the College of Cardinals, being united, had Power to call the Council, and that in the present Circumstances they had the Right to do it; that this General Council, representing the Church Universal, was lawfully assembled, and had Power to proceed to a Definitive Sentence; that the number of Prelates now assembled was sufficient; that the City of *Pisa* was a place very commodious; that *Peter de Luna* and *Angelus Corarius* had been sufficiently summon'd and cited to the Council. The Remainder was put off to the next Session, which was appointed to be held on the last Day of March.

Some time after *Simon de Gramant* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, the Deputies of the Universities, the Ambassadors of the Dukes of *Brabant*, *Holland* and *Liege*, those of the King of *England* * the Archbishops of *Mayence* and *Cologne*, arriv'd at *Pisa*.

[* Viz. *Robert Hallam Bishop of Salisbury*, *Henry Chicheley Bishop of St. Davids*, and the Prior of *Canterbury*, who were chosen Ambassadors in a Synod held at *London* the beginning of the year 1409, and arriv'd at *Pisa* April 25th, with whom were sent also, *Thomas an Abbot*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, *John Colmeki*, and *Richard Canyngston Doctor of the Laws*, *Dachery's Spicileg.* Tom. 6. p. 346.]

In the 6th. Session, the Bishop of *Salisbury*, Ambassador from the King of *England*, made a Discourse to the Council, taking for his Text the Words of the 83d. Psalm, *Justice and Judgment are the preparation of thy Throne*; from which he exhorted the Fathers of the Council to Peace, and said he had full Power from the King his Master as to all things, which were to be treated of in the Council. Nothing else was done in this Session, and the next was appointed to be May the 4th: In the meantime, the Cardinals of *Bourdeaux* and *Spain*, arriv'd at *Pisa*.

The Council being assembled on the Day appointed, *Peter de Ancbarano*, a Dr. of *Bologne*, made a Discourse, wherein he answered some Questions propos'd by the Ambassadors of the King of the *Romans*, altho' they were absent (for they had withdrawn themselves from the 21st. of April, after they had publish'd on the 9th. of the same Month, an Act of Appeal against all that the Council had done, or should do) and shew'd, that the Objections were of no Force; That the Competitors had been lawfully summon'd; That the Council had Power to proceed against them; That their Intention was to procure the Peace of the Church; and on the contrary, the Design of the Ambassadors of the Duke of *Bavaria* was to hinder it. In this Session, Commissioners were named, to receive and examine the Depositions of Witnesses, that should be produc'd by the Proctor of the Council, who were the Cardinals of *Landi*, and *St. Angelo* for the two Colleges; the Bishops of *Liseaux*, and the three Drs. for *France*, and one Dr. for *England*. It was also ordain'd, that the Council should send Deputies to *Laodislaus*, who call'd himself the King of *Sicily*, to pacifie him. The next Session was put off to the 10th. of May.

In a Congregation, which was held before the General Assembly of the 8th. Session, the Council nam'd Deputies to assist in the Assemblies of the College of Cardinals, that all things might be done by common Agreement. The same Day the Cardinal of *Albano* told the Assembly, that he was inform'd that the Ambassadors of *Peter de Luna* wou'd quickly come to *Pisa*, and that they must consider how they should be receiv'd. About this, there was a Consultation the next Day, being the 9th. of May, and on the Day following, being that of the Session, the Proctor of the Council requir'd, that they should decree that the Union of the two Colleges was lawfully made; that they were now become but one College; that they should

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declare the calling of the Council by them to be Legal; that the Council was held in a secure and fit place; that it represented the Church Universal, and that the Cognizance and Decision of what concern'd the Union and Peace of the Church, and the Extirpation of the Schism belong'd to them.

When it was demanded, If all of them were of this Opinion, the greater part answer'd affirmatively; But the Bishops of *Salisbury* and *Evreux* remonstrated as to the first Head of this Demand, that there could not be an Union of the two Colleges, as long as the Cardinals of *Benedict* obey'd him as they did, while all the rest refus'd to acknowledge *Gregory* the 12th. That it was necessary, there should be a general withdrawing of Obedience from them. Many more things were said upon this Subject. The Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, the *Germans* and *French* were of this Opinion; but the Cardinals of *Benedict*, who had not yet withdrawn their Obedience from him, could hardly be brought to any Resolution in this Case. In fine, the Proctor of the Council, having mounted into a Pulpit, demanded still, that in consideration of the Contumacy of the two Competitors, who were notoriously guilty of continuing a Schism in the Church by their Collusion, contrary to the Oaths they had taken, the Council would pronounce and declare, that from the time it had been manifest, the two Competitors had no mind to procure the Peace of the Church by the means they had sworn to make use of, it had been lawful to subtract Obedience from them, and that now they ought no more to be obey'd. He ask'd if this was the Opinion of the whole Council, and every one answer'd in the Affirmative with Joy, except two Bishops, the one of *England*, and the other of *Germany*. But notwithstanding their Opinion, the Matter was determin'd according to the Demand of the Proctor, and the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, having mounted into a Pulpit, together with the Bishop of *Salisbury*, pronounc'd the Definitive Sentence by the Authority of the Council. The Proctor demanded, that it should be drawn up in the Form of an authentick Act, which was granted him, and the next Session was put off to the 8th. Day, that the Commissioners might have time to examine Witnesses.

The 9th. Session was held the 17th. of May, and the Act of Subtraction which had been drawn up by some Doctors, and review'd in private Congregations, was then presented, and the Proctor demanded that it should be read in full Council. The Patriarch took the Act, mounted into the Pulpit and read it with a loud Voice. It contain'd, That the Council judg'd it had been lawful to subtract Obedience from the two Competitors, ever since it was evidently prov'd, that they had no mind to procure Union by the way of Resignation, as they had sworn to do; that all Christians ought to subtract Obedience from them; that the Council did make Null and Void all Sentences which the Competitors might have given, or should give against those that did subtract Obedience from them; that those who were Judges in the Council might be Witnesses against them; that the Commissioners might draw up Articles of Accusation, and a Verbal Process of Interrogatories, as they shall think convenient.

In the 10th. Session, which was held the 22d. of the same Month, the Proctor caus'd the Advocate to inform the Council, that the Commissioners had heard Witnesses, and put the Depositions in Order, and that they were ready to make the Report of them to the Council by the Mouth of the Archbishop of *Pisa*. The Council agreed to this Proposal, and Deputies were sent to the Church-gate, to know if any of the two Competitors, who had been cited to hear the Depositions of Witnesses, would appear; but they not being present, nor any one for them, they were declar'd Contumacious, and it was ordain'd, that the Prosecutors might proceed further

to draw up a Process against them, and publish the Depositions of the Witnesses. After this, the Archbishop of *Pisa* went up into the Pulpit, and caus'd to be read the Articles propos'd against the Competitors in the 10th. Session, and observ'd upon each Article by how many Witnesses it was prov'd and of what Quality they were. Twenty Articles were made ready this Session, and the rest in the next, which was held the Day after: After which, the Advocate of the Council mounted into a Pulpit, and required in the Name of the Proctors and Managers of the Council, that all the Facts alledg'd might be declar'd notorious, manifest and well prov'd, and that now they might proceed further. The Council deferr'd the Consultation about this Demand until the 25th. of the Month, which was appointed for the next Session, in which they agreed with the Conclusions of the Advocate, the Sentence about them was publish'd, and the Power of the Commissioners was recall'd. The next Session was put off to the 29th. of May, at which they were to declare the Day when they should give a Definitive Sentence. The Council was then made up of 140, partly Cardinals, partly Archbishops, Bishops and Mitred Abbots, of 26 Doctors of Divinity, of 300 Doctors of Civil and Canon Law, and of Ambassadors from the Kings of *France*, *England*, *Jerusalem*, *Sicily*, *Cyprus*, *Poland*, from the Dukes of *Brabant*, *Austria*, *Barbaria*, from the Count of *Cleves*, the Marquis of *Brandenburgh* and *Moravia*, from the Archbishops of *Cologne*, *Mayence* and *Saltzburgh*, from the Bishop of *Utrecht*, the Master of the Order of *Prussia*, from the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and many Princes of *Italy*: There were also Deputies present from the University of *Paris*.

On the 29th. of May, the 12th. Session was held, in which *Peter Pluen*, Dr. of Divinity of the Faculty of *Paris*, mounted into the Pulpit, and made a Discourse wherein he proved by many Reasons, that the Church was superior to the Pope, and made it appear, that *Peter de Luna* was an obstinate Schismatick, and even a Heretick; that he had fall'n from the Right of the Pontifical Dignity, of which the Council should immediately deprive him; He said, that this was the Opinion not only of the University of *Paris*, but also of the Universities of *Angiers*, *Orleans* and *Tholouse*. An *Italian* Bishop ascended after him into the Pulpit, and read the Opinion of 300 Doctors of the University of *Bononia*, which agreed with that of the University of *Paris*. In fine, the Advocate of the Council demanded, that a Day might be appointed for passing the Definitive Sentence against the two Competitors, and required that it might be *Wednesday* next, being the 5th. of *June*, and that in the mean time a Congregation should be held on *Saturday* next, to hear new Depositions against the two Competitors. This was granted him, and on the 1st. Day of *June*, an Assembly was held, wherein the Archbishop of *Pisa* repeated all the Articles, and upon each of them he declar'd the number and Quality of the Witnesses that depos'd it, and gave publick notice, That all those who would see the Depositions entire, might do it on *Monday* or *Tuesday* next, in the Convent of the *Carmelites*, where they should find *Carmelites* that would shew them to any one that desir'd it.

In fine, at the 14th. Session which was held on *Wednesday*, being the 5th. of *June*, the Advocate of the Council demanded, that they would proceed to a Definitive Sentence against the two Competitors. They were call'd for again several times at the Church-gate, and seeing neither of them appear'd, nor any Person for them, the Council order'd, that the Patriarch of *Alexandria* should publish the Definitive Sentence against them, and in pursuance of this Order, this Patriarch assisted by the Patriarchs of *Antioch* and *Jerusalem*, pronounc'd with a loud Voice in the presence of the Assembly and the People,

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ple, who where now suffer'd to come into the Church, the Definitive Sentence, which was to this effect, that this Holy General Council representing the whole Church, to whom belong'd the Cognizance and Decision of this cause, having examin'd all Matters relating to the Union of the Church, and the Schism between *Peter de Luna*, call'd *Benedict* the XIII. and *Angelus Corarius*, otherwise call'd *Gregory*, the XII. upon mature Deliberation, have declar'd with an unanimous consent, That all the Facts alledg'd against them by the Proctors of the Council, are true and notorious, and that the two Competitors are manifestly Schismatics, Favourers of Schism, Hereticks, guilty of Perjury, and of the Violation of their Oaths; that they give a Scandal to the whole Church by their manifest Obstinateness and Contumacy; that they are unworthy of all Honour and Dignity, and particularly of the Pontifical, and that they are fall'n from it, depriv'd of it, and separate from the Church, *ipso facto*; that nevertheless the Church does now deprive them by this Definitive Sentence, and forbids them, to use the title of Sovereign Pontiffs; declares, that the Church of *Rome* is vacant, absolves all Christians from the Obedience which they may have promis'd them, and forbids any Person to obey them, to help or conceal them for the future; ordains, that those who shall not obey this Sentence shall be punish'd by the Secular Powers; declares all the Judgments or Sentences which they have given or shall give, to be Null and Void, as well as the Nominations of Cardinals, which have been made by them some time ago, *viz.* those of *Angelus Corarius*, since the 3d. of May, and those of *Peter de Luna*, since the 15th. of June, in the Year, 1408. And lastly, to the end, that the Decrees made by the Competitors to the prejudice of Union may be null'd. and what concerns the Promotions they have made may be regulated, the Council appointed a Session on Monday next, being the 10th. of June.

On this Day, the Archbishop of *Pisa* read an Instrument in Writing, by which the Cardinals promis'd, that whoever among them should be chosen Pope, should continue the Council, and not dissolve it, nor suffer it to be dispers'd, until it had made a Reformation of the Universal Church, and of its present State, both in the Head and the Members; and that in case any one of the Cardinals that was absent should be chosen, they should bind him by a Promise of sufficient Force and Validity, to execute what they had before, and did now at present approve, *viz.* the Continuation of the Council during the vacancy of the See. Nothing else was done in this Session, and the Council was adjourn'd to Thursday, the 13th. of June.

In this, a Writing was read, by which the Council consented, and ordain'd, that the two Colleges of Cardinals should proceed according to the usual Forms, to the Election of a Pope.

The next Day, the Ambassadors from the King of *Arragon*, and those of *Peter de Luna*, presented themselves to the Council: The former were heard, and desir'd to be inform'd of what had pass'd in the Council, and tho' they protested that they did not hear with a Design to approve their Actions; yet Answer was made, that Deputies should be nam'd to inform them: But as to the Ambassadors of *Peter de Luna*, they were answer'd that they came too late, and that they were not to be heard. Nevertheless out of respect to the King of *Arragon*, it was resolv'd, that some part of what they had to say should be heard; but they could not endure that this King's Ambassadors should give him the title of Pope *Benedict* XIII. and when the Archbishop of *Tarragona*, and the other Ambassadors of *Peter de Luna* entred, a great Tumult was made: But *John de Costa*, who had formerly been Bishop of *Mende*, being their Orator, did first of all remonstrate, That there being an Agreement between the *Florentines* and Cardinals, by which every one is forbidden to oppose any thing that had been done in a Council, he could not propose what

he had to say, unless assurance was given him, that he might speak with freedom, notwithstanding this Agreement. The Council answer'd him, that they could not dispense with this Law, yet he might say what he thought was to the purpose. Hereupon the Ambassadors of the King of *Arragon*, and of *Peter de Luna*, desir'd to see the Articles of that Agreement, and that this Matter might be delay'd till the Morrow: which was granted them; but the Ambassadors of *Peter de Luna* withdrew without demanding Audience.

On Saturday, the 19th, of the same Month of June, the Bishop of *Navarre* having made a Discourse upon these Words, in Ch. 10. of the 4th. Book of *Kings*, *Choose ye one better, and set him upon the Throne*: The Cardinals towards the Evening, entred into the Conclave to the Number of 24, and there continued until the 26th. of the same Month; in which time they chose Unanimously for Pope, *Peter Philaret* of *Candia*, the Cardinal of *Milan*, of the Order of Friars Minors, who assum'd the Name of *Alexander* the V. and immediately appointed a Session of the Council on the first of July next.

He presided in Person at this Session, being seated on a high Chair among the Five Patriarchs, and having read the Decree of his Election, he made a Discourse to the Council, and then order'd the Cardinal of *Bononia* to read a Decree; whereby First, He approved and ratified all the Processes, Sentences and Regulations which had been made by the Cardinals for the Union of the Church, since the 5th. of May, 1408. and all that had been done in the General Council, provided the Errors either in Matter of Right or Fact were corrected, if any such there were, as much as was necessary. Secondly, He united the two Colleges of Cardinals into one only. Thirdly, He dissolv'd the Difficulty concerning the Benefices of Cardinal *Challant*, who had continued longer with *Peter de Luna* than the rest, by remitting to him any Impediment he might have contracted by his slowness in forsaking that Faction. He added, that he would so order Matters, that the Prelates who had come to the Council, should return with contentment; that he would labour hard for the Reformation of the Church, as he had promis'd; and that he would chuse Persons of Probity and Virtue to consult with the Cardinals about it. After this, it was order'd, that he should be crown'd the next Sunday, and then the Council adjourn'd till Wednesday, the 10th. of July.

In the 21st. Session, the Pope was complimented in the Name of the *Florentines*, and those of *Sienna*, and order'd a Decree to be publish'd, wherein he declares to be Null, and perfectly makes Void all the Sentences that had been given by the two Competitors during the time of the Schism, against those that were not of their Obedience; or who had embrac'd Neutrality, while the difficulty lasted of determining which of the two was the true Pope and Vicar of Jesus Christ. The next Session was put off to the Wednesday following, and after that the Council was prorogu'd to the 27th. of July, upon the account of the Arrival of *Louis* of *Anjou*, King of *Sicily*.

In this Session, the Pope caus'd the Cardinal *Challant* to publish a Decree, wherein he approv'd and ratify'd all the Collations, Provisions, Promotions, Translations of Bishopricks, Dignities, Benefices, Ecclesiastical Offices, all the Consecrations of Bishops, Ordinations of Clergymen, and other Acts done by the two Competitors, or their Predecessors, or by their Order, or their Authority, in such Places where Obedience was freely paid them; provided they were done Canonically, and that those who were promoted had been in peaceable Possession, excepting what had been done to the prejudice of the Union, or of those that adher'd to the Council, particularly since the 3d. of May, in 1408. with respect to *Angelus Corarius*, and since the 15th. of June, in the same Year, with respect to *Peter de Luna*. He confirm'd also all the Elections, Postulations, Presentations, Institutions, Collations &c. made Canonically by

the Electors, Ordinaries, Patrons, &c. to those who adher'd to the Council; he maintain'd all those who were in peaceable Possession of Benefices, to which they had been promoted by the ordinary ways, yet without derogating from the Regulations which had been made at *Paris*, in the last Assembly of the Clergy of *France*, or from the Rights of the Cardinals, and particularly the Cardinal of *Albano*. He declar'd, that he would proceed against the Favourers of *Peter de Luna* and *Angelus Corarius*; and ordain'd that he or his Successor, shall appoint another General Council to meet in the Year 1412. in the Month of *April*, at a convenient place which shall be fix'd a Year before their meeting. He declar'd also, that if the Cardinal *de Flisue* will return within two Months, he shall be received in the Quality of Cardinal, and enjoy the Benefices he had before the 15th. of *June* 1408. He confirm'd also the Dispensations and Absolutions in Reserv'd Cases, agreed upon by the Bishops during the Neutrality. He caus'd the Archbishop of *Pisa* to publish, that he remitted to all the Churches the Arrears of great and mean Services which were due to the Apostolick Chamber until the Day of his Election; That he did not intend to heap up to himself the Spoils of dead Bishops, nor the Profits which should arise out of vacant Benefices. He pray'd the Cardinals to make the same Allowance to all the Churches and Ecclesiasticks; which was approv'd by all the Prelates of the Council, except the Cardinal of *Albano* who oppos'd it. These Regulations being finished, the next Session was deferred till the 7th. of *August*.

This was the last Session of the Council of *Pisa*, wherein the Pope ordain'd, that the Revenues of the Church of *Rome* and other Churches, should neither be alienated nor mortgaged by the Pope nor other Prelates, until the next Council; that in the mean time the Archbishops and Bishops should call their Provincial Councils, the Monks and Canons Regular should hold their General and Provincial Chapters; that the Pope should make no Translation against the Will of the Parties concerned; that Ambassadors should be sent to Kings and Christian Princes, to notify the Acts of the Council, and cause them to execute what had been ordained in it. He granted a plenary Indulgence and Absolution both from Pain and Guilt, to all those who had assisted at this Council, and adhered to what had been determined in it. In fine he declared, that having a design to reform the Church in its Head and Members, and having taken much pains already to that purpose, but not being able to finish it because of the departure of some Prelates and Ambassadors, he did therefore delay this Reformation until the next Council, whereof the time was already prefixed, leaving all those who had been called to this Council at liberty to return to their own Homes.

This is what was done in the Council of *Pisa*, the Acts of which have been published by Father *Dom. Luc Dachery* in the 6th. Tome of his *Spicilegium*, and whereof we had nothing before but an Abridgment, containing the Names and Titles of those who were present, being in number 22 Cardinals, 67 Ambassadors, partly Ecclesiastical, partly Laical, from Kings or Sovereign Princes, 4 Patriarchs, 2 Prothonotaries, 12 Archbishops, 67 Bishops in Person, and 85 by Deputies, a very great number of Abbots, of Generals, Ministers, and Proctors of Orders, and Convent-Priors, of Deputies from the Universities of *Paris*, of *Angiers* and *Montpellier*, and of Proctors of an infinite number of Abbies and Monasteries, of Chapters, Cities, Provinces, and other Communities. *Alexander V.* confirmed the Acts of this Council by his Bull, dated the last of *January* 1410. *Gregory* and *Benedict* seeing themselves abandoned by the old Cardinals, created some new ones: *Benedict* made 12 of *Spaniards* or *Arragonesc*, and *Gregory* also created some out of the Prelates who were of his Obedience, among whom was *Gabriel Condolmier*, who was afterward Pope under the Name of *Eugenius IV.*

Gregory XII. by a second Bull, dated *December* 18. in the Year 1408. had fixed the precise Place where his Council was to meet, which was *Udine*, a City of the Province of *Aquileia*, in *Friuli*. Thither he came at the time appointed, and opened the Council on the Festival-day of *Corpus-Christi*, in the Year 1409. by solemn Processions; but there being scarce any Prelates present, he put off the next Session to the 22d. of *June*, and invited the Bishops anew to come thither. This second Session was not more numerous than the former, nevertheless, he gave order to declare, that the Elections and Enthronements of *Urban VI.* *Boniface IX.* *Innocent X.* his Predecessors, and his own, were canonical; and that they ought to be acknowledged for true and real Popes; and on the contrary, that the Election of *Robert* of *Geneva*, of *Peter de Luna*, and *Peter de Candie*, who were lately chosen, was temerarious, unlawful and sacrilegious, and that they were Schismatics and Usurpers; that they had no Right to the Papal Dignity, and that whatever they had done or should do was null and void. In fine, in the third Session, on the fifth of *September*, or rather in a Congregation of a small number of Prelates which he had about him, he made a Declaration importing, that he was ready to resign the Pontifical Dignity really and actually, provided that *Peter de Luna* and *Peter de Candie*, would also personally resign at the same place, their pretended Rights to that Dignity, according to the Form prescribed in the Conclave; on condition nevertheless, that to make the Election of a new Pope valid, he must have two Thirds of the Suffrages of the Cardinals of the two Obediences; and for appointing a place of meeting, that Power be given to *Robert* King of the *Romans*, and *Laodislaus* King of *Jerusalem*, and *Sigismund* King of *Hungary*, to make choice of the place: And in case his Adversaries would not accept of this proposal, he gave power also to Princes to call a General Council, at which he promises to be present, and to stand to the Judgment which shall be there given by the greater part of each Obedience. This last clause render'd the execution of this Project impossible; for *Sigismund*, *Laodislaus* and *Robert* were at War with one another, and therefore could act nothing by common consent, in an Affair about which their Interests were quite different.

However *Gregory* might put a good face upon the matter, he was really very much perplexed with the present State of Affairs, for he feared lest the *Venetians* should abandon him, or cause him to be apprehended, in obedience to the Decree of the Council of *Pisa*, which exhorted all secular Powers to oblige the Competitors to submit to the Determination of that Council; and this he feared the rather because the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, whom he would have deprived of his Dignity, appeared very vigorously against him, and the Cardinals whom he had newly created. Upon this account he took up a Resolution to retire from *Udine*, but he could not easily put it in execution, because the *Venetians* had guarded the Passes, lest he should escape. He wrote to King *Laodislaus*, who sent him two Gallies, and fifty Men for a Convoy. But this small number being too weak to force the Passes which were guarded by strong Troops, he made his Escape all alone on Horseback, being disguised in the Habit of a Merchant, with two Footmen, and got to the two Gallies. In the mean time, the Guards stopped *Paul* his Chamberlain, who travelled in a red Habit with his Equipage; and it was very unhappy for this poor Ecclesiastick that he counterfeited the Pope, for he was taken prisoner, robb'd, and receiv'd many Bastinadoes. By these Blows, they extorted from him a confession, that he had 500 *Florins* sew'd up in his Shirt, which were taken from him, and the next Day, one of those that had robb'd him, in derision of *Gregory*, put on the Pontifical Habit which *Paul* had, and being clothed with it, went on Horseback into the City of *Udine*, giving the Benediction to the People by the

Councils appointed about the Schism in the year, 1408.

Councils appointed about the Schism in the year, 1408.

The Council of Aquileia under Gregory XII.

The Flight of Gregory into the Kingdom of Naples.

the way. The Equipage of Gregory was sold; Paul was put in prison, some of those that belonged to his Court, were abused; and others fearing the same treatment, lay hid in the City, until they found a favourable opportunity to retire. In the mean time, Gregory arrived at *Abruzzo*, and took up his residence at *Gaiete*, under the protection of *Laodislaus*, having a very small Court, because no Place acknowledg'd him but *Apulia*, and part of *Tuscany*, and *Liguria*, and *Emilia*.

Alexander V. who was chosen at *Pisa*, by the Cardinals of the two Colleges, was a Greek, born in the Isle of *Candie*: He never knew his Father or Mother, but while he was yet very young, and went about begging his bread, he was taken up and entertained by an Italian Monk of the Order of Friars Minors, who was in that Isle, who having taught him *Latin*, made him take the Habit of his Order, and carried him with him into *Italy*. From *Italy* he was sent into *England*, to study at the University of *Oxford*, from whence he went to *Paris*, and took his Degrees, and commenc'd Dr. in Divinity. After this he went into *Lombardy*, and there falling into the acquaintance of *John Galeas*, he was made by his Interest, Bishop of *Vicenza*, and afterwards Archbishop of *Milan*, then Cardinal, and at last Pope. He was of a generous and liberal Disposition, and lov'd to make good Entertainments; at his Election he was 70 Years old. *Balthazar Cossa*, the Cardinal-Deacon, who held the City and Country of *Bononia*, in the quality of Legate from the Holy See, had a greater share than any Man in all the Transactions at the Council of *Pisa*; by his Interest he procured him to be chosen Pope, but did himself really in effect govern during his Pontificate. He made no reformation, but on the contrary, he granted extraordinary favours to all sorts of persons, created new Officers in his Court, gave Dispensations contrary to order, united and disunited a great many Benefices, and permitted some to possess a great many of them, though they were incompatible. *Theodorick de Niem*, who gives us this testimony of him, adds, that he was not a fit Man for business, or managing affairs, and upon that account he scarce ever heard the Advocates plead in the publick Consistories, as the Popes had usually done; that he had such a fondness for the Clergy that were about him, that instead of distributing the Petitions among the ordinary Officers of *Chancery*, to make an abridgment of them, he gave them to these Clergymen, that they might have the profit of them, and because they understood nothing of these matters, many errors were committed during his Pontificate, which threw the *Dataries* Office into great confusion. The same Author observes also, that this Pope favoured the Friars Minors after an extraordinary manner, by giving them publick and gainful Offices and bestowing upon them vacant Bishopricks and Benefices as much as he could. He renewed in their favours the Privileges of preaching and confessing, granted to the Mendicant Orders, by *Boniface* the 8th. and *John* the 22d. and condemned some Propositions that prejudiced and diminished their Power, by his Bull dated *October* the 10th. 1409. which made a great noise in the University of *Paris*, who threatned to cut off the Mendicant Orders from their Body, unless they would renounce this Bull; against which *Gerson* made a publick Discourse at a General Procession.

Alexander V. was acknowledged for Pope by all Christendom, except *Apulia*, and some part of *Italy*, which had not yet abandoned *Gregory*, and the Kingdoms of *Arragon*, *Castile* and *Scotland*, and the States of Count *Armagnac*, who acknowledged *Benedict*. *Germany* was divided, for *Robert* King of the *Romans* opposed the owning of *Alexander* for Pope, because in many of his Letters he gave the Title of King of the *Romans*, to *Wenceslaus*, King of *Bohemia*; tho' he himself had possession of the Estate. But *Alexander V.* found a means to gain the Archbishop of *Adyence*, by making him *Legatus Natus* to the Ho-

ly See in his own Province; and the other Prelates of *Germany* he gain'd to his side, by granting them all the Favours and Benefices they desired of him, as also the German Lords by granting them any Dispensations for Marriage that they had a mind to. As to *Italy*, *Rome* was still under the power of *Laodislaus*, when *Alexander V.* was chosen; but *Balthazar Cossa* having sat down before it with an Army in *September*, 1409. strengthened the Party of *Paul* of *Urfini*, gained the Governor of the Castle of *St. Angelo*, and so ordered matters, that the Officers of *Laodislaus* were driven away, and the City of *Rome* in appearance was reduced to the obedience of *Alexander*, but in effect was under the Government of *Paul* of *Urfini*. The Court of Pope *Alexander* was then at *Pistoya*, and he thought himself obliged to go to *Rome*, where the *Romans* expected him: But *Balthazar Cossa* would carry him to *Bohemia*, under pretence that he was obliged to bring him thither, but really upon design, as 'tis thought, that himself might be chosen Pope after his Death, (which he foresaw would quickly happen) the Cardinals being then in a City whereof he was Master. Howsoever this was, 'tis certain the thing happened after this manner, for *Alexander V.* dying at *Bohemia*, May the 3d. 1410. *Balthazar Cossa*, who besides his own Interest, had a Recommendation from *Louis* of *Anjou*, King of *Sicily*, was chosen Pope a few days after, and took upon him the Name of *John XXIII.*

This Pope was of a considerable Family in *Naples*; he had been Cardinal, and was appointed Legate of the Holy See at *Bohemia*, by *Boniface* the 9th. He amassed together great Riches in this Employment, by the Exactions and Tyrannies which he exercised in the City and Country of *Bohemia*, which he governed as an absolute Sovereign. He contributed very much to the Meeting of the Council of *Pisa*, and the Election of *Alexander V.* and governed in his Name during his Pontificate.

The first design which *John XXIII.* undertook, after he was advanced to the Holy See, was to deprive *Laodislaus* of the Kingdom of *Naples*; (which he had a great mind to do for a long time, because *Laodislaus* had been the cause of condemning his Brethren to death) and to put *Louis* Duke of *Anjou* in possession of that Kingdom. For this end he raised an Army, and having joined it with the Troops of this Prince, he marched towards *Capua*. *Laodislaus* met them with an Army, and gave them battle in *May*, 1411. The Forces of *Laodislaus* were beaten; but the Conquerors being diverted with gathering the spoil and booty, gave an opportunity to *Laodislaus*, to escape into a Castle, and to the remainder of his Forces to make a retreat. In the mean time, *John XXIII.* returning triumphantly into *Rome*, and to shew his contempt of his enemies, he caused their Ensigns which he had taken, to be dragged thro' the dirt after a solemn Procession which he made. But *Louis* of *Anjou* was no sooner returned into *France*, than *Laodislaus* repaired his losses, and strengthened his interest, by gaining to his party the principal Commanders of the Pope's Army, and then he sent an Army in the time of Harvest to the very gates of *Rome*, which was beat back at the first Onset: But *John XXIII.* despairing of reducing *Laodislaus* by force, resolved to gain him by money: And therefore he entered upon a secret Treaty with him, which being concluded, *Laodislaus* gave order to *Angelus Corarius* to depart out of his Dominions. He was forced to obey, and therefore he fled to *Marca Ancona*, to shelter himself under the protection of *Charles Malatesta*, who was the only person that continued faithful to him.

The War being quickly kindled again between *Laodislaus* and *John XXIII.* the former came with an Army to the gates of *Rome*, in *May*, 1413. which meeting with no resistance, entered into the City; for the *Romans* hated the Pope, who had drawn great sums of money from the richest Men in the City; *John XXIII.* and all his Courtiers fled, and escaped

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with all speed to *Sutri*, *Viterbo* and *Montefiascone*; and the Pope not thinking himself safe here, continued his journey through *Sienna*, as far as *Florence*, where he resided until morning; and afterwards passing thro' *Bohemia*, he came the last day of this Month into *Lombardy*, to treat about the meeting of a Council with *Sigismund* King of *Hungary*, who had been chosen King of the *Romans* by one party of the Electors of the Empire, after the death of *Robert* of *Bavaria*, which happened *May 18th. 1410.* The other party of the Electors had chosen *Jesse*, Marquess of *Moravia*; but he dying in a short time after, all their Suffrages were united in favour of *Sigismund*.

The designs
of John
the 23d.
rejected in
France.

John XXIII. having sent at the beginning of his Pontificate the Archbishop of *Pisa* his Legate into *France*, together with *Nicholas de Robertis* a Knight, and *Jeffery de Peyruffe* a Doctor, to raise money there for the Procurations and Depredations of the Ecclesiasticks deceased: The University of *Paris* opposed him herein, and maintained the Disposal that was made of them by the King's Edict, in 1406. and solicited the Prelates, and other Universities to join with them in defeating this design. But notwithstanding these efforts, it was resolved, that the Clergy of *France* should grant the Pope a charitable Subsidy of half the Tenths of the Revenues of their Benefices; the Prelates consented to it, and the University yielded, because this Subsidy was granted after that manner which it had offered at first.

The Legate came to *Paris*, and presented to them a Bull of the Pope, wherein he declares after what manner he was chosen, and his good intention to promote the peace of the Church, and pray'd the Court to assist him. This Bull being read by the Clerk, *Jeffery* of *Peyruffe* gave an account of what expences the Pope had been at, to serve *Louis* Duke of *Anjou*, and assured them, that his intention was to endeavour an Union of the *Greek* Church to the *Latin*, and to make peace between the Kings of *France* and *England*, and to hold a Council at the time appointed by that of *Pisa*, to reform the Church both in its Head and Members. Upon the prospect of this Council, the Clergy of *France* were assembled at *Paris*, by order of the King, to draw up some Memoirs which were to be carried to the Council, containing a complaint of the excessive Taxes wherewith the Clergy of *France* were oppressed. The Assembly was held in the Palace, where *Benedict Gentian* a Monk of *St. Dennis*, spoke smartly against the trouble which was given them by the Court of *Rome*; and particularly against the Penions which the Cardinals raised upon the Churches of the Kingdom; against the appeals to the Court of *Rome*, and about the promotions of strangers to Benefices; and shewed, that these were the ways made use of to draw money out of *France*.

He beseeched the Assembly to consider of these things; and Memorials of them were drawn up, which were entrusted with those that were sent to *Constance*.

Councils
appointed
about the
Schism in
the year,
1408.

While these things were a doing, a Letter from the Legate to the Pope's Secretary was intercepted, wherein he acquaints him, that the Members of Parliament pretended to be exempt from Subsidies for the Benefices which they possessed, and to have a Privilege for this exemption from the Holy See; and that the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction was wholly abolished, because the Parliament took cognizance of Ecclesiastical Causes belonging to the right of possession between Ecclesiastical Persons, the Regulars, Bishops, and even Cardinals themselves. The Court was much offended with this Letter, ordered that an Information should be drawn against it, and that the King's Advocate should make a discourse against it in the presence of His Majesty and the Legate; and at last determin'd, that the Privilege of not paying Tenths or Subsidies to the Pope should be search'd for in the Treasury of the King's Papers; and that some should remonstrate to His Majesty of what great Consequence the pretension of the Legate was, that so for the future he might be forbid to maintain, That the King and his Judges, and particularly the Parliament, could not take cognizance of causes belonging to the Right of possessing Benefices; and that, lastly, the King should be intreated to write about this Matter to the Pope and Cardinals. This is what pass'd in the beginning of the Year 1411.

The next Year, the King, upon the Complaint of the University renew'd his Letters, by which he maintain'd those that had been promoted to Benefices during the Neutrality: And to the end he might hinder the Traffick which had been made of the Benefices of the Kingdom by the Court of *Rome*; he, by the Advice of his Clergy and Universities ordain'd, that all Provisions and Commendams of Churches should be superseded in his Kingdom, and sent an Express to Pope *John*, for the redressing of this Grievance; which he neglecting to do, upon the Demand of the Proctor-General, and at the Solicitation of the Provost and Sheriffs of *Paris*, the Parliament and all the Courts of Justice being assembled, with many Prelates and Members of the University, ordain'd that the Edict made in the Month of *February*, 1406. should be put in Execution, as to Elective Benefices; and this Decree of the Court was confirmed by the King's Council. This is what pass'd in *France*, concerning the Pretensions of the Court of *Rome*, from the Sitting of the Council of *Pisa*, to the Meeting of the Council of *Constance*, of which we are to give an account in the next Chapter.

C H A P. II.

The History of the Council of Constance, and of the Schism of the Popes, until the Election of Martin V.

The Council
of Con-
stance.

JOHN XXIII. seeing himself pursu'd by King *Laodislaus*, who had made himself Master of *Rome*, and of the Neighbouring Cities, and was preparing to besiege him even in *Bononia*, concluded with himself, that the only means of Deliverance and Safety that remain'd, was to put himself under the Protection of the Emperor *Sigismund*, and to call a Council by concert with him. His Predecessor, when he prorogu'd the Council of *Pisa*, had ordain'd, that another should be held within three Years after: *John XXIII.* had *pro forma*, appointed it in the City of *Rome*, and had afterwards prorogu'd it without appointing a place, or prefixing

a time. *Sigismund* wrote to him to do nothing without Communicating it to his Ambassadors, whom he should send unto him. These Ambassadors found the Pope at *Florence*, and made divers Proposals to him about holding of a Council. The Pope on his part, to expedite this Affair the more speedily, sent two Cardinals, and *Manuel Chrysoloras* to *Sigismund*, with Power to agree with him, as to the place and time of the Council; As to the place they agreed upon the City of *Constance*; and as to the time, that it should be the 1st. of *November*, in the next Year 1414. After this, the Pope having conferr'd with the Emperor, ratified what was agreed upon by his Legates,

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gates, and call'd the Council to meet at *Constance*, November 1st. 1414. by his Bull dated at *Lodi*, November 2^d. 1413. inviting the Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and Prelates of all Christendom to be present in Person, or by their Deputies. Then he return'd to *Bononia*, where he rais'd Troops to oppose *Laodislaus*, who was coming to besiege him; but this Prince was seiz'd with a Disease which oblig'd him to return to *Naples*, where he died, leaving his Kingdom to *Joan*, the second of that Name, his Sister, the Widow of *William of Austria*.

This News was very joyful to Pope *John XXIII.* and his Court, who being now deliver'd from so formidable an Enemy, gave Orders for the securing of *Bononia*, and then set forth for *Constance*, October 1st. where he arriv'd on the 20th. of the same Month. He open'd the Council November 16th. on which Day he held the first Session, wherein after Reading of the Bull, by which they were call'd all together, Officers were appointed, and the next Session was put off to the 17th. of *December*, but it was not held till the next Year, because a great number of Prelates and Princes, or their Ambassadors were expected.

The Emperor *Sigismund*, arriv'd there on *Christmas-Eve*, and some time after, the Deputies of *Gregory* and *Benedict*, among whom there were some Anti-Cardinals. It was disputed, whether they should be received with their Red Hats; and for Peace sake it was allow'd. The Ambassadors of the former offer'd in their Master's Name the way of Resignation, but without having any Power in Writing to make it good: Those of the latter spoke not so clearly, and presented only an Agreement made between the Emperor, and the King of *Arragon*, to meet at *Nice*, in the Month of *April*, to confer together upon this Subject. *Louis* Duke of *Bavaria*, who adher'd to *Gregory's* Party arriv'd also at the Council, and there declar'd, That *Gregory*, and those of his Obedience, were ready to embrace the way of Cession, and that they would no ways hinder or delay the Union, nor any Endeavours for the Reformation of the Church in the Council, provided that *John XXIII.* should not preside in it, offering upon this Condition to submit to the Judgment of the Council, whether *Gregory* consented to it or no.

After these Proposals, the Fathers of the Council consulted among themselves, and without Communicating the Matter to *John XXIII.* concerning the means of putting an end to the Schism, and reforming the Church in its Head and Members; they all agreed, as to the Legality of the Council of *Pisa*, and yet the greater number were of Opinion, that *John XXIII.* should renounce the Pontificate as well as *Gregory* and *Benedict*. Those who were not of this Opinion, said, that this was to impeach the Authority of the Council of *Pisa*, to treat a Lawful Pope, who was never suspected of Heresie, like deposed Schismatics; that no body could force him to renounce a certain Right, and he himself could not abandon his Right, without doing injury to his own Reputation, the Authority of the Council of *Pisa*, and the Church, whereof he was the Lawful Head; that there was another way of procuring Union, by condemning his Adversaries, and their Adherents, and reducing them to Obedience by a War. To this it was answer'd, that altho' the Council of *Pisa* had been lawfully celebrated, and the Election of *Alexander V.* was Canonical; yet because those of the two other Obediences had not agreed to it upon the account of the difficulties about Right and Fact, it was expedient for avoiding these Disputes, and procuring speedily the Peace of the Church, that the three Competitors should recede from their pretended Rights to the Pontifical Dignity; that this Cession would no ways prejudice the Authority of the Council of *Pisa*, but rather establish that which was the end and design of the Fathers of that Council; that although the Adversaries of *John XXIII.* had been condemned, yet we might hear-

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ken to what they should propose for promoting Peace; that altho' a lawful Pope, which had not been accus'd of any Crime, could not regularly be oblig'd to renounce the Pontificate; yet in the present Case, considering the difficulty there was otherwise to procure the Peace of the Church, he might be constrain'd to do it by the Universal Church, or by the Council which represented it, that the War which was propos'd for reducing the Competitors, was a means contrary to the Spirit of the Church, which would retard the Peace, and render it almost impossible.

It was also debated among the Fathers of the Council, who they were that had Right to give a Vote in the Council. Some maintain'd, that none but Bishops, and other Prelates or Abbots, ought to be admitted to give a Vote: Against whom the Cardinals of *Cambray*, and *St. Mark* gave in Memorials, to prove, that Curates, Doctors, the Deputies of absent Prelates, ought to be admitted to give their Votes, and even the Ambassadors of Princes, as to what concern'd the Schism, and the Peace of the Church, because they were interested in it, and the Execution of their Decrees depended upon them.

After this, it was consult'd, whether Opinions should be reckon'd in the Council by each single Person, or by Nations: The Right and Custom seem'd to be, to reckon Suffrages by the Poll, but because there was almost a greater number of poor Bishops from *Italy* alone, than of Prelates from all other Nations; it was also resolv'd, that the Fathers of the Council should be distributed into five Nations, viz. *Italy*, *France*, *Germany*, *England* and *Spain*; that the things which were to be propos'd in the Council, should be examin'd and determin'd by the Plurality of Voices in each Nation, and by the Cardinals in their College; and that afterwards they should be reported to the Council to be there decreed, according to the Plurality of the Votes of Nations.

John XXIII. being advertis'd of the Consultations which were made among the Fathers of the Council, endeavour'd by all means to divert them, and to sow Division among them; but notwithstanding his Attempts, the way of Cession was decreed with the unanimous consent of all the Nations. While these things were under Deliberation, an *Italian* Bishop gave in a Memorial, containing many Heads of all sorts of Crimes, of which he accus'd *John XXIII.* and desir'd that the Information might be kept secret. The Nations of *Germany*, *England* and *Poland* were of opinion, that these Articles should not be publish'd, and that this Information should not be given in, which could only serve to disgrace the Holy See, to scandalize the Church, and throw it into Confusion, by giving occasion to doubt of the validity of the Provisions and Promotions that had been made. Others maintain'd, that it was convenient to inform the Council of these Facts, and that it was easie to find Proof of them, so much the rather because the greatest part of them were notorious. *John XXIII.* knowing what had pass'd, was mightily perplex'd, and at first resolv'd to go in Person to the Council, and there to own those things whereof he was accus'd, (if we may believe *Theodorick de Niem*) but still to maintain that the Pope could not be depos'd, except for the Crime of Heresie. His Friends having remonstrated, that it was not convenient to take this Method, he chang'd his Opinion; and the Fathers of the Council did not enter upon the Examination of these Accusations, but resolv'd to propose to him the way of Cession. *John XXIII.* knowing the Resolution which they had taken, sent for them on the 16th. of *February*: And as to the Proposal which was made to him to resign the Papal Dignity, because the other Competitors would make the same Cession, and there was no other way to procure the Peace and Union of the Church, he answer'd with Gravity, and in appearance with Joy, that he would voluntarily do what they desir'd, provided the two other Competitors were willing to do the same: And

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XXIII.
his Renun-
ciation of
the Papal
Dignity.

And on a sudden he causes the Cardinal of *Florence* to read a Writing, wherein he declares, That altho' he was not oblig'd by any Vow, Oath or Promise to make the following Cession, yet he was ready for the Repose of Christendom, voluntarily and freely to restore Peace to the Church by the way of Resignation, if *Peter de Luna*, and *Angelus Corarius*, condemn'd of Heresie and Schism by the Council of *Pisa*, and depos'd from the Papal Dignity, would sufficiently and validly renounce the Right which they pretended to it; and that in such a manner, in such circumstances, and at such a time, as should be declar'd and determin'd, between him or his Deputies, and the Deputies of the Council. These Offers gave great Joy to the Fathers of the Council, but having examin'd them, they found that they were not sufficient, because they were made upon a Condescension which depended upon the Will of the two Competitors; and if it should happen, that one of the two would not resign, the Council would have labour'd in vain: They demanded therefore from *John XXIII.* another Declaration more precise than this, and he gave them a second express'd after the same manner, with a Promise to make a Bull of it, but he added to it, that the Process made in the Council of *Pisa*, against *Peter de Luna*, and *Angelus Corarius*, should be renew'd and aggravated, tho' the Execution of it should be suspended, until time were given them to make a Resignation; and that the King of the *Romans*, the Princes present in Council, the Ambassadors of Kings absent, and the whole Council should engage to assist him with Spiritual and Temporal Weapons, in case the two Competitors would not resign. This second Declaration was judg'd yet more insufficient than the former, because he did not offer to renounce unless the others did so, and he would have the Process against the two others renew'd. The Nations therefore having examin'd these two Declarations, and found them insufficient, did earnestly importune *John XXIII.* to give another more full and punctual; but he put them off from Day to Day, and endeavour'd in the mean time to persuade the Members of the Council to espouse his Interest, treating these even with reproachful Language that spoke to him upon this Subject. At last, one was drawn up which was approv'd by three Nations and presented to him by *Sigismund*, which he took time to consider of, and resolv'd at last to accept of it. After he had taken this Resolution, the Prelates of four Nations came to him the 1st. of *March*, in the Year 1415. in his Palace, where the Emperor was present, and offer'd to him in the name of the Council, by the Patriarch of *Antioch*, the Declaration they had drawn up, which they pray'd him to accept of. *John XXIII.* having taken and read it, told them, that his Design was always to give Peace unto the Church, and that he was come for this end to *Constance*, that he had always voluntarily and freely offer'd the way of Resignation; and after that, he pronounc'd the Declaration which was conceiv'd in these Words

' I *John XXIII.* Pope, do acknowledge, promise, vow and swear to God, to the Church, and this Holy Council, That I will voluntarily and freely give Peace to the Church, by the way of my mere Resignation of the Pontificate; and thus I will do, and effectually perform according to the Determination of this present Council, so soon as *Peter de Luna* call'd *Benedict XXIII.* and *Angelus Corarius*, call'd *Gregory XII.* in their Obedience, shall resign by themselves, or their lawful Proctors, the Right they pretend to have to the Papal Dignity; and also in all other Cases of Cession, or of Death, or otherwise; wherein my Resignation may procure the Union of the Church, and the Extirpation of the Schism.' When he had finish'd this Declaration, the Emperor thank'd him in the Name of the Council, for his good Resolution, and a Session was appointed on the Morrow, that he might solemnly renew it in the Council. This was done in that Session, wherein *John XXIII.* repeated the former Declaration in the same

Words, swore to put it in Execution, and order'd it to be drawn up in the form of a Bull.

The Fathers of the Council having drawn this Declaration from *John XXIII.* consider'd of the means how to reduce *Peter de Luna*; and for this Reason pray'd the Emperor, that he would confer with the King of *Aragon*, when he should have full Power to do it from *John XXIII.* who refus'd to grant it him, offering to go himself in Person into that City, where *Peter de Luna* should be present, to treat and agree with him upon the Conditions of Union. The Council foreseeing plainly, that this was only a pretence to elude the Execution of the promis'd Resignation, and that it was to be fear'd, lest the absence of the Pope should cause the Dissolution of the Council, and the Interview between the two Competitors would be of no effect, did therefore oppose it stoutly. In the mean time, *Frederick*, Duke of *Austria*, came to *Constance*, pretending that he was to go further; and said nothing of the League he had made with *John XXIII.* or that he was come upon his account. Nevertheless the Report spread immediately in the City, that he was come to favour the escape of *John XXIII.* But he, the better to cover his Design, told the Emperor, that the Air of this City was disagreeable to him; the Emperor answer'd him, that he had Houses in the Country round about the City, where he might reside; but pray'd him, that he would not go away until the Council was ended, or if he had a mind to do it, that he would not fly away secretly and indecently, for his Design was to observe the safe Conduct he had given him, and even to accompany him where-ever he would go. *John XXIII.* promis'd him, that he would not retire until the Council was ended; but did not keep his Promise, for he went out of *Constance* in a Disguise on the 21st. of *March*, and retir'd to the Castle of *Schaffhausen*, which was distant only four Leagues, belonging to the Duke of *Austria*, who had given him his Protection. The Cardinals of *Pisa*, *Plaisance*, *Challant*, *Brande*, *Bar*, and some others retir'd also from *Constance* on *Palm-Sunday*, and came to *John XXIII.* with many of his own Officers.

Notwithstanding this Retreat, the third Session of the Council was held on *Monday* the 25th. of *March*, at which the Cardinal of *Cambray* presided, and the Emperor was present in his Imperial Robes. After Mass, and the usual Ceremonies, the Cardinal of *Florence* read a Declaration in the Name of the Council, containing the following Articles. First, that this Council was justly and lawfully call'd, open'd and celebrated. Secondly, that the Retreat of the Pope, and some other Prelates, whosoever they be, does not at all dissolve it, but that it continued in full Authority, whatsoever Ordinance might be made to the contrary. Thirdly, that this Council ought not, and shall not separate, until the Schism be extirpated, and the Church reform'd in Faith and Manners, in the Head and its Members. Fourthly, that it shall not be translated from one place to another, except for a reasonable Cause, approv'd by the Advice and Determination of the Council. Fifthly, that the Prelates, and other Persons who ought to be present at the Council, shall not retire before it be ended, except for a reasonable Cause, which shall be examin'd and approv'd by the Deputies of the Council, with the permission of those who have Authority; in which Case, they shall transfer the Power to those who remain. All these Articles were approv'd by the Assembly, and an Act was made of them.

On *Wednesday* following, four of the Cardinals, who went to *Schaffhausen*, return'd to *Constance*; and on this Day there was a general Congregation in presence of the Emperor, in which six Cardinals maintain'd, that the Council was dissolv'd by the Absence and Retreat of the Pope. They were answer'd in the Name of the Council with freedom and boldness, by many Persons of great Authority and Understanding, that the Pope was not above the Council,

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The Council of Constance.

The Flight of John XXIII.

The Council of Constance. cil, but inferior to it, which rais'd a great Dispute among them. After this, there was found a Placard fix'd upon the Gate of the great Church of Constance, by which all Officers of the Pope were enjoin'd, under pain of Excommunication and Deprivation of their Offices, to come within a Week to *Schaffhausen*. This Placard was brought into the Council, and rais'd great Complaints of the Bishops against the Cardinals, who accus'd them of returning to disturb the Peace. The Cardinals said, that they had no hand in this Placard, but that they knew it was to be publish'd to Morrow at the same place; nevertheless they prorogu'd the Time appointed in this Citation.

On the Morrow, being the 28th. of March, the Emperor propos'd to the Prelates, the Reasons which *John XXIII.* alledg'd for hindring the continuance of the Council, which were rejected as frivolous and insufficient; and they all cry'd with one Voice, that *notwithstanding this, the Session does hold*, which caus'd new Disputes between the Cardinals and the Nations.

On Friday, being the 29th. of the same Month, the Nations of Germany, France and England, having resolv'd to hold a Session on the Morrow, and rang'd the Articles in order which they were to determine; the Cardinals assembled in the Episcopal Palace of Constance, and having consulted among themselves, they offer'd to the Emperor in the Pope's Name to appoint a Proctor, together with the Cardinals, for the Resignation of the Pontificate. So that two Cardinals, by agreement with the Emperor might resign, even against his Will, and that his Court should not be translated from Constance, without consulting the Council. They promis'd to be present at the Session which was to be held on the Morrow, provided no other Regulations were made there. The Emperor having receiv'd these Offers, told them, that he would communicate them to the Nations that were assembled in the Cloyster of St. Francis. At the same time the News arriv'd, that the Pope fearing to be besieg'd by the Emperor in *Schaffhausen* had retir'd by himself alone to the Castle of *Laufemburg* (the Cardinals that were then with him remaining still at *Schaffhausen*) and that he had made Protestations before a Notary, against all that he had promis'd, and sworn at Constance, as being forc'd to it by violence and fear. The Emperor having receiv'd the Answer of the Nations, reported to the Cardinals, that they had refus'd their Proposal, that no Resolution should be made at the Council upon any other Articles, than what the Cardinals had propos'd; but that he had prevail'd for delaying the Session till Ten a Clock, and so between this time and that, they might see if they could agree.

On Saturday the 30th. of March, the Emperor, and the Nations being come into the Episcopal Palace of Constance, there was a great Dispute about the Articles which were to be determin'd in the Session. The University of Paris pray'd the Emperor, that he would not make War upon the Duke of Austria; which he would not agree to. Altho' the Cardinals and the Nations had not agreed, yet Mass was said for holding the Session, and the Prelates of the Nations were preparing to hold it alone, when the Cardinals of St. Mark and Florence desir'd to have a Conference with the Deputies of the Nations; and at last agreed with them upon the following Articles, which were read in the Council by the Cardinal of Florence. First, that the Synod being lawfully assembled in the name of the Holy Ghost, which constituted the General Council, and represented the whole Catholick Church Militant, had its Power immediately from Jesus Christ; and that every Person of whatsoever State or Dignity, even the Pope himself, is oblig'd to obey it in what concerns the Faith, the Extirpation of Schism, and the General Reformation of the Church, in its Head and Members. Thus is the first Article express'd in the greatest part of the Editions of the Acts of the Council of Constance. In some, these Words, *As to what con-*

cerns the Faith, are not to be found; and in some Manuscripts of the Vatican Library these are omitted, *For the Reformation of the Church in its Head and Members*; but they are found in many other Manuscripts, even those that were written at the time of the Council, in all the Manuscripts of the next Session; and *Gerson* relates it in the same Words, in two Discourses which he spoke in the Council; from whence it appears to be a Calumny in *Schellstrate*, to accuse, as he does, the Fathers of the Council of *Basil*, of being the Authors of this Addition; and, besides, it is not necessary to prove that the Council of Constance has determin'd, that the Pope is inferior to the Council, since the preceding Words, *That every Person of whatsoever State or Dignity he be, even the Pope himself, is oblig'd to obey it*, are alone sufficient to establish this Doctrine. In fine, tho' there were some difficulty in this Session about this Clause, that is fully taken away in the next, where this Decree was read again, and repeated with this Addition, as *Schellstrate* agrees, and which is prov'd by the Manuscript Acts which he himself has produc'd.

The Second Article publish'd in the fourth Session, contains, that *John XXIII.* cannot change the Officers of the Court of Rome, nor constrain them to follow him without the leave and consent of the Council, and that all which he can do against them upon this account shall be Null.

The third, that all Processes made, or to be made by the Pope or his Officers, to the prejudice of the Council shall be Null.

The fourth, that three Deputies shall be chosen out of each Nation, to examine the causes of those who shall have a mind to retire, and to proceed against them who shall depart without leave.

The fifth, that the better to promote the Union, there shall be no new Creation of Cardinals, and to prevent the Antedating of any such Creation, none shall be acknowledg'd for Cardinals, but those who were publickly known to be such, before the Pope retir'd from Constance.

These Articles were approv'd by the Cardinals and the Prelates of the Nations, by the Emperor, the other Princes present, and the Ambassadors of those that were absent. Towards Night, *Renaud de Carnet*, Archbishop of Rheims, reported to the Council, that being sent by the Ambassadors of France to *Schaffhausen*, to enquire of the Pope the reason of his Retreat, the Pope had told him, that he would not return until he had received an Answer by the Cardinal of *Challant*, who came to him some time after; and he gave him four Briefs, the first address'd to the Emperor, the second to the Cardinals, the third to the Ambassador of France, and the fourth to the Deputies of the University of Paris; that upon his return to Constance, he had put them in the Hands of those to whom they were address'd; and at the same time told them, that the Pope had order'd him to declare, that he was not forc'd to retire from Constance by violence or by fear, or by any fault of the Emperor, but only upon the account of his Health, and that he offer'd to perform what he had promis'd in the Council; that he had a love for the Emperor, and desir'd to have a Conference with him, if he would go to Nice, and meet *Peter de Luna*, to consider of the means to promote Peace; that 'twas true he had not receiv'd this order from the Pope's own Mouth, but the Cardinal of *Challant* had deliver'd it to him in the Pope's Name. This Cardinal being present, acknowledg'd the thing to be so, and that the Pope had given him this Order; but that he was to tell him, that the Pope did not retire for fear of any Violence from the Emperor, but for fear of some great Men in his Court.

The Saturday following, being the 6th of April, if we may believe the Manuscript Acts publish'd by *Schellstrate*, there were some Debates between the Cardinals and the Nations, concerning the manner in which the Articles of the fourth Session were drawn up; but at last they came to an Agreement

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upon this point. Only some Cardinals absented themselves, and others made a Protestation, because they hoped that *John XXIII.* would in good earnest make a Resignation, and they thought it would be convenient to wait some time longer, until the intention of *John XXIII.* was more fully discovered. But notwithstanding this Remonstrance the Session was held, and many Cardinals were present at it; the Cardinal of *Ursins* presided at it, and the Articles decreed by the four Nations, were read by *Andrew Bishop Elect of Posnania*: The first is a repetition of the first Article of the preceding Session. The second imports, that those who would not obey the Ordinances and Statutes of this General Council, or any other, whatever state, condition or dignity they were of, even the Popes themselves not excepted, shall be put under Penance, and punished according to Law. The third and fourth are a repetition of the second and third Articles of the fourth Session. The fifth is a declaration that the Pope and the other Prelates of the Council had been, and were now perfectly free. The sixth, that the Pope was bound to renounce the Pontificate not only in the cases expressed in his own declaration, but in all other cases, wherein his Renunciation might bring great benefit to the Church, and procure the union, and that in such cases the Pope was bound to agree to the declaration and definition of the Council. The seventh that if the Pope, being required by the Council to renounce the Pontificate for the peace of the Church, would not, or should delay to do it, he ought to be looked upon as one that had fallen from the Pontifical Dignity, to whom no obedience was due. The eighth, that the retreat of the Pope from the City of *Constance* was unlawful, and prejudicial to the peace and union of the Church, and that he ought to be summoned to return and perform his promise, with a declaration, that if he did not return within the time appointed by the Council, they would proceed against him as a favourer of Schism, and suspected of Heresy. The ninth, that if the Pope would return, and effectually perform what he had promised, assurance should be given him, that he should neither be arrested nor imprisoned, nor molested in his person or goods, before or after the Renunciation, but that he should enjoy perfect freedom and security.

After this some preparatory Articles were read concerning the Errors of *John Hufs*; and then it was resolved to write to all Princes in the name of the Council, concerning the flight of *John XXIII.* and that the Emperor should be entreated to endeavour his return to *Constance*, that he might perform what he had promised to the Church and Council, provided still, that he were left at freedom and treated with honour. The Emperor answered, that he knew the Pope was in the Castle of *Laufenberg*, in the hands of the Duke of *Austria*, but he did not know whether he would return, or if the Duke would permit him to come; that however it might happen, he was ready to do what the Council desired, to write unto him and pray him to return, and send to him a safe conduct; or if that would not do, to go himself in person and bring him to the Council, either with his consent or against it. The Council approved this resolution. The Emperor added, that he had sent some Troops to the City of *Schaffhausen*, and ordered them to offer safe conducts to the Cardinals and Officers of the Court of *Rome* that were there; who made answer, that they would not return, nor follow *John XXIII.* but they would return to *Rome*, and that the Cardinals who were of *Constance* were of the same opinion. Then the Cardinal of *Florence* declared, that it was true they had resolved, in case the Pope would resign, to defend him; but if he would not, they would abandon him and continue at the Council; that having no certainty whether he would hold to the resolution he had made, they had always taken care to preserve his honour, but that they knew nothing of the Cardinals

design to return to *Rome*. In fine, it was concluded, that the Emperor might stop those who should endeavour to retire from *Constance* in a disguised habit.

The Decree made in these two Sessions concerning the Authority of the Council above the Pope, did plainly decide the question, and subjected the Pope, as well as to Faith as Manners, to the judgment of a General Council. And this ought not to be understood only of a time of Schism, or in case the Pope were doubtful, but generally in all other cases; 1. Because the Words of the Council are general; 2. They import that all the World, even the Pope himself, is obliged to obey the Council, not only as to what concerns the extirpation of the Schism, but also as to the reformation of the Church in its Head and Members, as well in Doctrine as Manners; 3. Because they speak not only of this particular Council, but of any other Council lawfully assembled; 4. Because they contain general Penalties against all that should not obey the Council, of whatsoever dignity they were; 5. Because they deduce the authority of the Council above the Pope from its representation of the Church, and from its Infallibility, and this agrees to all General Councils at what time soever they were celebrated; 6. Because the Council acknowledges *John XXIII.* for lawful and undoubted Pope. From all which it appears, that there can be no place to doubt but this Decree was general.

The authority of this Decree cannot any longer be disputed, since it was made in full Council, after the matter was resolved upon by the Nations, and with the unanimous consent of all the Fathers; for the protestation of the Cardinals did not concern this Article, but had a particular regard to the person of *John XXIII.* In fine, all the Decrees of the Council of *Constance* being approved by *John XXIII.* in the 12th. Session, and by *Martin V.* in the 4th. and 45th. without any exception; it cannot be doubted but this which was one of the principal Articles was comprized in the general Approbation, and consequently that it has the force of a Law. And even in the Bull of *Martin V.* against the Errors of *Wicliff*, there are Articles wherein this Decree is particularly referred to; and in the 41st. the authority of the Universal Church is distinguished from that of the Pope, and there it is ordained, that the Universal Church, or the General Council, have a sovereign authority indefinitely; whereas 'tis only said of the Pope, that he hath a Primacy over other particular Churches, which amounts to the same thing with the Decision of the Council.

The 6th. Session was held on the 17th. of *April*, and there an Instrument of Procuration was read, which they would have Pope *John XXIII.* to grant, for renouncing the Papal Dignity; and Deputies were named, viz. two Cardinals and two Prelates of each Nation, to summon him to come to the Council, that he might perform what he had promised, or to name the Proctors whom the Council should appoint him, for executing the Procuration whereof the Council had sent him a model, with a power, in case he should refuse, to cite him to the Council. One of the Deputies of the University of *Paris* read in this Session some Letters written in the name of the University to the Pope, and to the Nation of *Italy*, wherein they exhort the Pope to return to the Council, and voluntarily to resign the Pontifical Dignity. The Deputies of the Council went to meet *John XXIII.* at *Fribourg* in *Switzerland*, whither he had retired, and executed their Commission by summoning him to name Proctors for renouncing the Pontificate, and declaring that otherwise the Council would proceed against him and depose him. He answered them sharply, that he would send his Instrument of Procuration to the Council, which he did: But that which he sent was not judged sufficient. In the mean time he proposed divers conditions which he desired they would engage to make good in case of Resignation, viz. that he should be

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Legate *a Latere*, to the Pope that should be chosen in *Italy*; that he should have a sovereign power over the County of *Bologna*, and receive a certain Revenue from the Cities in it, and that he should not be subjected, nor obliged to give an account of his conduct to any body.

The Council perceiving that *John 23d.* designed nothing else, but how to find out ways to avoid the Resignation, and that he refus'd to come to the Council, or give a sufficient Procuration, began to proceed against him in the 7th. Session held the 2d. of *May*, wherein it was resolv'd, that *John 23d.* and his favourers should be cited by a publick Proclamation to appear within 9 days, to answer to the crimes of Heresy, Schism, Simony, Wasting of the Ecclesiastical Revenues, and other crimes whereof he was accused; and it was ordained, that his flight from *Constance* should be declared prejudicial to the Church, scandalous and odious, to be a means of disturbing the union and peace of the Church, and confirming the Schism, and to be contrary to his promises and oaths. This citation made the Cardinals return to *Constance*, and the greatest part of the Officers of the Court of *Rome* who were at *Schaffhausen*, or in the retinue of *John 23d.* *Frederick Duke of Austria*, seeing himself pursued by the forces of the Emperor *Sigismund*, who had invaded his Dominions, returned to *Constance* on the last day of *April*. He begged pardon of the Emperor on the 4th. of *May* in the 8th. Session of the Council, and promised him, that he would make the Pope return to *Constance*, and submit to all that should be decreed by the Council, on condition that no violence should be offered to his person or his goods; and consented to remain in the mean time an Hostage, until the Pope should come to *Constance*, or to any other place that the Emperor should appoint. The remainder of this Session was spent in proceeding to the condemnation of the errors of *Wicliff*.

In the 9th. Session, which was held the 13th. of *May*, the Proctors of the Council demanded, that in pursuance of the citation which had been made to *John 23d.* and his Adherents, the Process should go on against him, and Commissioners should be named to give instructions for it. The Cardinal of *Florence* rose up and said, that the Pope had sent a Bull to the Cardinals, in which he named for his Proctors three among them, *viz.* *Peter of Cambray*, *William of St. Mark*, Cardinal-priests, and himself Cardinal-deacon, to appear in Council, and answer the accusations proposed against him. That these Cardinals being unwilling to accept of this Procuration, he had published a Brief exhorting them to do it; but notwithstanding they would not be his Proctors, and for his own part he renounced it: The Cardinal of *St. Mark* made the same declaration; whereupon the Solicitors of the Council remonstrated, that the citation being personal, he ought to appear in person, and not by a Proctor. They desired, that two Cardinal-deacons and five Prelates should be sent to the gate of the Church, to know whether *John 23d.* and his Adherents were there, and would appear. The Cardinals refused to go, but the other Prelates went thither, and summoned three times *John 23d.* who appeared not. An Act was made of these citations, and the Council named Commissioners to draw up the Process. Towards the end of the Session the Emperor and the Deputies of five Nations, presented the copy of a Bull granted by *Angelus Corarius*, called *Gregory 12th.* to *Charles Malatesta* of *Rimini* in his obedience, wherein he gave him power to consent in his name to what should be done in the Council: The Emperor gave it to the Deputies to be examined, that if it were any ways defective or insufficient, they might return it to *Charles*, who should cause it to be amended, as the Council should judge convenient.

In the 10th. Session, which was held the 14th. of *May*, after they had again called for *John 23d.* the Commissioners reported the depositions of the wit-

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nesses, and told the Council, it was sufficiently proved that *John 23d.* had wasted the Revenues of the Church; that he was a Simoniack, a scandalous person, and a disturber of the Faith, and that as such he ought to be declared suspended from the government of the Church. Upon this demand which was made by the Solicitor and the Deputies of Nations, the Council declared him deprived of the administration of the Revenues of the Church, as well to spiritual as to temporal affairs, and forbade any to obey him, reserving still the Process against him to depose him entirely. This Sentence of Suspension was read by the Patriarch of *Antioch*, and approved by all the Fathers of the Council.

On Saturday the 25th. of *May* the 11th. Session was held, wherein the Solicitors of the Council presented in writing the heads of an accusation they had to propose against *John 23d.* containing an infinite number of crimes, that were either notorious or proved by witnesses, as lewdness and disorders in his youth, the purchasing of Benefices by Simony, his advancement to the dignity of a Cardinal by the same means, his tyranny while he was Legate at *Bononia*, his incests and adulteries while he was in that City, his poisoning of *Alexander V.* and his own Physician, his contempt of the Divine Offices after he was Pope, his neglecting to recite the canonical prayers, and to practise the fasts, abstinences and ceremonies of the Church, his denying justice, and oppressing the poor, his selling Benefices and Ecclesiastical Dignities to those that bid most, his authorizing an infinite number of dreadful abuses in distributing of preferments, and committing a thousand and a thousand cheats; his selling Bulls, Indulgences, Dispensations, and other spiritual Graces, his wasting the Patrimony of the Church of *Rome*, and mortgaging that of other Churches, his male-administration of the spiritual and temporal affairs of the Church; and lastly, his breaking the oath and promise he had made to renounce the Pontificate, by retiring shamefully from *Constance*, to maintain and continue the Schism. At the end of each Article, the number and quality of the witnesses that proved it were express'd, and a remark was made from time to time of the advice that had been given him to amend, notwithstanding which he had still continued in the same disorders.

While the Process was carried on against *John 23d.* in the Council, the Pope having fled from place to place, and being abandoned by the Duke of *Austria*, was conducted from *Fribourg*, by order of the Council, to the Castle of *Celle*, two Leagues distant from *Constance*; from whence he wrote on the 26th. of this Month a very submissive Letter to the Emperor, and sign'd a writing, wherein he promised to submit to what should be ordained by the Council. The next day, the Deputies of the Council went to meet him, and having repeated to him the heads of the charge that was given in against him, they required him to declare, whether he would oppose the continuation of the Process, or answer these accusations; he declared, that he had always laboured for the union of the Church, in the time of the Council of *Pisa*, and ever since that time; that he was heartily sorry for his shameful departure from *Constance*; that he had no defence to offer against what was objected to him; that he was ready to perform the promise he had made and sign'd the day before, and to conform in every thing to the determination of the Council; that he approved and ratified the Process made against him by the Council; that he would make no other defence against the heads of his charge, but by acknowledging that the Council of *Constance* was most holy, which could not err; and that it was a continuation of that at *Pisa*, which he would never contradict, though he were at *Bononia*, or in any other place; that he confessed he had no right to the Pontifical Dignity. The depositions of the witnesses were read to him, to which he made no other answer, but that the Council should be his defence. He was cited to appear on the morrow at Council,

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The Council of Constance. there to hear his Sentence; he said, that he approv'd and confirm'd it before-hand, only he recommended himself to the Council, and threw himself wholly upon them, both to take care of his Reputation, and provide for his Subsistence.

The Deposition of John 23d. The Bishop of *Lavaur*, who spoke in behalf of the Deputies, to Pope *John 23d.* made his Report to the Council in the 12th. Session, held on *May* the 29th. of the Answers he had receiv'd; and afterwards, upon the demand of the Proctor the Bishop of *Arras* read a Decree, in which the Council declar'd, that in case the Holy See should be vacant, none should proceed to the Election of a Pope, without the advice and consent of the General Council; and that if any were chosen otherwise, no Body should obey him. After this Declaration, the Definitive Sentence of the Council was read against *John 23d.* wherein it was declar'd, that the Clandestine Retreat of the Pope out of the City of *Constance*, was unlawful, scandalous, tending to the disturbance of the Peace and Union of the Church, and to continue the Schism, contrary to the Vow, Promise and Oath he had made to God, to the Church and the Council; that he was a notorious Schismatick, a Waster of the Revenues of the Church, a bad Administrator of Spiritual and Temporal Revenues; that he had brought a Scandal upon the Church by his Disorders; that because he had not amended after Admonition, he ought to be depriv'd of his Papal Dignity, and depos'd of which now the Council did actually deprive him and depose him; and declar'd, that all the Faithful were absolv'd from their Oath, and the Obedience due to him; forbad them to acknowledge or call him Pope; condemn'd him to be confin'd to a certain place, under the Guards of *Sigismund*, King of the *Romans* and *Hungary*; and reserv'd to themselves a Power of imposing other Penalties which his Crimes deserv'd, as should be agreed upon either according to the rigor of Justice, or the mitigation of Mercy. In a third Decree, the Council forbad to choose any of the three for Pope, who now pretended a right to the Pontificate, and in case any of them should be chosen, it declar'd the Election Null, and forbad all Persons to obey him, of whatsoever Condition they were. After the reading of these Acts, Cardinal *Viviers*, President of the Council, enquir'd if any one would contradict this Sentence; and no Body offering to oppose it, it was approv'd in the name of the College of Cardinals; and afterwards the Deputies of the five Nations, and generally all those who were present at the Council, declar'd, that they approved it. The Cardinal of *Florence* had a mind to read a Writing, which appear'd to be some Protestation, but all the rest oppos'd it, and he was forc'd to hold his Peace. After this, the Seals of *Balthazar Coffa* were broken, being presented by the Archbishop of *Riga*, Vice Chancellor.

In the thirteenth Session, held *June* the 15th. a Decree was read, wherein the Heresie of those was condemn'd, who blame the Custom of giving the Communion to the Laity in one kind only; and it was ordain'd, that this way shall be observ'd, and obtain the force of a Law, which cannot be rejected or altered without the Authority of the Church, and that all those who disobey'd shall be proceeded against. In this Session, Commissioners were appointed, to proceed against Hereticks.

The Renunciation of Gregory 12th. In the fourteenth Session, held *July* the 4th. at which the Emperor presided, the Cardinal of *Ragusa*, and *Charles* of *Malatesta*, Lord of *Rimini*, presented to the Council a Bull of *Angelus Corarius*, call'd by those of his Obedience *Gregory 12th.* wherein he approv'd and authoriz'd the Council, and all that it should do; together with an Instrument, whereby he empower'd *Charles Malatesta* to act in his Name, and to do whatever he should judge convenient; and another Instrument authorizing all that the Council should do. These Instruments being read by the Cardinal of *Ragusa*, the Council

The Council of Constance. approv'd them so far as was needful, united the College of Cardinals of *Gregory 12th.* to that of the Cardinals of *John 23d.* and ordain'd, that in the Acts, which should hereafter be pass'd in the Council, no mention should be made of the Pope or Holy See, but only of the Years of the Emperor *Sigismund*. Afterwards was read a Bull of *Gregory* containing expressly, that he empower'd *Charles Malatesta* to renounce or resign up his Right to the Pontificate: In pursuance whereof, *Charles Malatesta* ask'd the Council, whether they thought it convenient, that this Renunciation should be made at *Constance*, or that some should first be sent to *Nice*, to meet *Peter de Luna*. The Council answer'd by the Archbishop of *Milan*, that it was useful and expedient for promoting the Peace, That this Renunciation should be made at *Constance*, before any were sent to *Nice*, to know whether *Peter de Luna* would renounce or no. Afterwards the Council renew'd the Decree, prohibiting to proceed to a New Election of a Pope, but with the consent of the Council, and after such a manner as it should prescribe; and that the Council should not be dissolv'd until a Pope was chosen. The Emperor was entreated to take care of this matter, and to publish Declarations to this purpose, which he did. Then the Council confirm'd all that had been done Canonically by *Gregory* in his Obedience; declar'd the Processes to be Null; which were made for the cause of Schism; and that the Prohibition they had made to choose *Gregory* a-new, was not upon the account of his Incapacity; but only to promote the Peace, and avoid Scandal and Suspicion. The Council reserv'd to themselves also a Power, without doing wrong to any of the two Obediences, to take care of the Cardinals who had the same title, and receiv'd the Cardinals of *Gregory 12th.* confirm'd them in their Offices and Privileges; and lastly, pray'd the Emperor to provide for the safety of the Council, who immediately publish'd a Declaration upon this Subject. Afterwards, *Charles Malatesta*, as Proctor of *Gregory*, after a long and eloquent Discourse, made a pure and simple Renunciation and Resignation of the Pontificate, and dismiss'd all his Right which he might have to it. This Renunciation was accepted by the Council, who caus'd an Instrument to be drawn up, wherein they gave Power to the Proctors of the Council, to require *Peter de Luna* to renounce within ten Days his pretended right to the Papal Dignity; and if he should not do it, they declar'd him a notorious Schismatick, Incorrigible, Obstinate, Heretical, a Breaker of his Oaths, and unworthy of all Honour, and of all Pontifical Dignity, depos'd, depriv'd of all Right, which he had or could have to the Pontificate; forbad him to assume the title of Pope, and all the Faithful of whatsoever condition to obey him, or harbour him; enjoyn'd them to shun him, and treat him as a Schismatick, and a Disturber of the Peace of the Church, and a Heretick, and to do the same also to his Favourers. This Resolution was approv'd by Four Nations, by the Cardinal, and by the Emperor.

The fifteenth Session, held *July 6th.* was spent in making a Process against *John Huss*.

The sixteenth was held the 11th. of the same Month, in which the Council deputed Fifteen Commissioners to go into *Arragon*, and treat with *Peter de Luna* by concert with the Emperor. After this, several particular Regulations were made concerning the Persons of the Prelates, and the Acts of the Council.

In the seventeenth Session, *July* the 15th. the Council congratulated the Emperor upon the Journey he undertook into *Arragon*, to confer with King *Ferdinand*, and agree with him about the Means of finishing the Peace of the Church; and ordain'd Prayers to be made for the success of his Journey, and thunder'd out Excommunications against all those that should cross his Design. In the same Session, the Council in Consideration of the generous manner of *Gregory's* Renunciation, and the better to entice

The Council of Constance. entice *Peter de Luna* to do the same, confirm'd him in the Dignity of Cardinal Bishop, granted him the first place in the Sacred College, saving to the future Pope, in case that *Benedict* should also renounce voluntarily, the Power of ordering which of the two should have the precedency; declar'd him Legate to the Holy See for his whole Life, in *Marca de Ancona*, and in the Country of *Farse*; with the Jurisdiction annex'd to this Dignity; confirm'd all that he had done, even where there was some Default; and forbid any for ever to molest, or accuse him, or prosecute him either criminally or civilly upon any account whatsoever.

In the eighteenth Session, *August* the 17th. the Council made some provisional Orders, and nam'd Ambassadors for *Italy*, who were to regulate what was to be done in that Country, with *Angelus Corarius*, who had approv'd and confirm'd the Renunciation made in his Name in the Council by *Charles Malatesta*, and laid aside the Pontifical Robes.

In the nineteenth Session, *September* 23d. after they had treated of the Affair of *Jerome of Prague*, and some other Hereticks, two Orders were made; first, that the Beneficiaries who were present in the Council should enjoy the Revenues of the Benefices; and secondly, that the Provisions of Benefices granted by *John* 23d. should be confirm'd until the Day of his Suspension.

In the twentieth, on *November* 21st. they treated of the Difference between the Bishop of *Trent* and *Frederick*, Duke of *Austria*, concerning some Lands belonging to that Bishop which the Duke had usurp'd the Possession of; and the Council granted a Monitory under pain of Excommunication, Suspension and Interdict, against those that should detain any Profits of Places belonging to that Bishop.

The Agreement between Sigismund and the King of Arragon, about Benedict 13th. While these things were transacted at the Council, the Emperor went to *Narbonne*, and waited there some time for the King of *Arragon*, who was fall'n Sick at *Perpignan*, whither the Emperor went to meet him with the Ambassadors of the Council. The other Princes and Deputies of the City of the Obedience of *Benedict* were present, and *Benedict* himself came thither also after they had waited a long time for him; but notwithstanding the earnest Prayers of the Emperor, the Kings, the Princes and the People, he would not resolve to resign the Pontificate; and for fear lest he should be forc'd to do it, he retir'd secretly from *Perpignan*. After his Departure, the Princes and the People of his Obedience resolv'd to abandon him, and sent their Ambassadors to meet the Emperor and the Ambassadors of the Council, who were return'd to *Narbonne*, to treat with them. This Treaty was concluded on *December* the 13th. at *Narbonne*, on the following conditions: first, that the Prelates of the Council of *Constance* should call those of the Obedience of *Benedict*, by circular Letters sent by the King of *Arragon* to the Princes of that Obedience, to be given to their Prelates, to meet at the Council, within three Months after these Letters were deliver'd to the King of *Arragon*; and that the Kings and Princes of the Obedience of *Benedict* should write also circular Letters to call the Prelates of the other Obedience to meet at the Council of *Constance* at the same time. Secondly, That in these Letters, the reason of the Council's meeting should be express'd only in general terms viz. For the Extirpation of Schism and Heresies, for the Union of the *Roman Church*, for the Reformation of the Universal Church in its Head and Members, for the Election of one sole Pastor, and for other causes the cognizance whereof did of right pertain to a General Council: but that the Emperor and the Ambassadors of the Council should promise by a particular Instrument, that nothing should be ordain'd contrary to the Interest of the Kings, Princes and Prelates of the Obedience of *Benedict*. Thirdly, that the Prelates of that Obedience should be receiv'd into the Council as soon as they should come, and then

The Council of Constance. should proceed joyntly with the rest against *Benedict*, if he would not voluntarily renounce the Pontificate; that his Process should be form'd Juridically, and without any regard to what was done in the Council of *Pisa*; and that another Pope should not be chosen until his Deposition was first pronounc'd. Fourthly, that so far as was necessary, all the Processes, Judgments, Decrees, &c. made by *Gregory*, *John* 23d. or their Predecessors should be declared Null, and even those made by the Council of *Pisa* against *Benedict* and his Adherents, and that they could not any ways proceed against them upon the account of the past Schism. Fifthly, that all the Provisions and Graces granted by *Benedict* to the Princes, Prelates, and others of his Obedience, should be approv'd and confirm'd. Sixthly, that the Cardinals of his College should enjoy all the Dignities and Privileges of their Cardinalship. Seventhly, That Provision should be made for the Officers of his Court. Eighthly, that in case *Benedict* should happen to dye before his Renunciation or Deposition, the Princes of his Obedience should not suffer another Pope to be chosen in their Dominions; and that if one should be chosen they should not acknowledge or allow him, but remit the Election to a General Council, and own him whom they should approve. Ninthly, that the Cardinals of the different Obediences, who shall be found to have the same Title, shall retain it while the Council continues; and that before the end of the Council, Provision shall be made for the Honour and Maintenance of both of them. Tenthly, that Passports and Securities shall be given to *Benedict*, and all those of his Obedience, who have a mind to come to the Council. Eleventhly, that the Emperor and Ambassadors of the Council shall be oblig'd by Oath to cause the preceding Articles to be approv'd and perform'd by the Prelates of the Council. Twelfthly, that the Dispatches of this Instrument shall be deliver'd to the Parties as there shall be occasion.

This Treaty was brought to *Constance* by the Ambassadors of the Council, and read in a General Congregation held *January* 30th. in the Year 1416. at which it was approv'd and sign'd by the Cardinals and other Prelates of the Council.

In the twenty first Session, on *May* 30th. they treated of nothing but the Affair of *Jerome of Prague*, who was there condemn'd.

In the twenty second, held on the 15th. of *October*, the Ambassadors of *Alphonfus* King of *Arragon*, who had succeeded his Father *Ferdinand*, took their Seats in the Council, and after reading the Letters of the Prelates at *Constance*, directed to the King of *Arragon*, for calling them to the Council, the Ambassadors of this Prince on their Part made a Convocation of the Council, which was accepted by the Prelates, who desir'd they should proceed to conclude the Union according to the Tenor of the third Article of the Treaty sign'd at *Narbonne*. The Ambassadors answer'd, that they would unite themselves to the Council, which Union the Council accepted of, and then they took their Seats on the same Bench with the Ambassadors of the King of *France*; after such a manner that the Count of *Cardone*, first Ambassador of *Arragon*, had his Seat next to *Gerson*, who was chief of the Ambassadors of *France*, and the others were plac'd alternatively; but not till those of *France* had first made their Protestations, that this should not prejudice the Right of Preference which belong'd to the Ambassadors of the *French King*, nor give the Right of an Alternative Seat to the King of *Arragon*; which Protestations were admitted by the Ambassadors of the King of *Arragon* and the Council. The Ambassadors of *Arragon* were allow'd the Right of giving their Suffrages in the Name of all the Prelates, not only of their own Kingdom, but also of their Obedience, until the Ambassadors of other Princes of the same Obedience should arrive; and after this, the Council

The Council of Constance. The Council approved, allowed and confirmed the Articles of the Treaty of *Narbonne*.

In the 23^d. Session, on *November* the 5th. the Process against *Peter de Luna* was commenced, who had retired to the Castle of *Paniscole*, a strong place of *Aragon*, by the Sea-side, near to *Tortose*; and for that end Commissioners were named to go and inform summarily against him at these places which were nearest to *Paniscole*; and in the twenty fourth Session, held the 28th. of the same Month, a citation was read, which was to be given him to appear before the Council.

The Ambassadors of the Count of *Foix* were received in the 25th. Session, held the 14th. of *December*, and those of the King of *Navarre* in the 26th. on the 24th. of the same Month.

In the 27th. *February* the 20th. and the 28th. *March* the 3^d. in the Year 1417. they proceeded against *Frederick* Duke of *Austria*, who had possessed himself of the Revenues of the Bishop of *Trent*, and had detained him prisoner.

In the 29th. on *March* the 8th. the Council named Officers for instructing a Process against *Peter de Luna*; and the Proctor demanded, that the 100th. day being come, on which he was to appear, he should be summoned at the Church-gate, which was done; but he not being present, the Proctor required that he should be declared contumacious, the consideration wherof the Council put off to a further day.

In the 30th. Session, held the 29th. of the same Month, the Commissioners of the Council reported after what manner they had cited *Peter de Luna*, and the answer he had given them, and caused to be read the Instrument which they had drawn up about it. The Council approved the subtraction of obedience made by the King of *Aragon*, and revoked a Bull published to the contrary by *Benedict*.

In the 31st. Session, held the last day of the same Month, nothing was done about the affair of *Peter de Luna*; but a Monitory was decreed against the Count of *Vertus*, who kept the Bishop of *Aske* prisoner; and the difference was determined between the two Bishops of *Baionne*, one of the obedience of *John* 23^d. and the other of that of *Benedict* 13th. in favour of the latter, on condition nevertheless, that if he should dye, the Chapter of *Baionne* might supersede it at a new Election, as they should agree about it with the King of *Aragon*.

In the 32^d. Session, held the 1st. of *April*, *Peter de Luna* was summoned again three times; who not appearing, nor any body for him, Commissioners were named to instruct his Process, and to take the depositions of witnesses against him.

Peter de Luna was again cited in the 33^d. Session held the 12th. of *May*, and in the 34th. held the 5th. of *June*, the Commissioners made their report of the articles and depositions of the witnesses.

The Ambassadors of *John* King of *Castile* and *Lyons* were received in the 35th. Session, held on the 18th. of the same Month, with the same ceremonies that had been used to those of the King of *Aragon*, and the subtraction of obedience from *Benedict*, made by the King of *Castile*, was approved. The Count of *Armagnac* being the only person of all the Princes of the obedience of *Benedict* who had not sent to the Council, the Proctor enquired if any person was there in his name; whereupon *Gerson* rose up and said, that the Ambassadors of the King of *France* had a writing, by which it appeared to be the intention of this Count to follow the example of the King: The Proctors remonstrated, that this was not sufficient, and protested publicly against him.

In the 36th. Session held the 22^d. of *July*, the Council ordered, that a new citation against *Benedict* should be fixed up, whereby he should be summoned to appear the 26th. of *July*, to hear the definitive Sentence pronounced against himself: All the Processes made and Judgments given by *Benedict* 15th. against the Princes, or others who had

withdrawn their obedience, were made null and void.

Lastly, in the 37th. Session on the 26th. of the same Month, at which the Emperor *Sigismund* was present, *Peter de Luna* was declared contumacious, and condemned as a perjurd person, who gave scandal to the Universal Church, favour'd an old Schism, and disturbed the peace of the Church, as a Schismatick, Heretick, and unworthy of all title, honour and dignity, deprived of all right he could have to the Pontificate, separated from the Church; and lastly, deposed by the Council, who forbade all the faithful of whatsoever quality and condition to obey him, or harbour him; and declared all the Sentences, Processes, Prohibitions, Censures and Constitutions contrary to this Decree to be null and void.

In the 38th. Session held the 28th. of the same Month, the Council revoked severally the Decrees made against the Ambassadors of *Henry* the Infant of *Castile*, and gave the Ambassadors of *Castile*, *Portugal* and *Navarre*, the same right of giving Votes for their Nations, which had been granted to those of *Aragon*. Towards the latter end of this Session, there were great contests between the Cardinals and Nations of *Italy* and *Spain* on the one side, and the Emperor and the Nations of *Germany* on the other side, concerning the matters which were to be treated of in the Council. The *Germans* endeavoured with all their might, that the Council should take care to make Decrees for the reformation of the Church in its Head, before they proceeded to the election of a Pope; and the Cardinals on the contrary, had a mind to begin with the election of a Pope, who should afterwards take care of the reformation of the Church. This contest lasted almost three Months, and the Cardinals made a Protestation against the *German* Nation; but at last it was agreed, that the Council should draw up the Articles for reforming the Head of the Church and the Court of *Rome*; and that it should be ordained, that the Pope who should be chosen, should make this reformation before the dissolution of the Council.

In the 39th. Session on the 9th. of *October*, the Council considering that the frequent celebration of General Councils was a means most proper to extirpate Schisms and Heresies, and to reform abuses and disorders, made a Decree, by which they ordained, that another General Council should be held five Years after the end of this, a third, seven Years after the end of the second, and for the future one should be held every ten Years, in such places as the Pope should appoint at the end of each Council, with the consent and approbation of the Council it self: That his Holiness with the advice of the Cardinals might shorten this time, but not prolong it, and that he could not change the place without necessity; in which case he must give notice, and appoint another place a Year before-hand: That in case of Schism, as soon as any two persons appeared who took upon them the title of Popes, the Council should be held the next Year, and all those who were wont to be present at the Council should immediately resort thither: That the two Competitors should be suspended from all administration and all power, as soon as the Council was opened: That in case any election of a Pope should be made by violence or a considerable fright, it should be null; but that the Cardinals could not proceed to a new election, until the Council had judged of the validity of that which had been made; and that if they should proceed to do it the election should be null, and they should be deprived of their right to choose, and be degraded from their dignities. The Council after this prescribed a form of Faith which the Popes should be bound to profess for the future after their election, and added to it two Constitutions; one by which they forbid to translate Prelates against their will to other Churches, and the other by which they abolished the right which the Pope assumed to himself of receiving the Revenues of deceased Prelates, and the

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The Deposition of Benedict XIII.

the exactions of the rights of Visitation and Pro-
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In the 40th. Session held *October* the 30th. a Decree of the Council was published, wherein they ordained, that the future Pope shall join with the Council, or with those that shall be deputed by the Nations, in taking care to reform the Church in its Head and Members; and also the Court of *Rome*, according to equity, and as was necessary for the good government of the Church, before the Council should be dissolved, upon the Articles presented by the Nations, which are, 1. Concerning the number and quality of the Cardinals. 2. About reservations made to the Holy See. 3. Concerning Annates. 4. About the collation of Benefices, and the *Promises of them when they shall be vacant*. 5. About confirmations of Elections. 6. About causes which ought to be pleaded at *Rome* or elsewhere. 7. About Appeals to the Court of *Rome*. 8. About the offices of the Chancery and the Penitentiary. 9. About Exemptions and Unions made during the Schism. 10. About Commendams. 11. About the profits of vacant Benefices. 12. Against the alienation of the Revenues of the *Roman Church*. 13. About those things for which the Pope ought to be punished or deposed. 14. About the extirpation of Simony. 15. About Dispensations. 16. About provisions in the name of the Pope and the Cardinals. 17. About Indulgences. 18. About Tythes.

The Con-
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Annates.

All these Articles were disputed between the Nations and the Cardinals, but that about Annates was longest debated, for most voices among the Nations carried it, that Annates were not at all due, and that this claim of right ought not to be suffered; and that so much the rather because *John 23d.* had abused it extravagantly, by exacting many Annates of vacant Benefices several times in the same Year. The Cardinals on the contrary were of opinion, that these abuses ought to be reformed, but the right of Annates and mean services should be maintained, and caused an Article to be drawn up after the following manner: That the Tax set down in the Registers of the Apostolick Chamber shall be paid for vacant Churches and Monasteries, to furnish the Pope and Cardinals with means for their maintenance; that if any of these Taxes were exorbitant they should be reformed; that they should be paid but once for one Church or Monastery, in case it should happen to be vacant twice in one Year. This project being communicated to the Nations, they consulted about seven days, and at last concluded, that Annates ought to be wholly taken away for the time past, the present and the future. The Cardinals defended this right by *John de Scribanis* their Proctor, who appealed from this conclusion to the future Pope. The Nation of *France*, who had the greatest hand in this affair, gave a large answer to this Appeal, wherein they give a reason for the resolution of the Nations, and maintained that the Annates cannot be defended by any privilege, custom or prescription; that excepting the Benefices vacant in *Curia*, there is no rule of Law which favours these Annates; that the original of them came from a reservation which *John 23d.* made of one part of the Revenues of Dignities and Benefices, except Abbies, for a certain journey beyond sea, and other urgent occasions; that upon this account the Church pays nothing for Abbies in *England*; that this Pope also excepted the Bishopricks, and made divers restrictions to his ordinance; that since his time many Popes had made the like reservation for certain causes which they expressed; that the Clergy, Princes and People had sometimes endured them, but being at other times found too chargeable, they had refused to pay them, as they had done in *England*, and that they might do it with reason and justice, especially, because the causes for which they were at first established had now ceased; that the granting the Revenue of one Year of Prelacies and vacant Abbies, was introduced by the voluntary and free oblation which some

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of those whose election was confirmed, made to the Holy See; that it had the name of *Common Service*, because it was divided among the Officers of the Court of *Rome*, and that afterwards a Law was made to oblige Men to do it under pretence of custom; that a valuation had been made of Benefices; that this exaction was simoniacal, or at least suspected of Simony, and therefore could not be authorized by any custom or prescription; that altho' Annates might lawfully be exacted, yet it was convenient to abolish them upon the account of the complaints, violences, scandals, oppressions and quarrels they had caused, and did cause every day; that *France* had been forced to take them away by provision; that it had demanded the suppression of them from the Pope, who had promised it, and did still demand the same at present of the Council. Afterwards they answered the reasons alledged by *John de Scribanis* to oppose the resolution of the Nations, and justify the Annates. He objected as to the manner in which this resolution was made, that they had not proceeded to a scrutiny, nor proposed the thing to the Deputies of the Nations. To this it was answered, that there was no Law made for deliberating always by the way of scrutiny, and that there were many affairs by which they had consulted only *viva voce*; but that this at first had been carried to the Deputies of the Nations, according to custom. As to the matter it was alledged, that it must needs be granted, that the inferior Churches, which were descended from the Church of *Rome*, should furnish the Pope and the Cardinals with necessaries. To which it was answered, that the Bishop of *Rome* had Revenues sufficient for his subsistence as well as other Bishops, and in case they were not sufficient, the Clergy of his own City and Diocess, and even those of other Churches, might grant him Annates, by way of charitable relief, for a time, and with regard to his present necessities, but not as a debt of perpetual obligation: That moreover, altho' the Church of *Rome* was the chief, and the mistress of all other Churches, upon the account of the virtues and merits of *St. Peter*, and those who had been her first Bishops, (for as to the latter Bishops they did not at all resemble the primitive) yet it was not true that it had preceded all others, since the *Greek Church* was the first in the order of time: That as to the Cardinals, they might be considered either as Curates and Bishops of their titles, (and in this quality they ought to discharge the function of Curates and Bishops) or as Counsellors to the Pope; but that they were by no means Coadjutors to the Pope: That this title belongs to the Bishops, who are above the Cardinals by Divine Right, altho' these at present are advanced above them, and despise them; that they are rich and powerful enough upon their own accounts to maintain their dignity; that as to the possession which *Scribanis* alledged and pretended the Pope and Cardinals had even in the Kingdom of *France*, it was answered, that they never had a title to establish that possession, and that if at any time they received Annates, it was only by permission and sufferance: That the sums which the Pope exacted by means of Annates were excessive, since they amounted, according to the taxation of the Apostolick Chamber, for the Bishopricks and Abbies of *France* only, to the sum of 697750 Livres of Revenue, which would make up almost 7 Millions for all the Nations; that the Pope and Cardinals had Revenue enough without this; and that by other ways the Nation of *France* paid them betwixt 60000 and 70000 Livres of Revenue: That if this Nation concerns it self more in this affair than the rest, it is because there is none that is tax'd higher; for the Apostolick Chamber takes nothing in *England* but the Revenue of the vacancy of some Bishopricks, which are but few, and the Cardinals are not suffered to possess any Benefices there: That nothing is received from all *Spain*; that the Benefices of *Italy* are of small value; that when the States find themselves tax'd too high, they forbid

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to give any thing, as was lately done by *Florence*, which deprived the Holy See for 5 Years of the collation of Benefices in that State, upon the account of the abuse committed by *John XXIII.* in the collation of an Abby. Lastly, that in *Germany* there are only some Churches from which the Apostolick Chamber receives any thing, and that in others nothing is given to the Pope; that even the Apostolick Letters are not received there, but only so far as the Bishops please, who do often refuse their *Vidimus*; that there is no Nation but *France* that is overcharged, because it has been obedient and well-affected. After this, they discovered the weakness of *John de Scribanis's* answers to their objections against Annates, and particularly confuted the reasons he made use of to excuse them from Simony. From whence they concluded, that the appeal of *Scribanis*, and the other appeals of the Cardinals to the future Pope upon this head, ought not to be admitted; that no respect of persons ought to be shewn in this case; and that the Nation of *France* did not mean to shew any, nor to change their resolution in any thing, but to endeavour the reception of it in the Council, and in all other places, as occasion should require.

Notwithstanding this opposition, the Article remain'd in the same form that it was drawn up by the Cardinals; but no more was spoken of it after the election of the Pope: And this Article, as well as the greater part of those which concerned the reformation of the Court of *Rome*, were never published, nor confirmed by Pope *Martin V.* tho' the contrary was agreed upon in this Session.

The Council ordained afterwards, that they should proceed to the election of a Pope, notwithstanding the absence of the Cardinals of *Peter de Luna*, on condition nevertheless, that if they should come before the election was finished, and unite themselves to the Council, they should be admitted to give their Votes: And to the end that this election might be the more solemn, it was ordered, that for this time only, 6 Prelates of each Nation should be join'd to the Cardinals; and that he who should be chosen by two Thirds of the Cardinals, and by two Deputies of each Nation should be acknowledged for Pope.

The Election of Martin V.

In the 41st. Session held *November* the 8th. Deputies were named, who were to be join'd to the Cardinals to elect a Pope; the Articles were read to which they were to swear, and the manner of their behaviour in the Conclave was settled. They entered into it the same day, and on *Thursday* following, which was the Festival of *St. Martin*, they did all with one voice choose for Pope *Odon Colonna* Cardinal-deacon, having the title of *St. George*, who assumed the Name of *Martin V.* upon the account of the day of his election; he was enthron'd the same day, and crown'd the 21st. of the same Month.

He presided in the 42^d. Session, which was not held till the 28th. of *December*, and there he caused to be read a Bull, by which he discharged the Emperor *Sigismund* and the Duke of *Bavaria*, from the trouble of keeping *Balthazar Cossa*, and obliged them to deliver him into the hands of those whom he should name to receive him.

In the 43^d. Session held the 21st. of *March*, in the Year 1418. Pope *Martin V.* published some Constitutions for the reformation of the Church: The 1st. about Exemptions, wherein he recalls all those that had been granted by the Popes since the death of *Gregory XI.* The 2^d. concerning the Unions, which he ordered to be examin'd anew. The 3^d. about the Revenues of vacant Churches, which he forbade any to apply to the benefit of the Pope or the Apostolick Chamber. The 4th. about Simony, which is committed in Elections, Postulations and Collations. The 5th. whereby he annul'd all the Licenses granted by the Popes to possess Benefices which require one of the Holy Orders, without being obliged to take it. The 6th. whereby he forbade to impose Tents or other Taxes upon Churches or Ecclesiastical Persons, ex-

cept for some great advantage which concerned the Universal Church, with the consent of the Cardinals and Prelates of the places. The 7th. wherein he renewed the Laws about the modest Habits of Clergymen. The 8th. wherein he declares that by the preceding Constitutions, and by the Concordats made with each Nation, he had satisfied the Decree concerning reformation, made in the Session of the 30th. of *October* last, by which means he eluded the reformation of the Cardinals and the Court of *Rome*, which had been decreed in the Council.

The Council of Constance.

The news of the election of *Martin V.* being carried into *France*, and *Louis de Flisque* being sent to communicate it to the King, this Prince held an Assembly of Prelates, of his Counsellors, his Court of Parliament, and the University, wherein it was resolv'd, that the Edict of the Year 1406. should remain in force, and that for the future in Cathedral, Collegiate and Conventual Churches, and other elective Benefices, they should be provided for by the Election or Postulation of the Chapters, Colleges and Communities, as well Regular as Secular; and that as to other Benefices which were not elective, they should be provided for by the Presentations, Collations, and Institutions of those to whom it belong'd of common right, or by custom or privilege, notwithstanding and without having regard to any general or special reservations from any person whatsoever. On the 26th. of *February* 1418, the Dauphin coming to Parliament, forbade the University to acknowledge or obey the Pope chosen at *Constance*, until the King and his Council should order it. Nevertheless he was acknowledged for lawful Pope; but because the Council, in spite of the pressing solicitations of the Ambassadors of *France*, would not take care to reform the Court of *Rome*, the regulation made in 1406. concerning the Collation of Benefices, was confirmed anew in *France*.

The Regulation made in France about the Discipline of the Church.

There remained no more to be done by Pope *Martin V.* for satisfying the Decrees made by the Council before his election, but to appoint the place where the future Council was to be held; which he did in the 44th. Session, *April* the 19th. wherein he read the Constitution for appointing the future Council at *Pavia*.

In fine, on the 22^d. of the same Month the last Session of the Council of *Constance* was held, wherein, after the Mass of the Holy Ghost, *Umbaud* Cardinal-deacon, by the order of the Pope and the Council, said, *Sirs, go in Peace*; and those who were present answered *Amen*. The Ambassadors of *Poland* demanded the condemnation of a Book of *John de Falkenberg*, which contain'd most cruel Errors and Heresies, and had been condemned by the Deputies of the Nations. Whereupon *Martin V.* made answer, that he approved whatever had been determined, concluded and ordain'd, in matters of Faith by the Council; that he approved and ratified what was done in it conciliarly, and not what was done in it after another manner, *i.e.* That which had been concluded only by the Nations, and had not been approved in the general Assembly of the Council, as the Decrees of reformation proposed in Session 40th. the condemnation of the errors of *John Petit* and *Falkenberg*. *Gerson* remonstrated, that there were yet many Articles to be decided in that Council, about matters which had been already debated, and chiefly about divers errors, that if they were not condemned some would impute this omission to an affected negligence, about things which require a very particular care and attention, and which are of the greatest consequence, such as the error of *John Petit*, that every Tyrant might lawfully be killed; that others would believe it was through ignorance that they would not decide some propositions which are not of the first Principles of Faith, whether they are true or false, holy or impious, and whether they ought to be received or rejected; others would pretend that they used respect of persons, or were moved by the fear of Man, which would make these

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murmur against whom they had proceeded in Matters of Faith, as the *Bohemians*; others would say, there was a denial of Justice in matters of Faith and Manners, or at least a blameable Dissimulation; a great many would impute it to the covetousness of the Prelates, who sought nothing but their own profit in the Reformation of the Church, and not the spiritual good of others: Some would observe that it was a contempt of Kings, Princes and Universities, as of the King of *France*, of *Poland*, and the University of *Paris*; others would imagine, that they intended nothing but to weaken the power of Ordinaries in their Dioceses, and commit all Authority to the Court of *Rome*: Others would impute it to the corruption of Manners in the Prelates of the Council, or to the negligence of the Ambassadors of Princes and the Universities, who had not done their Duty: Many would maintain, that this would weaken the Authority of what the Council had done; that it would expose the truth, and those that preach'd it to Danger; that it would give occasion to Murders, Perjuries, and Seditions; that it would be so far from procuring the Conversion of Hereticks, that it would confirm them in their errors, that this would give occasion of slackening Obedience to the Pope newly chosen, and afford matter of Derision to Infidels, and the Partizans of *Peter de Luna*, who would laugh to see that in the presence of the Council errors were suffer'd or over-look'd; and lastly, that this silence might pass for a tacit Approbation of the error. *Gerson* made these Protestations and gave them in Writing; but no Answer was made to him, nor any regard had to what he said. The Ambassadors of *Poland* insisted upon the demand of the condemnation of the seditious Book of *Falkenberg*, which at least warranted the Massacre of all the *Polonians* without hearing them; and when they saw that no Satisfaction was given them, they appeal'd to the future Council. The Pope oppos'd this Appeal with a Decree, wherein he declar'd that it was not lawful in any Case to appeal from the Judgment of the Pope, which, as *Gerson* remarks, destroy'd a Decree of the Council, and subverted the fundamental Maxim upon which it was establish'd. However, the Bull of *Martin 5th.* containing the Prohibition of appealing to the Council, was not read, nor approv'd in this Session of the Council, but publish'd in a private Assembly of the Cardinals.

In the mean time, Pope *Martin 5th.* without any regard to the remonstrances of *Gerson*, or the demands of the Ambassadors of *Poland*, put an end to the Council, by causing to be read a Constitution, wherein he gave leave to all who had been present in the Council to return to their own Houses, with plenary Indulgences for them and their Domesticks. Thus ended the Council of *Constance*, which seem'd to have wholly extinguish'd the Schism; yet it was not so fully done, but there remain'd still some sparks of it. And as to what concerns the Reformation of the Church in its Head and Members, which was another end of the Council, it was scarce begun but it was put off to another time.

The Sequel of the Council.

Gregory 12th. and *John 23d.* held to that which was decreed in the Council; the former died at *Recanati*, even before the Council was ended; the second having brib'd his Guards with money, deliver'd himself out of Prison, and came to *Florence* to cast himself at the Feet of *Martin 5th.* and implore his mercy: The Pope receiv'd him very courteously, made him Cardinal and Dean of the Sacred College, and gave him a Place more eminent than the rest. He enjoy'd but a little while this consolation, for within six Months after, being weary of leading a private Life, he died at *Florence*, where a sumptuous Funeral was made for him.

The obstinacy of Benedict 13th.

There remain'd now only *Benedict 13th.* who was shut up in the Castle of *Paniscole*, where he preserv'd still the Name and the Ensigns of the Papal Dig-

nity, being accompanied with four Cardinals. *Martin 5th.* sent the Cardinal of *St. Eusebe a Florentine*, his Legate in *Arragon* to enjoin him, under the Penalty of Ecclesiastical Censures, to resign. The Cardinals that were with him remonstrated to him, that he ought to do it for the Benefit of the Peace. He answer'd them after his usual manner, that he would personally confer with his Competitor, to see what he would do about it: Upon this Answer two of his Cardinals forsook him, and there remain'd only two with him, whereof one was a *Carthusian*, and the other was call'd *Julian of Obla*. Then all *Spain* acknowledg'd *Martin*; the *Scots* quickly follow'd the example, and at last the subjects of the Count of *Armagnac*, so that all the Authority of *Benedict* was confin'd to the Castle of *Paniscole*. Nevertheless some time after, King *Alphonso* being exasperated against *Martin* the Pope, because he had invested *Louis 3d.* Duke of *Anjou* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, had a mind to revive the pretensions of *Benedict*, and sent an Ambassador to the Council which was to be held at *Sienna*, to endeavour that *Benedict* might be own'd, and *Martin* reject'd; which was one cause wherefore *Martin* put off the Council to another time. At last *Benedict* dying in his Contumacy, in the Year 1424. the Cardinals that remain'd about him, chose for Pope *Giles de Munion*, a Canon of *Barcelona*, a *Spaniard*, who took upon him the Name of *Clement 7th.* created Cardinals, and did all the Acts of a Pope: But some time after *Martin 5th.* having accommodated the Difference with the King of *Arragon*, and appointed the Cardinal of *Foix* for his Legate in *Spain*, *Clement* was forc'd to resign into his Hands all his pretended Rights; and that he might do it with some show of Honour, he publish'd a Bull on the 26th. of *July*, 1429. wherein he declares, that altho' his Right to the Papal Dignity was clear and undoubted, yet he counted it his Glory to sacrifice it for the benefit of peace, and therefore he renounc'd it, purely, freely and simply, without deceit or fear. On the same Day, three of his Cardinals having entred into a kind of Conclave, made a show of Electing *Odon Colonna*, who had been recogniz'd by *Clement* before his Renunciation; and all Processes made against him, or others upon the account of Schism, were annull'd. They gave him, also the Name of *Martin 5th.* and ordain'd, that he should be acknowledg'd for Pope by all the Faithful. On the *Saturday* following, being the 13th. of *August*, *Giles de Munion*, his three Cardinals, and the Inhabitants of *Paniscole*, came to the Legate's Palace, near the Town of *St. Matthew*, three Leagues distance from *Paniscole*, to pay their Devoirs to *Martin V's* Legate, and swear obedience to him: But the next Day, having entred into the Church to celebrate, and hear there the Divine Offices, the Legate gave order, that they should be put out of the Church, because he had not taken off the Censures past against them, nor restor'd the Ecclesiasticks; and after he had celebrated Divine Service in their absence, he caus'd them to come to his Palace, where they took an Oath to obey *Martin 5th.* Afterwards one of the Ambassadors of the King of *Arragon*, who had been present at all this Negotiation, demanded in the Name of the Legate, Absolution and Restoration; they also join'd their prayers with those of the Ambassador to that purpose, and upon their Prayers the Legate gave them Absolution, and restor'd them. *Giles de Munion* was promoted to the Bishoprick of *Majorca*. The Cardinals who had been lately created, voluntarily renounc'd their Dignity of Cardinal; the two ancient Cardinals had been put in Prison, where they died in a little time after of vexation and misery. Thus this Schism was wholly abolish'd after it had lasted 51 Years, and *Martin 5th.* remain'd the sole and only Pope acknowledg'd by all the West.

The Council of Constance.

The death of Benedict.

The Election of Clement 7th.

The Renunciation of Clement 7th. and the end of the Schism.

C H A P. III.

The History of the Councils of Basil and Florence; of the Differences between the Fathers of Basil and Eugenius; of the Election of Felix; of the Union of the Greeks, and the Extinction of the Schism of the Popes under Nicholas V.

The Councils of Basil and Florence, &c.

Martin 5th. enters Rome.

After the dissolution of the Council of *Constance*, *Martin 5th.* return'd into *Italy*, and was there receiv'd with Joy. He went strait to *Florence*, and there he reduc'd *Bononia* which had revolted after the departure of *John 23d.* and retook some part of the Cities of the Patrimony of *St. Peter*, which divers Lords had invaded. He erected the Bishoprick of *Florence* into an Archbishoprick, and subjected to it the Bishopricks of *Voltere*, *Pistoja*, and *Fiesoli*. At last being call'd back by the *Romans*, he made his entry into *Rome* on the 19th. of *September* in the Year 1421, amidst the joyful Shouts and Acclamations of the People; and finding this City dispeopled, and ruin'd by the disorders which the late troubles had produc'd there, he took care to restore it to its ancient splendor. *Louis Duke of Anjou* came into *Italy*, and was invested by the Pope in the Kingdom of *Sicily*, whereof *Alphonfus King of Arragon* was possess'd.

The Negotiation of Martin with the Greeks to obtain an Union.

At the beginning of the Pontificate of *Martin 5th.* two Deputies arriv'd from the *Greeks*, *Eudemon Joannes*, and *Andrew of Rhodes*, who made some Proposals for the Union of the two Churches. The Pope was not averse to it; and the better to procure the good will of *Manuel Paleologus* Emperor of the *Greeks*, and of *John* his Son who govern'd during his Father's Sickness, and of the Lords of their Court, he sent back *Eudemon* with Presents, and Ladies of Quality, whom he might give in marriage to the *Greek* Lords; particularly the Daughter of the Duke of *Montferrat*, who was to marry *John Paleologus*; and the Daughter of the Duke of *Urban* to marry *Theodore* his Brother. And that he might shew how willing he was to succour the *Greeks*, he publish'd Indulgences for all Christian Princes that would defend the *Hexamile*, i. e. the Wall that shuts up the Entrance of *Peloponnesus*, to hinder the *Saracens* from making themselves masters of it. But these Indulgences had not Vertue enough to engage any one in the defence of this Barrier, which was ruin'd a little while after by the Infidels. The Pope wrote at the same time two Letters of compliment to the Emperor, and one to *Joseph* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, wherein he gave him the title of Archbishop of *New Rome*, and call'd him Brother. These Letters were deliver'd by *Eudemon*, who set a high value upon the Pope's good Designs, and stirr'd up the Emperor and the Patriarch to concur with him in them. It was now 30 Years since a Legate from the Pope was seen at *Constantinople*, for from the Pontificate of *Urban 6th.* and the Patriarchate of *Nile*, these two Churches had held no Correspondence. *Michael Chrysoloras* had brought some Letters to the Patriarch *Matthew*, which he had answer'd; but his Negotiation was not publick, and nothing came of it. At this time the Emperor and the Patriarch wrote to the Pope, thank'd him for the singular Affection he shew'd to them, and the desire he had to procure Peace, and acquainted him at the same time, that the only Means to compass this design was to call together a free Oecumenical Council, wherein the articles and points controverted might be examin'd with sincerity and a spirit of peace, and those Doctrines might be defin'd which shall be prov'd by Passages of the ancient Fathers, and wherein all the World was agreed: that this Council could not assemble any where but at *Constantinople*; and according to ancient Custom,

it belong'd to the Emperor to call it. These Letters were sent into the West by a Monk who accompanied *Eudemon*: To which the Pope made answer, and consented at last that the Council should be held in *Greece*; but the Emperor demanded of him, that he would defray the necessary expences for the Maintenance and Entertainment of the Prelates that should come to the Council.

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Sometime after, the Pope sent to *Constantinople* *Anthony Massanus* Doctor of Divinity, of the Order of Friars Minors, in the quality of his Nuncio, to agree upon the place and time of the Council: He arriv'd there the 10th. of *September* in the Year 1422. and the 16th. of the same Month he had Audience of the Emperor, to whom he presented his Credential Letters from the Pope, and made nine Proposals in his Name: Which contain 1. That the Pope did ardently desire the Union of the two Churches. 2. That the Schism and Division was the cause of an infinite number of Evils, and that the Empire of the *Greeks* was in danger of being suddenly destroy'd, unless they were reunited to the *Roman Church*. 3. That *Theodore* and *Eudemon* had signified to him the desire of the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and the Emperor, to procure an Union of the *Greeks* to the *Latin Church*, according to the Faith which the Church of *Rome* holds, and by paying it that Obedience which is due. 4. That upon this promise the Pope had immediately nam'd the Cardinal of *St. Angelo* Legate *a latere*, for the *Greek Church*; that this Cardinal was gone into *Spain*, before he could travel to *Constantinople*, because the Season was not favourable for a Journey into *Greece*, and he was inform'd that Matters were not yet ripe at *Constantinople* for holding of a Council. 5. That this Cardinal had received Letters from *Theodore* and some others, which declare, that there was no appearance then that a Council could be held at *Constantinople*, because of the War with the *Turks*, and that there was no preparation made for the Council; and this had made him put off the Journey of the Legate. 6. That the Pope had sent one in the Quality of Nuncio, for this reason among others, that he might prepare a Council of Prelates from all *Greece*, lest they fall into the Inconvenience which happen'd at the Council of *Lyons*, wherein a Treaty of Union was made which the *Greeks* would not approve of, under pretence that it was made without holding a Council in *Greece*: That he was come therefore to learn, at what time, and in what place the Prelates would assemble, and for what end, because he would not fail to attend them there to dispute about the Faith. 7. That he was commanded to enquire of the Patriarch and the Emperor, whether they would embrace the Faith of the Church of *Rome*, and obey the Pope, even tho' the *Greek Prelates* assembled in a Council would not. 8. That in case they should promise and would perform their promise the Pope would promise to them on his part ready Assistance from the Kings of *Arragon* and *Castile*, and other Princes of *Europe*. In fine he declar'd, that if they would name the place and the design of the Council, the Pope would send his Legate *a latere* to assist at it. The Emperor communicated these Proposals to the Patriarch and his Ministers, but no answer was given till the 14th. of *November*. His answer was to this effect, that he had not given Order to *Eudemon* *Joannes* and the Bishop

The Councils of Basil and Florence, &c. Bishop *Theodorus* to declare, that he was ready to unite himself to the *Roman Church* without any condition, but that a General Council must be held like the first Councils, wherein they might decree what the Holy Spirit should inspire them with; that the place of the Council should be the City of *Constantinople*; that being unable to furnish the expences necessary for holding of the Council, he pray'd the Pope to provide them; that he could wish things were in such a condition that the Council might presently assemble, but that the whole Country being now filled with enemies upon the account of the War, it was impossible to make the Bishops come thither from *Asia* and *Europe*; that as soon as God should restore peace he would write immediately to the Pope; and that if he would furnish the expences, an Assembly should be held before the end of the Year, wherein the matter should be concluded; that he would do it even during the War, provided that the Pope would thunder out a terrible Excommunication, to oblige all the Christian Princes of *Europe* to declare War against the Infidels; and that if he should send a Cardinal with power to thunder out this Excommunication, he would then call together a General Council, wherein the Truth should be enquired into, and determined with common consent by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; that all the Christian World would adhere to the definition of this Council, and by this means an universal and stable Union of all the Churches would be made.

The opening of the Council of Pavia, and its translation to Sienna. During these negotiations in the East, the time was come for the meeting of the Council at *Pavia*, appointed in the 44th. Session of the Council of *Constance*; and the Pope sent thither five Legates, *Peter Abbot of Rosacco* of the Diocese of *Aquileia*, and *Leonard* General of the Order of Friars Predicants; some Deputies from the Nations of *France*, *Germany* and *England*, came thither also, and the Council was open'd on the 22^d. of *June* 1423. But the Abbot of *St. Ambrose* of *Milan*, having remonstrated in the name of the Duke of that City, that the Pest was at *Pavia*, he offer'd the Fathers of the Council, in the name of his Master, all the Cities of his Dominions, except *Bresse* and *Milan*. This Remonstrance discovered the necessity of changing the place of the Council, but the difficulty was to agree to what place it should be translated. Some time was spent in debating upon this subject, and at last *Andrew* Bishop of *Posnania* said in his own name, and in the name of the four Deputies from the Nation of *Germany*, that he would refer the choice of it to the Pope's Legates. *Philibert* Bishop of *Amiens*, said as much in the name of the Deputies from *France*, who were six in number. *Richard* Bishop of *Lincoln*, consented to it also in behalf of those from *England*, who were a much greater number; and declared, that for the present he would approve of that place which should be chosen by the Legates. There were no Deputies from the Nation of *Spain*, nor any other *Italians* but the Pope's Legates. The next day, *Andrew*, Bishop of *Posnania*, having said Mass, the Archbishop of *Toledo* read a Writing, which contain'd, that the General Council being lawfully assembled at *Pavia*, changed this City because of the Pestilence which was there, and in its room made choice of the City of *Sienna*, as a place fit and sufficient for the continuation of this Council. The Archbishop of *Crete* answered in the name of the Nation of *Italy*, that he lik'd it well, altho' he had no power over it. The Deputies of the Nations of *Germany* and *England* consented also to it. There is nothing said of what was done by those of the *French* Nation, but only 'tis observed, that they had not seen the Writing which was read by the Bishop of *Posnania*.

The Council begun at Sienna. By vertue of this Decree, the Council was adjourned to *Sienna*, by the same Prelates, and some others who came thither. They began there with making a Decree, wherein they renewed the Penalties of Law against those who should give any assistance to

the *Wiclefites* and *Hussites*; and a Plenary Indulgence was granted to all those that would prosecute them, and labour to ruin this Heresie. By a second Decree the sentence of condemnation was confirmed, that had been given in the Council of *Constance* against *Peter de Luna*; and the fault of all those was aggravated who should continue or maintain the Schism after his death. By a third Decree, the Ordinaries and Inquisitors were enjoin'd diligently to attend the seizing, condemnation and punishing of Hereticks, or their favourers, under the pain of suspension for four Months, in case of negligence. Afterwards the affair of the *Greeks* was treated of in the Council, and the relation of the Embassy of *Anthony Massanus* was read there; the proposals he had made to the Emperor of the *Greeks*, and the answer that was given to them. Before the Council took any resolution in this affair, and considered of the reformation of the Church which had been proposed, *Martin V.* fearing lest the Ambassador of the King of *Arragon* should attempt something against him, and lest the Council should make orders about the reformation contrary to the interest of the Court of *Rome*; contrived to adjourn the Council to another time and place, under pretence of the small number of Prelates that were come to the Council, of the Wars wherewith the Emperor was distracted, and the disputes which had been between the Prelates of the Council.

Pope *Martin V.* had given a power to his Legates to translate the Council with the advice of the Prelates: By vertue of this power they resolved to put an end to the Council at *Sienna*, and to appoint another, and caused some Deputies of Nations to be named to agree about the place. These Deputies after many debates, made choice of the City of *Basil*, for holding the Council seven Years after, according to a Decree of the Council of *Constance*, by their consultation on the 19th. of *February*, 1424. which was afterwards approved in full Council; first, by the Pope's Legates, and after them, by the principal Prelates of each Nation, except the Archbishop of *Toledo*, who would not consent to it in behalf of his Nation, because, as he said, he had no power, but only as Archbishop and Primate of *Spain*. This design'd dissolution of the Council displeased the greatest part of the Prelates, who complained loudly, that the Pope hindred the reformation of the Church, which obliged his Legates to protest, that by this translation the Council of *Sienna* should not be accounted wholly dissolved, but that the Presidents of the Council should labour with the Deputies of the Nations in the reformation of the Church. The Presidents of the Nations made also the same protestation, and after this, the Decree of the dissolution of the Council of *Sienna* was published on the 26th. of the same Month of *February*, and on the 7th. of *March*, the Presidents of the Council order'd the Prelates to retire to their Dioceses, and forbade them to make any Assembly, which might pass for a continuation of the Council of *Sienna*. The Pope by his Bull dated the 12th. of *March*, confirmed the translation of the Council from *Sienna*, and renewed the prohibition to continue it; and by another Bull dated the same day, he appointed three Cardinals to receive and examine the Informations, Instructions and Memorials that should be given in for the reformation of the Ecclesiastical State.

In the mean time, the affairs of the *Greeks* declining daily, the Emperor *John Paleologus*, who succeeded his Father, was obliged to renew the negotiation of peace with the *Latins*; and sent Ambassadors to the Emperor *Sigismund*, who entred upon a conference with the Cardinals, delegated by the Pope. These proposed to determine the differences between the two Churches, by appointing three famous persons on one side and the other, and had a mind to engage them to come to *Italy*: But the *Greeks* answered, that they would write about it to the Emperor, and the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and

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and if they judg'd it convenient they would go thither; but withal, that their voyage would be very costly: The *Latins* demanded of them what the expence might amount to; they asked 75000 *Flo-*
rins, without reckoning the expence of the Emperor's Voyage. The Pope having promised them this sum, they went into *Italy*, where they saluted his Holiness; who exhorted them to push forward the execution of this design, to the end that a Council might be held, and the Union made, while he was living. The Ambassadors of the *Greeks* returned into *Greece*, with *Andrew of Rhodes*, and *Eudemus Joannes*, and reported the News to the Emperor, who sent to the Pope *Marc Jagaris*, General of his Troops; and *Macarius* the Long, an Abbot, who took measures with the Pope for compassing the Union. In fine, the Emperor having held a Council about these points, which were to be concerted with the Patriarch, sent to the Pope a third Embassy more numerous than the former, which arrived in *Italy*, after the death of Pope *Martin V.* who died on the 20th. of *February*, 1431. The Ambassadors addressed themselves to *Eugenius IV.* his Successor, in whom they did not find the same sweetness of temper, nor the same meek disposition as were in his predecessor: He wrote nevertheless to the Emperor and the Patriarch, that if they pleas'd he would translate the Synod, which was assembled at *Basil*, into *Italy*; but the rest of his Letters were full of words of contempt, which were no wise agreeable to the *Greeks*.

The Year 1431. was the time appointed for the meeting of the Council of *Basil*; and *Martin V.* from the beginning of that Year had named *Julian* the Cardinal of *St. Angelo*, to preside at this Council; with power to propose, consult of, and ordain there what should be agreed upon for the preservation and encrease of Religion, of the Faith of Jesus Christ, and the state of the Church, for the reformation of the Clergy, for the Re-union of the *Greeks*, and of other persons divided from the Church, for the maintenance of Ecclesiastical Liberty, for the benefit, the peace and tranquillity of States and Princes: The Bull by which he gave this power is dated *February* the 1st. 1431. and he died the 20th. of the same Month. The Cardinals chose in his room *Gabriel Condolmier*, a *Venetian*, a Son of *Gregory XII's* Sister, who had been advanced to the Bishoprick of *Sienna*, and after that to the dignity of Cardinal: He was chosen the 4th. of *March*, and crown'd the 11th. One of the first things that he did after his election, was to confirm the dignity of President of the Council of *Basil*, to Cardinal *Julian*. He ordered him by his Letter dated the last of *May*, in the same Year, to repair to *Basil*, there to preside at the Council, 'till the affair of the *Bohemians* should be finished; judging it needless to send thither another Legate, because there were yet but a few Prelates come to *Basil*.

This Cardinal, by vertue of the power which the Bull of *Martin V.* gave him of Substituting other persons, in case he could not be present at the Council, sent thither *John Polmar*, Chaplain to the Pope, and Auditor to the sacred Palace; and *John de Ragusa*, Doctor in Divinity of the Faculty of *Paris*, and Proctor General of the order of Friars Predicant, to preside in his name at the Council. They arriv'd at *Basil* the 19th. of *July*, and opened the Council the 23d. of the same Month; but because few Prelates were come, they kept only private Congregations until the Month of *December*, but when Cardinal *Julian* arriv'd himself, he made a Decree on the seventh of *December*, by which he appointed the first Session of the Council on the 14th. of the same Month; and on that day it was held, at which, after the usual ceremonies were over, the Decrees of the Councils of *Constance*, and *Sienna*, and the Letters of the Popes, *Martin* and *Eugenius*, about appointing of the Council, were read. Then it was declared, that the General Council was lawfully assembled in this City: First, to dissipate errors: Secondly, to procure peace: Thirdly, to reform abu-

ses. The Prelates were exhorted to give their Votes with freedom and sincerity, in the spirit of peace, and to observe there the modesty prescrib'd in the eleventh Council of *Toledo*; and to prevent the contests which might arise about ranks and degrees, it was ordain'd, that the place which any one should have in the Council, and the quality which he should take upon him there, could not serve for the title of a new right acquired, nor prejudice any body. In fine, Decrees were made against those who should disturb the Council, hinder the Prelates from coming thither, abuse them, or rob them on the Road. A right was granted to all who should be there present to receive the profits of their Benefices, altho' they were absent; and the Officers of the Council were then appointed, which was as follows.

The manner after which they treated of affairs in the Council was thus. All its members were divided into four Classes, or equal Deputations in number, in which they plac'd, as near as was possible, an equal number of persons of each Order, and each Nation. The first was call'd the Deputation of the Faith, the second of the Peace, the third of the Reformation, and the fourth of common affairs. Each Deputation had its President, its Proctor, and its Officers; these met apart three times in a Week, and consulted about the matters which were proposed to them: Each of them had three Deputies, which met to examine and prepare affairs, and then sent them back to that Assembly of the Deputations, to which the cognizance of them of right belong'd. When they had consulted about it, the sentence which prevail'd was carried to the three other Deputations; and after it was approv'd by all the Deputations, or at least by three of them, it was reported in the General Congregation, where the President concluded in the Name of the Council, according to the plurality of the Votes of the Deputations; and then this conclusion was published in a solemn Session, which was held in the principal Church of the City of *Basil*. The President was present there in his Pontifical Robes, and was plac'd in an Episcopal Chair near the Altar; his Face was turn'd towards the Fathers of the Council, who were sitting on their seats in Pontifical Robes on both sides of the Choir. The Ambassadors of Princes were in the middle, upon Benches, their Faces being towards the President, and behind them were the Generals of Orders, the Doctors, and other Ecclesiasticks. The usual Prayers being ended, one or two Prelates mounted into a Pulpit, read the Decrees, and ask'd if they approv'd them. The President of the Council, and those of each Deputation answered in the affirmative, and so the Session ended.

The second Session was not held till the 15th. of *February*, 1432. The Council for confirming and establishing its own authority, and hindring Pope *Eugenius* from attempting to dissolve or translate it, renewed two Decrees of the Council of *Constance*; the first, whereby it was declared, that the Synod being assembled in the Name of the Holy Spirit, which compos'd the General Council, and represented the Church Militant, has its power immediately from Jesus Christ; and that every person, of whatsoever state or dignity, even the Pope himself is bound to obey it in what concerns the Faith, the extirpation of Schism, and the general reformation of the Church in its Head and Members. The second, by which the Council declares, that all those of whatever dignity or condition, not excepting the Pope himself, who shall refuse to obey the Ordinances and Decrees of this General Council, or any other, shall be put under Penance and punish'd. In pursuance of these Decrees, and of that which ordered the holding of General Councils, the Council of *Basil* declar'd, that it never could, nor can be dissolv'd, translated, nor prorogu'd by any person whatsoever, nor even by the Pope himself, without the consent and decree of the Assembly: They declar'd every thing to be null, which the Pope or any other should do to hinder the holding of the Council, or

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The Councils of Basil and Florence, &c. to summon to another place those who were, or should be present at it; and they were forbidden to depart upon any account whatsoever, without the leave of the Council.

The Decree of Eugenius, for dissolving the Council rejected. When certain News was brought, that *Eugenius* had publish'd a Decree for the Dissolution of the Council, the Prelates appointed the Bishop of *Lausanne*, and the Dean of *Utrecht* to go to the Pope and the Cardinals in the Name of the Council, and to desire of them earnestly the Recalling of this Decree.

These two Deputies executed their Commission, and the Emperor also join'd his Prayers with theirs; but they could not prevail with the Pope to grant this Revocation. When therefore they return'd to *Basil*, and brought thither his answer, the Council in the third Session, held the 29th. of *April*, having renew'd the Decrees of the former Session concerning the authority of a General Council, declar'd, that they had entreated, requir'd, and advertis'd the Pope to recal the pretended Dissolution of the Council; and to publish his Revocation to all the world not only that he should not hinder, but also that he should give all manner of assistance for holding the Council, and that he would be there present in Person within three Months, if his Health would permit; or at least that he should send thither some Persons with full power to act in his Name; and in case he should neglect to do it, the Council protested, that they would provide for the necessities of the Church, as the Holy Spirit should dictate to them, and that they would proceed in the ways of Justice against him. They exhorted also, and advertis'd the Cardinals to be present at the Council within three Months, except those who had some Canonical impediment, and particularly the Cardinal of the Cross, who was Mediator of the Peace between the Kings of *France* and *England*; but as to the Cardinals of *Plaisance*, or *Foix*, and *St. Eustache*, who were nearer to the Council, they limited the time to two Months. In fine, they ordain'd all Prelates to publish this Decree, to notify it to the Pope if it could be done, and to cause it to be fix'd up in publick places; and declar'd, that from the time it should be read, publish'd, and fix'd upon the Gate of the Church of *Basil*, it should be reckon'd to be signify'd to the Pope.

In the fourth Session, held *June* the 20th. after the safe Conduct had been read and approv'd, and the Letter of the Council to the *Bohemians*, divers Decrees were made for the Continuation of the Council. The first, that if the Holy See should be vacant during the holding of the Council, the Cardinals could not choose a Pope, but in the place where it was held: The second, that no person should be dispens'd with for not coming to the Council, under pretence of an Oath, Promise or Engagement made to the Pope or any other person; all which are declar'd Null, as well as all Processes made for this cause. The third, that a Leaden Seal should be made for Sealing the Acts of the Council. The fourth, that the Pope could not create Cardinals while the Council was sitting. In the same Session, the Government of the City of *Avignon*, and the Countship of *Venaissin*, were given to the Cardinal of *St. Eustache*.

The fifth Session, held the 9th. of *August*, was spent in appointing Officers and Judges for the Council.

In the sixth Session, held the 6th. of *September*, the Proctors of the Council came to some Conclusions against Pope *Eugenius*, and requir'd that he should be declared contumacious: He was cited three times at the Gate of the Church, and at last the Archbishops of *Tarente* and *Calosse*, the Bishop of *Magalone*, and an Auditor appear'd, and call'd themselves the Pope's Nuncio's; but not being able to justify their Power, the Proctor requir'd that they should not be heard; nevertheless upon their Remonstrances, the Consultation about this Matter was put off. After the same manner the Cardinals were cited, and the Proctors of some of them appear'd.

In the seventh Session, held the 6th. of *November*, the time given to the Cardinals for entering into the Conclave after the vacancy of the Holy See, was enlarg'd; and it was order'd, that if the Holy See should be vacant, they should not proceed to the Election of another Pope till sixty Days after.

In the eighth Session, held the 18th. of *December*, the Council publish'd a new Decree against Pope *Eugenius*, wherein it ordain'd, that he should revoke within sixty Days the dissolution of the Council, notwithstanding any delays, or other times prefix'd, and that otherwise they would proceed against him without a new citation: All the provisions and collations of Benefices which he might grant between this time and that, are declar'd Null; all Officers and Prelates are enjoin'd to forsake him within twenty Days after the expiration of this Term. After this, another Decree was made, wherein they declar'd, that there cannot be but one general Council, and forbid all Prelates to go to *Bononia*, or any other place; or be present at another Council, under pain of Excommunication and Deprivation of their Benefices: They declar'd also those to be fall'n from any right to their Benefices, who shall desire or obtain of Pope *Eugenius*, the deprivation of those who are present at the Council. Lastly, they forbid Pope *Eugenius* to alienate the Castles and Lands of the Church of *Rome*, as he had projected; and to lay new Taxes upon the City of *Rome*, or other places; and in case he should do it, they declar'd whatever shall be done to be Null.

The Emperor *Sigismund* was present at the Ninth Session, held the 22d. of *January*, 1433. wherein all Processes were made Null and Void, which Pope *Eugenius* might make against this Prince, against *William Duke of Bavaria*, and any other Person, upon the account of the Protection they afford to the Council.

The Term of sixty Days allow'd to *Eugenius* for recalling the Dissolution of the Council being expir'd, the Proctors demanded in the tenth Session, held *February* the 19th. that he should be condemn'd as contumacious; yet the Council order'd him to be summon'd three times, and put off the consideration of it to another Day.

In the eleventh Session, held *April* the 27th. the Council renew'd the Decree of the Council of *Constance*, concerning the celebration of General Councils; ordain'd, that it shall be free for all Prelates to be present at it, and that the Pope himself could not hinder the Cardinals, and those of his Court from coming to it; that the Council being assembled, could not be dismiss'd nor translated but with their own consent, and with the advice of two Thirds of the Prelates; and lastly, that a Month before the end of the Council, they shall be oblig'd to appoint a future Council. It was ordain'd also, that the Electors of the Pope when they enter into the Conclave shall swear to observe this Decree, and that it shall be publish'd.

In the twelfth Session, held *July* the 14th. the Council made a third Decree against *Eugenius*, wherein they requir'd the third time to revoke the Dissolution of the Council of *Basil*; to declare that it was lawfully begun and continued, and that he approv'd it; and to draw up a Bull to this purpose within the Term of sixty Days, otherwise they would declare him to be contumacious, incorrigible, one that gave Scandal to the whole Church; and who was suspended from all Administration of the Papal Power, as well in Spirituals as Temporal, which the Council declar'd to be forfeited in this Case; made Void all that *Eugenius* should do, forbid any to obey him and enjoin'd the Prelates to come to the Council. In the same Session, the Council made another Decree, wherein they abolish'd the Reservations of Benefices, and ordain'd, that they should be provided for by the ways of common right; that's to say, by election, whereof the Council prescrib'd the Form and declar'd the Duty of the Electors.

In the 13th. Session, held the 11th. of September, the term of sixty days allowed to Pope *Eugenius*, being ready to expire, the Bishops of *Spalatro* and *Cervia* appear'd in the Assembly on the Pope's behalf: The Cardinal of *St. Angelo* enquir'd of them in the name of the Council, if they had brought an Instrument of approbation of the Council by the Pope; they had nothing but a Bull of Credit, and gave no formal consent to the holding of the Council: But the Duke of *Bavaria*, and *John* of *Offenberg*, who had Letters of Credit from the Emperor, said in his name, that he had solicited *Eugenius* to adhere to the Council, and to be personally present at it, and that hearing the news of a Decree of an admonition made against him, he had used all diligence to oblige him to obey what the Council had ordered; that he had made answer to him, that he could not be ignorant of all that he had done and suffered for the peace of the Church; that he pray'd the Council to remember it, and to allow him ten days further; that the Emperor wish'd they would grant him this delay, and that he would cause the Princes and Prelates of *Germany* to come to the Council; that if the Pope in the mean time should use any proceedings against the Council, he would consent that the Council should annul them. This delay was granted upon the Emperor's account, and another Decree was made against any thing that might have been done to the prejudice of the Prelates of the Council.

The state of
the Pope's
affairs in
Italy.

While these things were a doing at *Basil*, the Pope's affairs had suffered various changes in *Italy*. *Eugenius*, after his advancement to the Papal Dignity, being advertised, that his predecessor had left a great treasure behind him, and that *Pocius*, his Vice-chamberlain, knew where it was, gave order to *Stephen Colonna* to arrest him. *Stephen* executed this order, arrested *Pocius* with much violence and noise, but did not rob him of his treasure. *Eugenius* having declared himself discontented with *Stephen*, he retired to *Palestrina*, towards the Prince *Colonna*, and exhorted him to drive *Eugenius* out of *Rome*; because he persecuted the *Colonna's*, and stirred up persecution against the creatures of *Martin V.* The Prince of *Palestrina* came with some Troops to *Rome*, and entered it; the Battle was fought in the City, where he and his Men were beat back; nevertheless the War continued, but at last *Eugenius* made a Peace. Some time after, *Philip*, Duke of *Milan*, having made peace with the *Venetians* and *Florentines*, sent *Francis Sforza*, and *Nicholas Forcebras*, with some Forces against *Eugenius*; they ravaged the Campagne of *Rome*, without any opposition from *Eugenius*. The *Romans* took this in great indignation, and being stirr'd up by those of *Colonna's* party, revolted from him, drove away his Magistrates, and created new ones. *Eugenius* made his escape in the Habit of a Monk, and retired to *Florence*. The *Romans* having tryed in vain to take the Castle of *St. Angelo*, returned to their obedience about five Months after, and received the Magistrates created by the Pope. During these transactions, *Sigismund* came into *Italy*, and having made his entry into *Rome*, he there received the Imperial Crown from the hands of the Pope, from whence he returned to the Council, and was present in his Imperial Robes at the 14th. Session held on the 7th. of November, in the Year 1433. At this Session a further time of 90 days was granted to Pope *Eugenius*, and there the forms of the Bulls were drawn up, which he was to publish for revoking those he had made against the Council, for approving what had been done in it, and for its continuation.

In the 15th. Session held November 26th. the Council framed a Decree for holding of Provincial Councils.

The appro-
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the Coun-
cil of Basil
by Euge-
nius.

In the 16th. held February the 5th. 1434. the Bishops of *Tarente* and *Cervia* presented to the Council a Bull of Pope *Eugenius*, dated December 15th. containing, that altho' he had null'd the Council of *Basil*, which was lawfully assembled, yet to avoid

the dissensions which had happened upon the occasion of this dissolution, he declared and ordained, that the General Council of *Basil* had been lawfully continued since its first beginning, and that it ought to continue for the future as if it had never been dissolved; that this dissolution was null, and that he approv'd and favour'd the Council of *Basil*; that for this end he revok'd two Bulls of dissolution which he had published; (for as to the third it had not been publish'd by his Order nor under his Seal; yet it is inserted with the other two in this revocation;) that he did also make void every thing that had any ways been attempted against the authority of the Council, and all Processes made or commenced against the Members of it, and promised to desist and depart from every thing that might be any ways prejudicial to it. The Council accepted this Bull of revocation, and declar'd that he had fully satisfied the admonition that had been given him: It incorporated his Legates into the Council, on condition that they should swear they would approve the Decrees of the Council of *Constance*, concerning the authority of a General Council.

They were received as Presidents in the 17th. Session held April the 26th. on condition that they should have no coactive jurisdiction, and that the forms of proceeding, and the orders hitherto made in the Council, should be observed; that one congregation only should be held in a Week every Friday, unless the contrary were concluded upon by three deputations, and that all Instruments should be expedited in the name and under the Seal of the Council.

The Decree of the Council of *Constance* concerning the authority of General Councils, even above the Pope, was again published and confirmed in the 13th. Session held the 25th. of June, after the Emperor's departure, who had been present the 14th. 16th. and 17th. Sessions.

The Council had sent Ambassadors into the East with Letters for the Emperor and Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to invite the Prelates to come to the Council, giving them hopes, that the Union might be concluded there more easily and more advantageously, because many Princes, and particularly the Emperor *Sigismund* favoured it, from whom they might expect greater succours than from the Pope, whose affairs were in a bad condition. The Greek Emperor being persuaded by these reasons, sent a famous Embassy to the Council, which was made up of *Demetrius Palaeologus* Grand General, of *Isidore* an Abbot, of the Lord *John* who was now Consul the second time. They set forth before *Jagaris*, who had been sent to the Pope, had returned, and were received in the 19th. Session of the Council held the 7th. of September. There they presented the Letter of the Emperor their Master, wherein he promised to perform what his Ambassadors should agree to, and another Letter from the Patriarch *Joseph*, who signified to the Fathers of the Council his great joy; that they desired the Peace and Union of the two Churches; that for this end it was necessary to call an œcumenical and free Council, whose Decisions should be embrac'd unanimously by all the World. They propos'd to the Deputies of the Council of *Basil*, that an œcumenical Council should be held at *Constantinople*, and that in this case the Greek Emperor would contribute to the expences of the *Latin* Prelates who should be there present, whereas if they would have the *Greeks* to come into the West, it was but just, that it should be at the expence of the *Latin* Church. The Deputies had a mind it should be held at *Basil*; but the Ambassadors of the *Greeks* said, that they had a paper in which the places where the Council might be held were set down, and that the City of *Basil* was none of them; that the places noted were *Calabria*, *Marca d' Ancona*, and the other Ports; *Milan*, or any other City in *Italy*; and if out of *Italy*, *Buda* in *Hungary*, or *Vienna* in *Austria*, or any City of *Savoy*: They added nevertheless, that the Council might send Deputies to the Emperor

The Nego-
tiation of
the Council
with the
Greeks.

The Councils of Basil and Florence, &c. Emperor and the Patriarch, to propose to them the City of *Basil*. At last it was agreed between them, 1. That the Emperor of the *Greeks*, the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and three other Patriarchs, the *Greek* Archbishops and Bishops, should come to the Council, with sufficient power in behalf of their Churches. 2. That the Council should send Ambassadors with 8000 Ducats to pay the expences of the Assembly which shall be held at *Constantinople*. 3. That the Western Churches shall pay the expences of the four Gallies, which were necessary for transporting the *Greeks* into the West; that they shall furnish 15000 Ducats to the Emperor for the expence of his voyage from *Constantinople* to the Port where he shall land, and that they shall defray his expences, and maintain 700 persons in his Retinue while he shall be in the West. 4. That the Council shall send within ten days two heavy Gallies and two light ones, to transport into *Greece* the Ambassadors who have the charge of the 15000 Ducats for the expence of the Emperor, the Patriarch and the *Greek* Prelates, and that they should have 10000 more ready by them to be employ'd for succours to the City of *Constantinople*, if it should be necessary during the absence of the Emperor; that they would furnish also two Gallies and 300 Archers for the defence of the City, besides the Money necessary for arming the two heavy Gallies. 5. That they would name to the Emperor, before his departure from *Constantinople*, the Port where he should land, and the place which the Council should choose among these above-named, but that they would use their endeavours with him for making choice of the City of *Basil*. 6. That during this time the Council should continue assembled at *Basil*, and shall not separate but for just and urgent reasons; that if this case should unhappily fall out, then the Council should translate it self to another place, to be continued there, as was ordered by the Canon of the Council of *Constance*; that if the Emperor was not satisfied with the City of *Basil*, or the place where it should be, the Council should be bound to transport it self, within a Month after the arrival of the Emperor, to one of those places above-named. They demanded of the *Greek* Ambassadors what they meant by the Terms of an Universal Synod? They answered, that it was a Synod where the Pope, the Patriarchs and other Prelates, were present in person or by their Proctor; that the Emperor of the *Greeks* and the Patriarch of *Constantinople* would be personally present at this Synod which was to be held; that every one should have liberty to speak his thoughts without contention, but that this did not exclude such conferences, as were necessary, fair and peaceable. Lastly, that they should make a report to the General Council of the method wherein they were to proceed; that the Emperor of the *Greeks* and the *Greek* Church should demand no other honours, but what they had when the Schism commenc'd, without any prejudice to the rights, honours, privileges and dignity of the Sovereign Pontiff of the *Roman* Church, and of the Emperor of the *Romans*; and in case any disputes should arise about them, they would refer them to the decision of the General Council. The Council approv'd this Agreement, and because the *Greeks* desired that the Pope would consent to it, they pray'd him to approve of it, and to ratify it by a Bull in form.

At the same Session a Decree was made concerning the Jews, wherein the Ordinaries were exhorted to send able Men, to preach in those places where there were Jews and Infidels; and to the end they might be made fit for this office, it was ordered, that according to the Constitution of the Council of *Vienna*, there should be in all the Universities two Professors of the *Hebrew*, *Arabick*, *Greek* and *Chaldee* Tongues. The Decree was renewed prohibiting to converse with Jews, or to sell or pawn to them the Books of the Church, the Chalice, Crosses, or

The Councils of Basil and Florence, &c. other ornaments of the Church; and it was ordain'd, that they should wear a particular Habit to distinguish them from others, and that they should dwell in separate places as much as may be. Lastly, Provision was made for instructing and maintaining new Converts.

Pope *Eugenius*, being inform'd of the Articles agreed upon between the Council and the *Greeks*, made a show of approving them, and at least declar'd, that he would by no means oppose them, nor hinder the execution of them. The Council on its part sent into the East three Deputies (who accompanied the Ambassadors of the *Greeks*) one of which was, to return to bring the News of what was resolved upon in the East; and the other two were to remain there, to distribute the Money which was necessary, and to furnish the expences of the Transport. When they arriv'd at *Constantinople*, they found the Patriarch unwilling to undertake a Voyage beyond Sea. Some time after, the Deputies whom the *Greeks* had sent to the Pope, return'd into the East with *Christophilus de Corona*, who were Com-manded to make a show of consenting to the Agreement made with the Council of *Basil*, but had secret Orders to cross it: To compass this design, he made Answer, that the Fathers of the Council of *Basil* did neither agree among themselves, nor with the Pope. This notwithstanding, the Emperor resolv'd to treat with the Legates of the Council, and made the Patriarch consent to do the same. Commissioners were appointed to take pains in this Negotiation: But when they saw the Decree of the Council, which contain'd, that the Fathers, after they had abolish'd the new Heresy of the *Bohemians*, would also extinguish the ancient Heresy of the *Greeks*; these Words so offended the *Greeks*, that they would not hear of any Proposal, until this Decree was amended. The Deputies of the Council promis'd, that another Decree should be made, the Model whereof was drawn up. The *Greeks* demanded at the same time, that the Pope should be present in person at the Council, that a safe Conduct might be given them in good form, and lastly, that they should be oblig'd to carry them back again, at the expence of the Council whatever the event might be of this Negotiation. One of the Deputies of the Council was sent back to *Basil*, to carry thither the Project of this Decree, and persuade them to agree to the demands of the *Greeks*.

While these things were negotiating in *Greece*, the Fathers of the Council were hard at Work to make the Decrees for the Reformation of the Church in its Head and Members. In the twentieth Session, held the 22d. of *January*, 1435. a Decree was made against Clergymen who kept Concubines; another, wherein they declare, that none is oblig'd to avoid those who are excommunicated, or to observe an Interdict, unless they be denounc'd or openly excommunicated and interdicted; a third, wherein they forbid to put a Place or a Community under an Interdict for the Fault of a particular Person, unless they keep him two Days, after they have been admonish'd to drive him away by the Judge's Authority; and a fourth, whereby they forbid any Person to appeal a second time from any Interlocutory Sentence.

In the twenty first Session held *June* the 9th. in the same Year, the Council proceeding still in the Reformation: First, forbid every person, either to give or extract any thing in the Court of *Rome*, or elsewhere, for the confirmation of Elections, Admissions, Postulations, Presentations, Provisions, Collations, Elections, Institutions, &c. of all sorts of Benefices or Ecclesiastical Offices, any more than was done for the receiving of Orders, Benedictions, or the Pallium, upon any pretence whatsoever, such as the expedition of the Letters, the right of the Seal, the Annates, Mean-Services, first-Fruits, or any others, under the pain of incurring by the Disobedient

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bedient the Penalties enacted against Simoniacks; and that in case the Pope should disobey, he shall be delated to a General Council. The second Decree of this Session is a Law, whereby it is order'd, that those who have a colourable title to a Benefice, and have been in peaceable Possession of it for three Years, cannot be molested. The other Regulations concern the method of celebrating Divine Service, as well in publick as in private: Whereby 'tis ordain'd that in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, Divine Service shall be read distinctly by Clergymen in their Surplice, who shall observe the Gravity and Modesty which become the Place and their Office; that they shall not keep Silence, nor repeat their Office privately, while others are singing: that none but those that are present shall have a share in the Distributions; that those who are benefic'd or are in Holy Orders, being oblig'd to repeat the Canonical Prayers, ought to do it privately, with Devotion; that they shall never neglect to sing at Mass, the Creed and the Preface: The Canons are forbidden to oblige themselves to pay others Debts, under pain of Suspension from their Office, or to hold a Chapter in the time of Grand Mass, or to suffer any Scenes to be acted, or to sing profane Airs in the Churches.

In the twenty second Session, held the 15th. of October, the Book of *Ausfine* of Rome Archbishop of Nazareth was condemn'd, (which is divided into three Treatises: The first, of the Sacrament of the Unity of Jesus Christ and the Church: The second, of Jesus Christ as he was Head, and of his Dominion: The third, of the Charity of Jesus Christ to his Elect, and his infinite Love) as containing a Doctrine erroneous; and particularly this scandalous Proposition, that Jesus Christ sinn'd every Day in his Members; and those other Propositions condemn'd in the Council of *Constance*, that the Elect only are the Members of Jesus Christ and his Church; that to make a Man a Member of Jesus Christ it was not sufficient to be united to him by Charity, but there must be another Union; that the humane Nature in Jesus Christ is the Person of Christ; that the Personality is not really distinguish'd from the Nature it self, and some other Propositions which are deduc'd from this.

In the twenty third Session held the 25th. of March, 1436. the Council publish'd their Regulations concerning the Election of the Pope, the Profession of Faith which he is bound to make, his Duty and his Conduct, the number of Cardinals which they reduc'd to twenty four, and their titles, the manner of choosing them by the Votes of the College Cardinals, their Obligation and Duty, the restoring of Elections, and abolition of Reservations, and of all Promises of Benefices when they shall be vacant.

In the twenty fourth Session on the 16th. of April, the Project between the Ambassadors of the Council and the Greeks was propos'd and approv'd, the safe Conduct which the Council granted to them was read, and the Bulls of the Emperor and of the Patriarch of *Constantinople* to the Council, and the Decree wherein the Council granted Indulgences to all those that should labour for the Re-union of the Greeks.

These Instruments being carried to *Constantinople*, the Greek Emperor obtain'd Procurations of the Patriarchs and Metropolitans of the Eastern Churches, for sending Persons in their Name to the Council in the West; and in the mean time the Council on their part put things in a readiness for performing what they had promis'd the Greeks, by treating with *Nicholas de Montana*, who lent the Sum of 30800 Ducats, and oblig'd himself to equip four Gallies, and 300 Archers that were promis'd to the Greeks. All the difficulty was to agree upon the place where the Council should be held, which they consulted about in many Congregations, and at last in a general Congregation, it was decreed by the Votes

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of more than two Thirds of the Prelates, that the Council should be held at *Basil*, if the Greeks would accept of this City; but if not, that all endeavours should be us'd to make them agree to the City of *Avignon*; or whatever happen'd, that they would confine themselves to *Savoy*, which was one of the the Places which the Greeks had propos'd. The Council sent two Ambassadors to Pope *Eugenius* to communicate to him this Resolution, and observ'd to him that he himself had propos'd the City of *Avignon*, and conjur'd him to come in person to the Council, that they might labour by consent in expediting the Indulgences, and imposing the Tenth for furnishing the necessary expences. *Eugenius* would not make a Bull about these things, but he said, that he would signify his Intentions to the Council, by the Archbishop of *Tarente*, who was to be there present the first Day. At the same time two other Deputies of the Council concluded a Treaty with those of *Avignon*, who had already advanc'd 6000 Ducats to the Commander of the Gallies, and agreed with them, that before they furnish'd the other 70000 which they had promis'd, the Council should make a Decree for fixing the place where the Council was to be held at which the Greeks should be present, and that they should be permitted to name Receivers of the Profits that should arise as well from Indulgences as from the Imposition of Tenth, to whom they should be made over, until such time as they were wholly re-imburs'd the Sums they should advance.

The Greek Emperor being resolv'd to come into the West with the Patriarch of *Constantinople* and the Eastern Bishops, sent back his Ambassador *John*, to give the Pope and the Council assurance of his Intention, that they might get ready the Gallies. This Ambassador came to *Basil* at the beginning of February, 1437. and desir'd that the Council would agree of the place, and furnish the Gallies they had promis'd. The President of the Assembly answer'd him, that the Council had nam'd a Commander to conduct the Gallies, and that they had chosen for the place of the Assembly the City of *Basil*, or that of *Avignon*, or the *Savoy*. *John* made many Difficulties about this choice, and said that when he propos'd the *Savoy*, he meant only those Places which the Duke of *Savoy* had in *Italy*; and insist'd upon this, that the Pope must be present in person at the Council. When they shew'd no regard to his Remonstrances, he made Protestation as well in writing as *viva voce*; notwithstanding which it was resolv'd, that Ambassadors should be sent into Greece, who should pass by *Avignon*; and that in case this City could furnish within 30 Days the Sums agreed upon, the Council should make a Decree 8 Days after for confirming the choice of the City of *Basil*, *Avignon*, or the *Savoy*; That the Council would authorize by a Decree the Imposition of Tenth for the Security of the Sums that should be lent; that Power should be given to the Ambassadors to agree upon a Port in *Italy* where the Greeks should land; and that in case the Greeks would not come into the West, those of *Avignon* should be reimburs'd the Sums they had advanc'd. This Instrument was agreed upon by Plurality of Voices, in spite of the opposition of the Pope's Legates.

Some Days after the Archbishop of *Tarente* being sent by *Eugenius* to the Council, declar'd, that the Pope intended not to grant Indulgences, nor the Imposition of Tenth, until they had agreed upon a City in *Italy*, which started another dispute in the Council; but the News being brought that the City of *Avignon* had furnish'd 30000 Ducats, and was ready to furnish the rest, more than two Thirds of the Prelates remain'd firm in their first resolution, insomuch that in the 25th. Session held the 7th. of May, the Decree was read by order of the Council in the place where Decrees were wont to be read; but at the same time the Legates and some other Prelates caus'd to be read in a lower private Decree, wherein

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wherein *Florence* or *Udine* were nam'd for holding of the Council, which was repeated with much Precipitation, and was not heard at all. When the Session rose, the Question was put concerning sealing the Decree, the Box in which the Seal was kept being in the Hands of the Cardinal of St. *Angelo*, and the Keys in the Hands of the four Deputies of the Council. These had a mind that the Decree should be seal'd, but the Cardinal of St. *Angelo* being unwilling, this rais'd a Contest, which by Agreement was referr'd to the Cardinal of St. *Peter at Lyons*, Principal Legate to the Pope, *Alphonfus* Bishop of *Bourges* Ambassador to the King of *Castile*, and the Archbishop of *Palermo* Ambassador to the King of *Aragon*, who were entrusted to regulate what concern'd the Seal, and the sending of the Letters and Instruments in question. These Commissioners caus'd to be seal'd the Decree made by a Plurality of Voices, and refus'd to seal the private Conclusion, and the pretended Decree made by a small number. They caus'd to be seal'd also the Instrument of Security granted to the City of *Avignon*, and the Letter written to the Emperor and the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and sent these Dispatches to *Avignon*: But some Days after a Secretary and another Domestick of the Cardinal of St. *Angelo*, having taken away the Lock of the Box where these Seals were kept, caus'd the other Decree to be seal'd, and other Letters for the Emperor and Patriarch of *Constantinople*. The Council being inform'd of this Trick caus'd a Process to be made against those who were the Authors of it, arrested Bishop *John*, one of the Pope's Legates, who was accused of being a Complice in it, who discover'd that this Accusation was not groundless, by making his Escape out of the City when he was to be try'd.

In the mean time the Pope, who minded nothing so much as to hinder the Council from continuing to sit at *Basil*, where it was held in a City out of *Italy*, confirm'd the Conclusion of those who would translate the Council to *Florence* or *Udine*, by his Constitution publish'd at *Ravenna*, May 29th; and to be before hand with the Council, he caus'd 4 Gallies to be speedily equipp'd at *Venice*, on which the Ambassadors of the *Greeks*, who were entirely gain'd by the Pope, embark'd, with three Bishops whom the Pope sent into the East in the Quality of Legates. These Ambassadors being arriv'd before those of the Council, inform'd the *Greeks*, that the Prelates of the Council by concert with the Pope, had consented that the Council for the Re-union should be held in *Italy*. Whereupon the Emperor, the Patriarch and the other Prelates, who were to go into the West, prepar'd to depart in the Pope's Gallies; when at the same time they were surpriz'd to hear, that other Gallies were arriv'd from the Council. The Captain *Condolmier*, who commanded those of the Pope, had orders to fight them; and he had done it if the *Greek* Emperor had not forbid him: But the Gallies of the Council being arriv'd, the Bishops who came on their behalf, presented to the *Greek* Emperor and the Patriarch the Bulls and safe Conducts which they had brought, assuring them that they were come to execute the Treaty made with them, and importun'd them to embark in the Gallies of the Council. The Emperor, who was pre-engag'd on the Pope's behalf, answer'd them, that they came now too late, for he could not make use of their Gallies: They remonstrated to him, that it was not their fault but his Ambassador *John's*, who had told them it would be sufficient if they should arrive in the Month of *October*. When they saw that the Emperor persisted in his resolution, they pray'd him to send, before his Departure, Ambassadors to the Pope and Council, assuring him they would continue there, until he could determine, according to the Answer they should bring him, whether he would depart or no. At the same time a Courier came from *Sigismund*, to dissuade *John Palæologus* from his Voyage into the West:

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But this Prince persisted in his resolution, notwithstanding this discouragement, and having made choice of those who were to accompany him and the Patriarch, he embark'd November the 24th. 1437. The Names of those whom he brought with him are as follow; *Mark Eugenius*, a learned Monk lately advanced to the dignity of the Archbishoprick of *Ephesus*, *Denys*, Archbishop of *Sardis*, and *Bessarion* of *Nice*, who were made choice of to speak in the name of all the *Greeks*; *Dorothy*, Archbishop of *Trebizonde*, *Anthony* of *Heraclea*, *Metrophanes* of *Cyzicum*, *Macarius* of *Nicomedia*, *Ignatius* of *Tornobe*, *Dositheus* of *Monembasus*, *Dorothy* of *Mitylene*, *Joasaph* of *Amasea*, *Damianus* of *Muldoblach*, *Nathaniel* of *Rhodes*, the Archbishops of *Lacedemon* and *Staurople*, *Matthew* of *Melinique*, *Dositheus* of *Drama*, *Gennadius* of *Ganna*, *Callistus* of *Distra*, *Sophronus* of *Anchiala*, with *Isidorus*, Archbishop of *Kiovia*, Metropolitan of *Russia*, in all twenty one Prelates of the first rank: Of the second *Theodorus*, *Xantopulus*, a Deacon, Grand Sacrist of the Church of *Constantinople*, *Michael Balsamon*, Grand Master of the Rolls, and Archdeacon of the same Church, *Scuropolus*, or *Scyropolus*, Grand Ecclesiarch, *George* of *Cappadocia*, Grand Protector, and many other Officers of the same Church. Among the Monks, *Gregory* the Emperor's Confessor, who was made * *Protosyncelle* at *Florence*, *Gerontius*, Abbot of the Monastery of the Almighty, and the Abbots of the Monasteries of *Cale* and *St. Basil*, *Moses*, a Monk of the Laurel of the Holy Mount, *Pacomus*, Abbot of *St. Paul*, *Dorotheus*, a Monk of *Batopede*, *Athanasius*, a Monk of *Periblet*, the learned *Gemistius*, Master to *Bessarion*, and *Mark* of *Ephesus*, and the Philosopher *Ameruntra*, *George Scholarius*, and some others, with the Prince *Demetrius*, Brother to the Emperor, and many Officers of the Empire. The Emperor took care to obtain Deputations from the Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, *Antioch* and *Jerusalem*, which he entrusted with such of the Prelates as he pleased, to represent them in the Council.

* i. e. Magnus Primicerius, as Bishop Creighton translates it in the Version of Scyropolus's History of the Florentine Council; perhaps, the Principal Secretary.

While these things were transacted in the East, the Council of *Basil* in the West proceeded against Pope *Eugenius*. He was accused of being refractory to the Decrees of the Council concerning Elections, Reservations and Appeals, of using Simony, of having ruin'd the City of *Palestrina*, and that he had wasted many other places of the Patrimony of St. *Peter*, on purpose to hinder the Re-union of the *Greeks*; of breaking the Oath he had made at his promotion to the Papal Dignity, and abusing his authority many other ways; whereupon the Council thought fit to cite him to appear within sixty days, in person or by a Proctor; and to declare to him, that if he did not appear there, they would proceed against him; and to order the Cardinals to be present there also at the same time. This was resolv'd upon, and published in the 26th. Session, held the last day of *July*, 1437.

In the 27th. held the 27th. of *September*, the Council declared the promotion to be null, which was made by *Eugenius*, of *John*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, to the dignity of Cardinal; and all other promotions which he might have made, or should make against the Decrees of the Council. It was declared also at the same Session, that the Decree by which *Florence* or *Udine* was appointed, was forged, and had been surreptitiously sealed. In fine, by a third Decree, the Alienation was prohibited, which the Pope had a mind to make of the City of *Avignon* and the Countship of *Venessin*, and the Council took them into their protection.

The time allowed the Pope by the Council for appearing, being expired on the 1st. of *October*, the Proctors of the Council demanded in the 28th. Session, held the same day, that he might be declared contumacious. He was summoned according to cus-

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tom at the Church-gate, and afterwards declared contumacious, and it was ordered that he should be further proceeded against.

Eugenius, for his part, had published twelve days before a Bull, whereby he translated the Council of *Basil* to *Ferrara*, in case the Bishops should continue to proceed against him, and as soon as the *Greeks* should arrive, allowing them only the space of 30 days for treating about the affair of the *Bohemians*, and declaring any other translation to be null, which was or should be made but by his authority. At the same time he sent to all parts the Bulls for calling the Council at *Ferrara*.

The Council of *Basil* oppos'd a Decree to this Bull, wherein they declared the translation of the Council to *Ferrara*, to be null; enjoin'd the Pope to recal it under the penalties ordain'd in the eleventh Session, and confirmed the Decrees they had made concerning the Collation of Benefices. This Decree was published in the twenty ninth Session, on the 2d. of *October*. The Council did nothing more this Year, but only made a Decree in the thirtieth Session, held the 22d. of *December*, concerning the Communion in both kinds, wherein they declared, that it was not necessary by a Divine Command. The 2d. of the same Month the Emperor *Sigismund* died.

The Council of Ferrara.

Eugenius look'd upon the Decree of the twenty ninth Session, as a contradiction to the prohibition he had made of proceeding against him, and by his Bull of the 1st. of *January*, 1438. he declared the Council translated to *Ferrara*, where it should begin the 8th. of *January*. And in effect, *Nicholas*, Cardinal of *Sancta Croix* open'd it on this day, with some *Italian* Bishops, and held the first Session the 10th. of this Month, wherein the translation of the Council to *Ferrara* was approv'd; and the Council of *Basil*, and all that it had done since the translation, and all that it should do for the future, was declared null, except what they might have ordain'd concerning the affair of the *Bohemians*. At the same time the Cardinal *Julian*, who had always continued till that time in the Office of President to the Council, notwithstanding the translation the Pope had made of it, retir'd from *Basil*, and carry'd away with him only four Prelates of the Council, while all the other remain'd as well as the Ambassadors of Princes, and continu'd to assemble, to make Orders, and to proceed against *Eugenius*; having for their Head *Louis Allemand*, Cardinal, by the title of *St. Cecil*, commonly call'd the Cardinal of *Arles*, from the name of his Archbishoprick, who continued President of the Council, and maintain'd it to the end with all possible prudence and vigor.

In the 31st. Session, held the 25th. of *January*, 1438. they made at first a Decree about causes, whereby they ordain'd, that they shall all be determined upon the place, except the great causes, or those about elections for Cathedrals and Monasteries; and since that their immediate subjection made them devolve to the Holy See, they do therefore forbid them to appeal to the Pope, *Omissio medio*, or to appeal from any Interlocutory before the definitive Sentence; at least they ordain, that the injury done by the interlocutory Sentence cannot be repair'd in the definitive Sentence; and that in case of appeal to the Holy See, the Judges upon the place shall be commissioned; and lastly, that while the Council sits, all causes of the Members of the Council which shall be carried to the Pope, shall be try'd in the Council. After this, they revok'd by a second Decree all Promises of Benefices before they were vacant, which were granted, or should be granted for the future: Yet they left to the Popes a power of providing for one Benefice in the Churches where there were ten Prebends, and for two in the Churches where there were fifty of them: And to the end, that Benefices may be filled with fit persons, they ordain'd, that there shall be a Professor of Divinity in all Cathedral Churches, and that Collators shall be bound, so soon as occasion offers, to name a Doctor or a Batchelor

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in Divinity for a Canon, who had studied ten Years in some privileg'd University, that he may read Lectures twice a Week; that besides this, in each Cathedral or Collegiate Church, the third part of the Prebends shall be given to the Graduates, Doctors, Licentiates, or Batchelors in any Faculty; so that the first vacant Benefice in each Church shall be given to a Graduate, and then that which shall be vacant after the two next, and so onwards; that the same method shall be observed with respect to Dignities; that the Curates of wall'd Cities shall at least be Masters of Arts; that all those who have the requisite qualifications, shall be bound to give in their Names every Year, at *Christmas* to the Collators of Benefices, that they may have a right to them, otherwise their promotion shall be null: Lastly, that the Benefices of Regulars shall be given to Regulars that are fit for them. The Council of *Basil* having made these Decrees, declared Pope *Eugenius* suspended from all kind of administration of the Papal Power, as well in spirituals as temporals, which had now devolved to the Council; decreed, that all he did should be null, and forbid all sorts of persons to obey him under pain of Excommunication.

The Pope *Eugenius*, who had been at *Ferrara* ever since the 24th. of *January*, called a Meeting of the Prelates who were there present, on the 8th. of *February*; and held a Session, wherein nothing was concluded, but that the Pope should remove these pretended mischiefs which the continuation of the Council of *Basil* occasion'd. Afterwards they consulted about some Preliminaries of the Council, and particularly as to what concern'd the annulling of the Council of *Basil*, and the calling of this new Council at *Ferrara*; and it was resolv'd, that not only all that had been done in the Council of *Basil* since the translation should be declared null, but also that the Prelates should be treated as Schismatics, who had or should attempt any thing to the prejudice of the Pope, and all their Benefices should be declared vacant; that the City of *Basil* should be put under an Interdict, if it did not drive them away within a Month; that the same penalty shall be enacted against all the places that shall receive or favour them; that Princes shall be informed of these things, and invited to send their Ambassadors, and the Prelates of their Dominions to the Council of *Ferrara*; that all the Sums shall be stopp'd which had been gathered to contribute to the Union of the *Greeks*. This resolution pass'd in the Congregations of the 11th. and 14th. of *February*, and was read and approv'd in the Session, held on the 15th. of the same Month, at which the Bishop of *Foro Julio* read and published the Decree made in the name of *Eugenius*, with the approbation of the Council; whereby he declar'd, that the Prelates which remain'd at *Basil* had incurred the penalties of Excommunication and Deprivation of their Dignities and Benefices enacted in the Bull of Translation; null'd and made void all that they had done since the translation, or should do for the future; enjoin'd the Prelates to depart from *Basil* within 30 days, and the Magistrates and Inhabitants of the City to force them away under pain of Excommunication, and an Interdict; and in case they should not do it, he forbid all sorts of persons to enter within that City, under the same pains, and enjoin'd all Merchants to withdraw from it. This is what was done at *Ferrara* before the arrival of the *Greeks*.

On the other side, the Council of *Basil* understanding what had been decreed in the second Session of the Synod of *Ferrara*, oppos'd to this Decree a Synodal Answer, publish'd the 17th. of *March*, and in the 32d. Session, on the 25th. of the same Month, they declared the calling of the Council of *Ferrara* to be null, and all that had been done there, or should be done there for the future; enjoin'd all the Prelates who were at *Ferrara*, and all the Officers of the Court of *Eugenius*, to come within 30 days to *Basil*, and excommunicated all those who should

should directly or indirectly hinder or molest those that would come to *Basil*.

The Councils of Basil and Florence, &c.
The Arrival of the Greeks.

The *Greeks* arriv'd at *Venice* on the 8th. of *February*. The Emperor *John Emmanuel Palaeologus* was there in person, with *Joseph* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and the other Prelates whom they had brought with them. They consulted for some time, whether they should go and meet the Pope at *Ferrara*, or expect News from the Council at *Basil*; but at last being resolv'd to go right to the Pope, they parted from *Venice* the 28th. of the same Month, and arriv'd at *Ferrara* the 7th. of *March*. At first there was some difficulty as to the manner how the Patriarch and the *Greek* Bishops should address themselves to the Pope. He had a mind to require of them that they should prostrate themselves before him and kiss his Feet; but they refus'd it with so much resolution, that the Pope was forc'd to recede from his pretension, and to receive them without this ceremony. The Patriarch and the other *Greek* Prelates enter'd six a-piece into the chamber where he was, and saluted him by embracing him. But he order'd none but the Patriarch to sit down in the place of Cardinals, and suffer'd the rest to stand; and he would not allow the Patriarch to carry his Cross, and give the Benediction in the City. Some days after they began to talk about affairs, and the Emperor solicited the Pope to call an œcumenical Council, and to invite to it the Kings and Princes of the West, or their Ambassadors. The Pope answered him, that it could not be done at that time because of the Wars: But they agreed to be satisfy'd with the opening of the Council at *Ferrara*, and to adjourn it for four Months; and that the Prelates might have time to come thither, they fix'd the day of opening to the 9th. of *April*.

The Opening of the Council of Ferrara.

In the mean time there were several disputes concerning the seats of the Pope, the Emperor, and the Patriarch: But at last it was agreed, that the Pope should be seated on a high Chair in the first place on the right hand; that a step below him a vacant Throne shall be plac'd for the Emperor of the *Latins*; and below him on the same side, should be placed the Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops of the West: That the *Greek* Emperor should have a Throne on the other side, opposite to that of the Emperor of the *Latins*; that below that should be plac'd the Chair of the Patriarch, and then the Bench of the Vicars of the other Patriarchs; and next to them the *Greek* Archbishops and Bishops; and that the Prince *Demetrius*, Brother of the Emperor, should sit on a seat beside him. The Gospel was plac'd in the middle of the Church before the Altar. These things being thus ordered, the opening of the Council was made in the Church of *St. George*, on the 9th. of *April*. The Patriarch of *Constantinople* could not be present because of his indisposition; but there was read a declaration which he made, wherein he approves the calling of the Council at *Ferrara*, and consents they should allow the space of four Months, that the Bishops who were still at *Basil*, and all others who ought to be present there, might come, as well as the Kings and Princes of the West. After this the Decree of the Pope was read, by which he declares that the œcumenical Synod shall be held at *Ferrara*. This resolution was approv'd by the *Latins* and the *Greeks*; and thus ended the first Session of the Council of *Ferrara*.

The Conferences of the Greeks with the Latins, about Purgatory.

The Pope sent this new Bull of convocation into all Kingdoms, and solicited earnestly the Princes to send to the Council of *Ferrara*; but not to lose any time, he press'd the *Greeks* to enter upon a conference with the *Latins* about the differences between the two Churches. The *Greeks* had a mind to put it off till such time as the Council should be assembled. But at last after many contests it was agreed, that on each side ten persons should be appointed who should meet three times a Week in the Church of the Monastery of *St. Andrew*, and confer together about the controversies. The *Greeks*, on their part,

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appointed *Mark of Ephesus*, the Bishops of *Monembase*, *Nice*, *Lacedemon*, and *Anchiala*, together with the Grand Master of the Rolls, the Grand Ecclesiarch, two Abbots and one Monk, to whom the Emperor join'd *Jagaris*. The *Latins* appointed on their side the Cardinal *Julian*, the Cardinal of *Ferre*, *Andrew* Bishop of *Rhodes*, *John* a Doctor of *Spain*, and six others. *Mark of Ephesus*, and *Bessarion* Bishop of *Nice*, were entrusted to speak in behalf of the *Greeks*, and to them it was recommended that they should not enter upon the principal controversies, but reserve them to the Council. The conference began with several discourses on both sides, concerning the benefits of Peace and Union. The Cardinal *Julian* would have had the *Greeks* enter upon the principal question about the Union; but they shunn'd it in this first and the second conference. In the third, the same Cardinal said, that there were four Heads of controversy between the *Greeks* and the *Latins*; The first concerning the Procession of the Holy Spirit. The second about unleavened or leavened Bread in the Sacrifice. The third about Purgatory. And the fourth about the Primacy of the Pope; and he enquired of the *Greeks* with which of these controversies they thought it convenient to begin their conferences. They refused to treat about the Procession of the Holy Spirit; and gave no answer about the other Articles until they consulted the Emperor, without whose orders they would do nothing. In the fourth conference they offered to treat about Purgatory, or the Primacy, and left the *Latins* at liberty to choose either of them. The Cardinal *Julian* chose the Article of Purgatory; but they did not begin to debate this matter until the fifth Session, held *June* the 5th. Upon the demand of the *Greeks*, that they would expound the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* about this point, *Julian* told them, it believ'd that the Souls of the Just, which were pure and without stain, and free from mortal Sin, ascended streight into Heaven, and enjoy'd eternal repose; but that the Souls of those that had fallen into Sins after Baptism, tho' they had done Penance for them, if they had not perfectly accomplished the Penance impos'd upon them, nor brought forth Fruits worthy of Repentance to obtain an entire remission of Sins, passed thro' the Fire of Purgatory; and that some are there a longer, and some a shorter time, according to the quality of their Sins; and that at last being purified, they enjoy'd perfect happiness; but that the Souls of those who died in mortal Sins, or in original Sin, were sent immediately to the place of torments. *Mark of Ephesus* answered, that the Doctrine of the *Greek* Church was not different from this but in a very small matter; and that he hop'd 'twas easie to rectify it by an explication. This difference was expounded in the sixth conference, and the *Greeks* made it to consist in this, that the *Latins* said the purification of Souls was made by Fire, whereas the *Greeks* believed that the Souls of Sinners went to a place of darkness and sadness, where they were for some time in affliction; and deprived of the light of God; but that they were purified and delivered from this place of affliction, by Sacrifices and Alms; that they believed also that the Damned should not be perfectly miserable, nor the Saints enjoy a perfect happiness till after the Resurrection of their Bodies. The *Latins* demanded, that this Declaration of the *Greeks* should be put in writing. When they were about to do it, *Mark of Ephesus*, and *Bessarion* of *Nice*, could not agree among themselves, and each of them drew up a different writing; the former being persuaded that perfect happiness was delay'd until the Day of Judgment; and the other believing that they wanted nothing to perfect their happiness but to receive their Bodies. This contest embroil'd them one with another, and from this time they acted no more by consent, and there was no good understanding between them. After this the conferences degenerated into heats, and ended about the end of the Month of *July*, without treating

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treating upon any other points but that of Purgatory, and even about that they could not agree.

The Councils of Basil and Florence, &c.

Chartophylax.

The Conference of the Greeks with the Latins, about the Addition to the Creed, held at Ferrara.

When the time appointed for the sitting of the Synod drew near, the *Greeks* began to be uneasy, and the Pest was then in *Ferrara*. All these considerations should have moved both of them to wish for a conclusion of this affair, but it was not easily to be compassed. The Princes sent neither Prelates nor Ambassadors to the Council; those who were at *Basil* remained there still; the *Greek* Emperor would not have the Synod begin until there were a considerable number of Prelates. Nevertheless the Pope, by his importunity, made him resolve to hold the Council; telling him, that where the Pope, the Emperor and the Patriarch were, there was the Synod: But a new difficulty happened; for the *Greeks*, reflecting upon the smallness of their number, concluded, that if things were carried in the Council by plurality of Votes, they must needs lose their cause, and therefore they remonstrated, that the case was different in this Council from what it had been in former Councils, wherein the *Greek* and *Latin* Church were at agreement; whereas in this the difference which was to be determined was between them, so that the Judges themselves were divided; and therefore they proposed, that the Voices of each party should not be reckoned by the party, but in proportion to the number of which each party consisted, so that if there were 20 on one side, and 200 on the other, the 20 Votes should be reckon'd as equal to the 200. The Emperor took upon him to make the Pope agree to this proposal, and he agreed with him about some things; but he did not otherwise explain himself to the Bishops, but by telling them, that they should be content, and that the Pope had granted them what they desired. After this a resolution was taken to begin quickly the Sessions of the Council. The Emperor having sent for the six principal Archbishops, the Grand Master of the Rolls, the Grand Ecclesiarch, with the two Abbots who had been present at the Conferences, and three Doctors, acquainted them that the time of the Synod was now approaching, that they must consult where they should begin the Question about the Procession of the Holy Spirit, which consisted in two points: the first was, to understand whether the Doctrine of the *Latin* Church, upon this subject, was orthodox and agreeable to the sentiments of the *Greek* Church. The second, whether they had reason to add to the Creed, that he proceeded from the Son. They were divided in their opinions, but the greater number thought that they must begin with this last head. The *Greeks* and *Latins* appointed each of them six persons to maintain the dispute: Those who spoke on behalf of the *Greeks* were *Mark* of *Ephesus*, and *Bessarion* of *Nice*; on the *Latins* side, the Cardinal *Julian*, *Andrew* Bishop of *Rhodes*, the Bishop of *Foro-Julio*, and a *Spanish* Doctor named *John*, were chosen with two others, to answer the *Greeks*. The Emperor having the consent of his Clergy for beginning the Council, sent *Jagaris* and *Scyropulus* the Grand Ecclesiarch, to advertise the Pope of three things; 1. That the *Greeks* were ready to begin the Synod, and waited only for the day which he would appoint. 2. That they desired to be the Aggressors, and that the *Latins* would answer them. 3. That the Sessions should be held in the Cathedral, or at least in some of the principal Churches. The Pope granted them the two first Articles, and fixed the first Session of the Council for the 8th. of *October*: But he would never consent to the third, and caus'd all the Sessions to be held in the Chappel of his own Palace. The places there were ordered very near after the same manner as they had been in the Church of *St. George* at the beginning of the Council.

The Session began with a long discourse made by *Bessarion* about the advantages of peace; after which *Mark* of *Ephesus* having spoken of the charity that was to be preserved in disputes, gave them to understand that he would begin with discoursing about

the addition made to the Creed. *Andrew* of *Rhodes* answered on behalf of the *Latins*, by praising the design of maintaining charity, and would have entred upon the matter about the addition: But *Mark* of *Ephesus* stopp'd him, and told him, that it was not yet time to answer about this Article; and having remark'd, that the Church of *Rome* had neglected in times past that peace which she desired at present, he said that she could not obtain it but by removing altogether the principles of discord; and demanded, that before any thing was done, the Decrees of former Councils should be read.

The Councils of Basil and Florence, &c.

In the next Session held the 13th. of *October*, *Andrew* of *Rhodes* having a mind to begin a discourse about the addition to the Creed, was interrupted by the *Greeks*; and this Session was spent in contests about the manner in which they should proceed: The *Greeks* insisting always upon it, that it belong'd to them to propose, and that in the first place the Decrees of former Councils must be read.

After much dispute the *Greeks* carried it so far, that in the third Session held the 10th. of *October*, they read the Prohibition made by the Council of *Ephesus*, to add any thing to the Creed; upon which *Mark* of *Ephesus* made some reflections, and confirmed it by the testimony of *St. Cyril* and Pope *Celestine*: They reported also the Definitions of the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th. General Councils, which would have nothing added to the Creed. The *Latins* produced a Manuscript of the 7th. Council, where they pretended it would be found, that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son; and assur'd them that this Manuscript was very ancient: But the *Greeks* replied, that if this had been so, *Thomas Aquinas* and other *Latins*, who were defenders of this addition, would not have fail'd to relate this testimony as decisive in the case.

In the 4th. Conference on the 20th. of the same Month, after it was agreed, that nothing out of Synods should be alledg'd for or against *Photius*, that both sides should be bounded by the 8th. General Council, *Andrew* of *Rhodes* began a long discourse to shew, that what the *Greeks* pretended to be an addition, was a mere explication, which was not forbidden to be made. He founded this proposition particularly upon the example of the 2d. Council, which had added words to the *Nicene* Creed to explain more clearly its Doctrine; that there was the same reason as to the word *Filioque*, added by the *Latins*, which was only an explication of what was in the *Nicene* Creed; that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father, because the Son having all that is natural and essential to the Father, when 'tis said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, it must necessarily be understood that he proceeds also from the Son.

Andrew of *Rhodes* continued the same discourse in the next Conference held the 25th. of *October*, and undertook to answer the authorities produced by *Mark* of *Ephesus*, grounding always upon the same principle, that they did not forbid to add explications or declarations of the same Faith, but only such things as were contrary to, or different from the Doctrine contained in the Creed. He related many passages of the *Greek* Fathers, to prove that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son as from the Father, and insisted particularly upon the authority of *St. Cyril* and *Maximus*. But the *Greeks* maintain'd that the passage in this latter was falsified. He alledged also the authority of *Tarasius* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and an ancient Manuscript of the 7th. Council where the addition was found. He laid some stress upon the silence of *Photius*, who had never objected this addition to the *Latins* *; and

lastly, he and the Cardinal [* But this is notoriously false, as appears from his Encyclical Epistle to the Patriarchs of the East, which is inserted into the 10th. Book of Baronius's Annals, wherein he charges the Latins with corrupting the Nicene Creed, that they might the more freely propagate the Doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son.]

Julian

The Councils of Basil and Florence, &c. Julian concluded this conference with the Testimonies of St. Cyril and Agathon, who acknowledg'd that the Roman Church had Power to explain and establish the Doctrine of Faith.

The Greeks having conferr'd among themselves about the Discourse of Andrew of Rhodes, appointed Bessarion of Nice to answer him: He made a long and learned Discourse in the Session held the first of November, wherein he undertook to prove, that all Additions to the Creed were forbidden, and so it was needless to examine whether that made by the Latins was an Explication or no; that there was sufficient ground to reject it, because it was an Addition; that it was not forbidden to explain the Faith, but to insert these Explications into the Creed; that until the time of the second Council this might have been allow'd, but the third had absolutely forbidden it; that this Prohibition had been needless, if they had only forbidden to add any thing contrary to the ancient Faith, since that was always forbidden; that the Fathers of this Council had judg'd it not convenient to add to the Creed the term of *Mother of God*, altho' it seem'd necessary to do it; And that these Words were only an Explication of the Doctrine contain'd in the Creed; that the following Councils would not add their Definitions, tho' they were only an Explication of the Doctrine of the Creed.

Bessarion having not finish'd his Answer to Andrew of Rhodes in this Session, continued it in the next held the 4th. of November, and maintain'd that St. Cyril and Agathon did not only forbid to add any thing contrary to the Creed, but also disallow'd of any kind of Addition: And as to what they had advanc'd in favour of the Church of Rome's Prerogatives, he said, that the Greeks knew very well the Rights and Privileges of that Church, but that they knew also the Bounds of them; and that when they deny'd the Universal Church and an Oecumenical Council a Right to add to the Creed, they had much more Reason to deny it to the Church of Rome, or rather they were persuaded that the Councils by their Decrees forbad it. When Bessarion had finished, Andrew of Rhodes undertook to reply, but being unprepared he wander'd from the Subject, and after he had said many impertinent things, at last he came to the chief Points of the Doctrine.

John Bishop of Foro-Julio was made choice of by the Latins to answer Bessarion, in the Session held the 8th. of November. After he had alledg'd many Reasons to prove that the word *Filioque* was not an Addition but a meer Explication, he maintain'd not only that there was no Law forbidding to add any Explication to the Creed, but also that none could make such a Prohibition to the Church, and that it could extend only to private Persons, who would make this Addition without Authority.

The Cardinal Julian finish'd this Dispute in the Session on November 11th. with many Remarks upon the Prohibition of the Council of Ephesus. 1. He observ'd, that this Law was to be understood with respect to the occasion on which it was made, which was the false Creed of the Nestorians, that the Council had condemn'd, and not that of Charisius, which was Orthodox. 2. That this Council did not only forbid to add, but also to make any new Exposition of the Faith; and therefore if this Prohibition were extended to the Church or a Council, it would follow, that the Church could not make a new Exposition of the Faith; which the Greeks did own to be false. 3. That the Council of Ephesus having spoken only of the Nicene Creed, it would follow, that it must disapprove the Additions made to the Creed by the Council of Constantinople. 4. That the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, St. Cyril and St. Leo, had no other design, but to hinder the teaching or introducing of any new Doctrine. When he had finish'd these Remarks, he said it was now time to come to the principal Question, viz. Whether it were true that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son; and in case the Greeks

The Councils of Basil and Florence, &c. should prove that he did not proceed, then it would follow that the Roman Church had made a prohibited Addition to the Creed; but if on the contrary it should be prov'd, that this was sound and true Doctrine, then it must be confess'd that the Roman Church had power to add this Explication to the Creed. Nevertheless Bessarion said, that he would answer in the next Conference, to what the Cardinal Julian had now advanc'd.

On the 15th. of November, Mark of Ephesus and Cardinal Julian contested among themselves, concerning the Creed of Charisius, and the Explication of the Prohibition of the Council of Ephesus. Towards the conclusion the Cardinal Julian observ'd, that there were Manuscripts of the Creed of Constantinople, in which these Words are not to be found, *Descendit de Caelis*, nor these, *Secundum Scripturas*; and that the Latins had added these, *Deum de Deo*, about which the Greeks made no opposition; as they did about the word *Filioque*. Andrew of Rhodes had also said in his Discourse, that the Phrase *Descendit ad inferos*, was an Addition. Mark of Ephesus would have enter'd upon the Question, viz. Whether the Roman Church and the Pope had Power to add to the Creed: But the Cardinal would not enter upon it, and persisted in determining importunately, that they would come to the principal Question, concerning the Truth of the Doctrine.

The Ambassadors of the Duke of Burgundy were receiv'd in the 12th. Session held the 27th. of November, saluted the Pope, presented him a Letter from their Master, and made a Discourse in the Assembly: But because they had not shewn the Greek Emperor the Respect that was due to him, nor presented him with a Letter, he would not allow them to take their Seat until he had receiv'd Satisfaction; which they gave him in the next Session by presenting him with a Letter in their Master's Name, and doing him Reverence; but after such a manner as did not perfectly satisfy.

In the mean time the Conference continu'd, and was reduc'd to a private contest between Mark of Ephesus, and the Cardinal Julian, about the Addition to the Creed.

Another also was held on the 8th. of December, which dwindled also into Heats upon the same Subject, without the Agreeing of the Parties in any thing. The Latins would have them to enter upon the principal Point in Question; and after that was explain'd, if they should find it true, that the Holy Spirit did proceed from the Person of the Son, then the Addition should continue in the Creed; but if they should find this Proposition false, then it should be rejected. The Greeks, on the contrary, asserted, that they must begin with cutting off the word *Filioque*, from the Creed, and after that examine the main Question; that if the Doctrine of the Latins should be found to be true, it should be decreed, but if it were false then it should be condemn'd. This contest was the cause why the Conferences ceas'd for some time; but at last the Greek Emperor made the Greeks resolve to enter upon the dispute about the truth of the Doctrine. The Pope propos'd afterwards to translate the Council to Florence, because he could no longer conveniently furnish the necessary expence for continuing it at Ferrara; and it was agreed with the Florentines, that they should raise him a considerable Sum, provided the Council were held at Florence. The Patriarch of Constantinople and the Greek Prelates oppos'd mightily this Proposal, but at last the necessity to which they were reduc'd oblig'd them to accept of it, and to consent that the Synod might be translated to Florence; and this translation was publish'd in the last Assembly held at Ferrara, January the 11th. 1439. The pretence that the Pope alledg'd in the Bull, was the Pestilence which had been at Ferrara, and it was to be fear'd it would break forth again in the Spring. One part of what was owing to the Greeks was paid them. Some Relief of Money was sent to Constantinople, and the Greeks

The Councils of Basil and Florence, &c. were promised, that the expence of their Voyage and of their living at *Florence* should be defray'd, and that they should be carried home again, whether the Union were concluded or no. The Pope and Emperor, the Patriarch of *Constantinople* and the *Latin* and *Greek* Prelates, parted after this for *Florence*, and arriv'd there at the beginning of *February*. After they had repos'd themselves for some Days, they agreed upon certain Measures concerning the Method of continuing their conferences: And the Emperor was of opinion, that they should be held in private. The first was held the 26th. of *February*. The Cardinal *Julian* and the Emperor who were the only Persons that spoke at it, came to an Agreement, that some Expedient should be search'd for by both sides, to unite them together. The Patriarch being grievously sick, was not present at this, nor the following Sessions. The Emperor and *Greek* Prelates being present at his House, consulted about this Proposal which had been made, to search after some means for uniting them together; but they all said, that they had none to offer, and that they were ready to answer the *Latins*; that they would meet in private the next *Saturday*, and then enter upon a conference. The Pope seeing that they would not propose any Expedient, but dispute on still, put off the meeting to *Monday* next, being the 2d. Day of *March*.

In this Session, and the five following, *John* the Theologue for the *Latins*, and *Mark* of *Ephesus* for the *Greeks*, disputed earnestly concerning the Procession of the Holy Spirit; and after they had long contested concerning the Sense of divers Passages of the *Greek* Fathers, each remain'd of his own opinion without agreeing in any thing. The *Greek* Emperor perceiving plainly, that these Disputes were so far from procuring Union, that they rather serv'd to exasperate their Spirits, call'd his Prelates together to engage them to find out some Temper, by means of which an Union might be concluded; and he believ'd that he had found out an Expedient, by remarking that *John* the Divine had said, that the Father was the sole cause of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. The *Greeks* having search'd for divers Expedients, thought at last they had found one in a Letter of St. *Maximus*, who says, that the *Latins* by affirming that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, do not pretend that the Son was the cause of the Spirit, and that they know very well, that the Father is the sole cause of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit; of the Son by Generation, of the Holy Spirit by Procession; but they mean only that the Holy Spirit proceeds by the Son, because he is of one and the same Essence. All the *Greeks*, except *Mark* of *Ephesus*, and the Archbishop of *Heraclea*, agreed, that if the *Latins* would approve this Letter, the Union would easily be concluded. The News of this was carried to the *Latins*, who promis'd to give their Answer in the first conference, which was to be held *March* the 21st. The Emperor would not have *Mark* of *Ephesus*, nor the Archbishop of *Heraclea* to be there present, so that *John* spoke alone in this Session, and in the next which was held the 24th. of *March*. The *Greeks* were divided among themselves, some were Enemies to the Union, others on the contrary desir'd it, and sought out means to compass it. The Emperor supported the latter, and desir'd them earnestly to conclude an Union at any price whatsoever. He caus'd them therefore to resolve in the Assembly, that a Message should be sent to the Pope, to tell him, that Disputes were useless, and they must find out some other way for Union. The Pope made answer, that the *Greeks* must acknowledge, that the *Latins* had prov'd very well, that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son, or else they should have brought Testimonies of Scripture expressly contrary to this Doctrine. If they did not, that an Assembly must be held, wherein they must make Oath upon the Gospels, to speak the truth, that after this, e-

The Councils of Basil and Florence, &c. very one should give his Opinion, and that Doctrine should be embrac'd which had a Plurality of Voices. This Answer being reported to the Emperor, he caus'd tell the Pope, that this was not the way to procure an Union, that this would end in a Dispute, and then they must come to a decision of it, which is what they would avoid; and therefore they must pray his Holiness to find out some other way. In the mean time, *Bessarion* made a Discourse concerning Union, wherein he justified the Doctrine of the *Latins*. The Emperor having a mind to put an end to this Affair, held after *Easter* a Meeting in the Patriarch's House, where the Cardinal *Julian* was present, who endeavour'd to persuade the *Greeks* to resume their conferences; but the Emperor would not hearken to this Proposal; and therefore went himself to meet the Pope, and agreed with him, that ten Persons should be appointed on each side, who should meet, and give their Opinion, one after another, of the Means which they thought convenient for obtaining an Union. *Bessarion* propos'd in the first conference, that the *Latins* and *Greeks* should approve the Letter of *Maximus* to *Marinus*; without any Explication; but the *Latins* gave it a Sense which was not agreeable to the *Greeks*. *Mark* of *Ephesus* propos'd after this, that the Addition made to the Creed should be struck out; others offer'd for a Model, the Profession of Faith made by the Patriarch *Tarasius*, wherein 'tis said, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father by the Son: In fine, divers Expedients were propos'd in five conferences, which were held on this Subject; but not one of them was agreed upon by both Parties. After this, the *Latins* drew up a Profession of Faith, wherein they declar'd, that they would not admit two Principles; or two Causes in the Trinity; but one only Principle, which is the Action of the Father and the Son, and their Productive Power, and that the Holy Spirit did not proceed from the Son, as from another Principle, or another cause, because there is but one Cause, one Root, and one Fountain of the Divinity which is the Father; that notwithstanding this, the Father and the Son are two Persons, tho' they act by one and the same Operation, and that the Person produc'd of the Substance and Subsistence of the Father and the Son is one; that those who say the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father, must acknowledge that there was a time when the Son was not, or else separate the Substance from the Subsistence, which is absurd. This Profession of Faith was sent to the *Greeks* by the *Latins*, *April* the 29th. The *Greeks* not being satisfy'd with it, the *Latins* sent them another, which contain'd also the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and from the Son; yet in such a manner that 'twas said, the Father was the sole cause of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. The *Greeks* after this gave one from their side, wherein they declar'd, that the Father was the Fountain and Root of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and that the Holy Spirit came forth from the Son, and was sent by the Son. The *Latins* desir'd they would explain these Terms, and that they would tell in what Sense they took them, if they meant them of the Eternal and Substantial Procession of the Holy Spirit, or only of a Temporal Mission. The *Greeks* made a Difficulty of doing this. At last, a Profession of Faith was drawn up, conceiv'd in these Words, ' We the *Latins* on one side, do affirm and make ' Profession, that when we say, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, we intend not ' by this to deny that the Father is the Principle ' and Fountain of all the Divinity of the Son, and ' of the Holy Spirit, or that the Son proceeds from ' the Father, or to admit two Principles, and two ' Productions of the Holy Spirit; but we assert ' and believe, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from ' the Father and the Son, as one sole Principle, and ' by one sole Production. And we the *Greeks* on ' the other side, do acknowledge, that the Holy Spirit

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Spirit proceeds from the Father, and that he appertains to the Son, that he came forth from him, and proceeds substantially from these two, viz. from the Father by the Son; and we are all united in this unanimous Profession of Faith.' This Profession of Faith being read in the Assembly of the Greeks, was approv'd by some of them, and rejected by others: But at last, having pass'd by a Plurality of Voices, it was sent to the Pope, who demanded still several Explications. The Greeks were divided among themselves. *Bessarion* of *Nice*, and the Archbishop of *Russia* maintain'd that it might be said, that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father and from the Son, as the *Latins* said; or from the Father by the Son, according to the Expression of the *Greeks*; provided it were acknowledg'd, that he proceeded from the Father and the Son, as one only principle and cause; that this was a means of reconciling the sentiments of the Fathers which seem'd to contradict one another, and of coming quickly to an Union. *Mark* of *Ephesus*, the Archbishop of *Heraclea*, and many others were of a contrary opinion, and maintain'd, that there was a great deal of difference, between saying that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father by the Son, and that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father and the Son. After they had for a long time disputed both on this Subject in the private Congregations, the Emperor call'd them all together to give their opinion on the 2d. of *June*. The Patriarch said, that since the Fathers taught in some places, that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father and the Son; and in others, that he proceeded from the Father by the Son; and that these Terms, *from the Son* or *by the Son*, were equivalent, without making use of this Expression, *That the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son*; he said, that he proceeds from the Father by the Son Eternally and Substantially, as one sole principle and one sole cause, the Preposition, *by*, signifying in this place, that the Son is the cause in the Procession of the Holy Spirit. He added, that he would receive those of the West, who said, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and from the Son, provided they would not add it to the Creed, and that the *Greeks* would unite with them, without changing their Rites. The Emperor said only in general, that he did not believe this Council inferior to other General Councils; that he would follow its Decision, being persuaded that the Church cannot err; provided the *Latins* would not oblige the *Greeks* to add any thing to the Creed, nor change any thing in their Rites. After the Emperor, *Isidore*, Archbishop of *Russia*, who represented the Patriarch of *Antioch*, said, that he believ'd also, we must approve the Doctrine of the Occidentals; that the Holy Spirit receiv'd his Being from the Son, and that the Father and the Son were one sole principle of the Holy Spirit. *Bessarion* was of the same opinion, and made a long Discourse to prove it. But *Anthony*, Archbishop of *Heraclea*, one of the Vicars of the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, was of another opinion, for he plainly rejected the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. But the * *Protosyn-celle*, second Vicar of the same Patriarchate, was of a contrary opinion to him, and approv'd the Union with the *Latins*, altho' some Days before he had maintain'd, that the Baptism of the *Latins* was of no validity, because it was done by sprinkling. *Mark* of *Ephesus*, *Dositheus* Bishop of *Monembase*, Vicar of the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and *Sophronius* of *Anchiala*, would not acknowledge, that the Son was the cause of the Holy Spirit in the Sense that the *Greeks* took the Word, *Cause*, for a Principle; and deny'd that it might be said, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, as one only principle. *Scyropulus*, Grand Ecclesiarch, was of the same Opinion, altho' he gave not his Vote for it. *Dorotheus*, Bishop of *Mitylene*, and the Bishops of *Lacedemon*, of *Rhodes*, of *Nicomedia*, *Disira*, *Drama* and *Melenique*, approv'd the Procession of the Holy Spirit from

* Magnus Primicerius.

The Archbishop of Trebizonde being sick would not send his Vote.

Father and the Son, and concluded for the Union; and so did *Gregory* the Penitentiary, and the Abbot *Pacomus*. All the Ministers of the Emperor applauded the Union, except Prince *Demetrius*, the Emperor's Brother; who would not give his opinion, because he was contrary to the Union. The Ambassadors of the Princes and People of *Greece*, who were then present, approv'd also the Union, except those of the *Iberians*: The Bishops of *Cyzicum*, *Trebizonde*, *Heraclea* and *Monembase*, came over at last to the opinion of the others; so that there were not any among the Bishops who persisted in a contrary opinion, but only *Mark* of *Ephesus*, and *Sophronius* of *Anchiala*.

The Emperor having thus disposed matters towards an Union, thought it now high time to treat with the Pope about the succours he wanted. He sent to him the Archbishop of *Russia*, to enter upon the Negotiation, and this Archbishop brought to him three Cardinals, who agreed upon the following Articles. First, that the Pope should furnish to the *Greeks* the expences of their return; secondly, that he should maintain every Year 300 Soldiers, and two Gallies to guard the City of *Constantinople*; thirdly, that the Gallies which carried the Pilgrims to *Jerusalem*, should go to *Constantinople*; fourthly, that when the Emperor had occasion for 20 Gallies for six Months, or 10 for a Year, the Pope should furnish him with them; fifthly, that if there was occasion for Land-forces, the Pope should earnestly solicit the Christian Princes of the West to furnish him with them.

The next day, being the 3d. of *June*, The Emperor caused all the *Greeks* to come to the Assembly, and to repeat their Suffrages: The Patriarch said, that since the *Latins* did not say of their own heads, but according to the Scripture, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father by the Son; he was of their opinion, and that he thought this Preposition, *by*, denoted, that the Son was the cause of the Holy Spirit; and thus they would unite with them, and embrace their Communion. All the *Greeks*, except *Mark* of *Ephesus*, followed the opinion of the Patriarch, and acknowledged, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and from the Son, as one principle and one substance; that he proceeds by the Son, being of the same nature and the same substance, and that he proceeds from the Father and the Son, by one and the same spiration and production.

On the 5th. of the same Month, the Definition was put in writing, and three copies were made of it; the first was carried to the Pope, the other to the Emperor, and the third to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*. The next day it was carried to the Pope and Cardinals, who agreed to it, and there were ten persons appointed on each side, to put the last hand to it: This being done on the 8th. of the same Month, it was read in *Greek* and *Latin*, and approved by the *Greeks* and *Latins*.

The next day, the Archbishops of *Russia*, *Nice*, *Trebizonde* and *Mitylene*, being deputed to wait upon the Pope, he said unto them, *God be thank'd we are now agreed about the principal Doctrine in which we differed*; Ye must presently treat of the Questions about Purgatory, the Primacy of the Pope, and the use of leavened and unleavened Bread in the Eucharist, and about the Divine Sacrifice; to the end, that all occasion of discord may be removed, and after that an Union be immediately settled; for the time is short. They began with the Question of unleavened Bread, and it was determined, that they might use indifferently either that which is leavened or unleavened, provided it were made of Bread-Corn; that the Minister had received orders, and that the place of Celebration was consecrated. As to Purgatory, it was determined, that the Souls of Saints had obtained in Heaven a perfect recompence, as they were Souls; that those Sinners were punished to the highest degree, and that the Souls of those who were in a middle state between these two, were

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in a place where they endured punishment; but it was not material, whether it be said, that this was done by Fire or by Darkness, by Tempest, or after any other manner. Concerning the Primacy of the Pope, it was decreed, that he should enjoy all the privileges which he had at the beginning of, and before the Schism. In fine, the *Latins* demanded concerning the Sacrifice, why the *Greeks*, after they have pronounced these words, *This is my Body, this is my Blood*, repeat this Prayer, *Make this Bread the precious Body of your Christ, and what is in this Chalice his precious Blood, in changing them by your Holy Spirit*. The *Greeks* answered, that they confessed the Bread was consecrated, and made the Body of Jesus Christ, by these words, *This is my Body*, &c. But that as the *Latins*, after they have pronounced them, say, *Order, O Lord, that these Gifts may be carried by the Hands of your holy Angel unto your sublime Altar*, so likewise the *Greeks* do pray, that the Holy Spirit may descend upon them, that he may make this Bread, the Body of Jesus Christ; and that which is in the Chalice his Blood, to purifie the Souls of the Communicants, and forgive their Sins; and that it may never be the cause of their judgment and condemnation. The *Greeks* were also ask'd, what they thought of the Essence and Operation of God; they answered, that their sentiment about it was the same with that of all the East; that moreover they would go and give an account of all these things to the Emperor. The same Deputies being returned the next day, the Pope told them, that they were at present agreed, and that there remained only some small Questions, about which they must explain themselves; that they were noted down in a writing which he had, and which he gave them to read. It contained four Heads. First, that the Holy See, and the Pope Vicar of Christ should enjoy his privileges, and that they should acknowledge, he could add to the Creed what he had added unto it. The second, that there were three kinds of those that die, the Saints, Sinners, and those who are in a middle state; *i. e.* Christians who had sinned, and done Penance, but had not perfectly made satisfaction, for whom Prayers were made, and Alms given; that the first did see immediately the Essence of God, that the second were in eternal torments, and that the third were in the Fire of Purgatory; that after they are purified, they are placed in the number of those who see the Essence of God. The third, that they might indifferently make use of Bread leavened or unleavened, provided it were made of Corn, and were consecrated by a Priest, and in an holy place. The fourth, that the Questions concerning the Essence and Operation of God should be examined in the Council. The Deputies replied, that they had no power from the Emperor to answer these Questions; but that in their own name, and as private persons, they would declare what they thought about them. As to the first Head, that it was altogether unreasonable; for how said they, can we acknowledge, that the Pope has power to add to the Creed without consulting his Brethren the Patriarchs; and that therefore, tho' an addition should be permitted, yet it could not be made without the consent of a Council: And they agreed to the second and third Heads, but would give no answer to the last. It was proposed that they should take the writing, but they would not charge themselves with it, and only told by word of Mouth to the Emperor and Patriarch what had been proposed to them. The same night the Patriarch, who had been sick for a long time, died, having written some moments before his death, a Profession of Faith, wherein he declared, that he died in the sentiments of the *Roman Church*. The next day he was interr'd, and the *Greeks* pray'd the Pope to conclude quickly the Union, because they could continue there no longer, having no Patriarch. The next day, the Pope sent for the Archbishops of *Russia, Nice and Mitylene*; and having made them his compliments of condolence, he proposed a-new

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the Questions of unleavened Bread, of Purgatory, of the Pope's Supremacy, of the addition to the Creed, and the words of Consecration. The *Greek Prelates* answer'd, that they had no power from a Synod of the East, but as private persons they said, that it was indifferent to make use of Bread leavened or unleavened: that it was needless to speak of Purgatory, since the *Greeks* had not divided upon this subject, and that the Question between them and the *Latins* about it was not material: That as to the Supremacy, the Pope should enjoy all that of right belong'd to him: That as to the addition to the Creed the Eastern Churches would never admit it: That they would only permit those of the West to make use of it, and acknowledge that this was not another Faith, but an explication of the Creed. Lastly, as to Consecration, they confess'd that it was made by the words of Jesus Christ, tho' they added after them a Prayer, wherein they desired that the Eucharist might be made the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. These things being reported to the Emperor, he held an Assembly, wherein it was resolved, that in the Treaty of Union, they should speak of unleavened Bread, the Supremacy of the Pope, and the addition to the Creed; without saying any thing of Purgatory or the Consecration; but the *Latins* insisted upon Purgatory. Three Days after, the Emperor and *Greek Prelates* went to wait upon the Pope, who having exhorted them to admit the Article of Purgatory, caused two discourses to be spoken before them, one concerning the Pope's Supremacy, and the other concerning the unleavened Bread. The Emperor requested, that they should presently make an end, because he must return home, and pray'd the Pope to cause to prepare what was necessary for their Voyage.

He said, that he had already taken care, and that he had sent a Captain to *Venice*, to take up some Gallies there. After he had said this, he would have given a writing to the Emperor, who refus'd to receive it. The Pope being angry at this refusal withdrew; but he caus'd to tell the Emperor by the Cardinal *Julian*, that after the affair was concluded he might return; that he would defray his charges as far as *Venice*, and give him assistance to go to *Constantinople*. The *Greek Prelates* having examined a-new the Articles proposed by the *Latins*, found them reasonable, and pass'd even the Article of Purgatory.

On the 17th. of *June*, the Emperor call'd together the *Greek Prelates*, who were all found to be of the same opinion about the Union, except *Mark of Ephesus*, who remain'd unmoveable. The next Sunday, they examined the privileges of the Pope, and approv'd them all, adding to them two Conditions: First, that the Pope could not call an Occumenical Council without the Emperor and the Patriarchs; secondly, that in case of an appeal from the judgment of the Patriarchs, the Pope could not call the cause to *Rome*, but he must send Judges to sit in the places where the fact is committed. The Pope being unwilling to pass these two Articles, the Emperor was ready to break off the whole Negotiation; but the *Greek Prelates* some days after drew up the Article concerning the Pope, in these words: As to the Pope's Supremacy, we confess, that he is the High-Priest and the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the Pastor and Teacher of all Christians, who governs the Church of God, saving the privileges and rights of the Eastern Patriarchs, *viz.* of *Constantinople*, who is next after the Pope, and then of *Alexandria*, of *Antioch*; and lastly, of *Jerusalem*. This project was agreed to by the Pope and Cardinals, and all parties consented to labour from the next day in composing the Decree of Union. The first difficulty which presented it self was to fix upon the Name that should be put at the Head; the *Latins* would have it to be that of the Pope, and the Emperor pretended on the contrary that it should be his. At last it was ordered, that the Pope's Name should be put there, but

The Councils of Basil and Florence, &c. but then it should be added, *with the Consent of the Emperor, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the other Patriarchs.* There was another difficulty about the manner of expressing the Pope's privileges. The *Latins* would have it put thus, that he should enjoy them as was determined in Scripture, and the Writings of the Saints. This expression pleased not the Emperor, for, says he, if any Saint has made honorary compliments in a Letter to the Pope, shall this be taken for a privilege? And therefore he said, that he would not pass this Article as it was thus expressed. The Pope consented, but with difficulty, that it should be amended, and that instead of saying, *according to the Writings of the Saints*, it should be put, *according as was contained in the Canons.* The Archbishop of *Russia* and *Bessarion*, would have an Anathema pronounced against those who did not approve this Decree; but the Archbishop of *Trebizonde*, and the *Protosyncelle* oppos'd it, and the Emperor was of their opinion. At last, all the words of the Decree having been for a long time weigh'd and examin'd on both sides, it was fairly written out in *Greek* and *Latin*; and a day was set for signing it, and then concluding solemnly the Union.

The manner of expressing this Decree is as follows. The Title of it is, 'The Definition of the Holy Oecumenical Council celebrated at *Florence*, of *Engenius* the servant of the servants of God, to serve for a perpetual monument, with the consent of our dear Son *John Palæologus*, the illustrious Emperor of the *Greeks*, and of those who supply the place of our most venerable Brethren the Patriarchs, and of the other Prelates representing the *Greek* Church.' The Preface is a kind of an Hymn which contains the joyful thoughts and thanksgivings for the Union of the two Churches; after which the Definition is express'd in these words.

'The *Greeks* and *Latins* being assembled in this Holy Oecumenical Council, have used all care to examine with the greatest exactness possible the Article which concerns the Holy Spirit; and after the testimonies of Holy Scripture, and the passages of *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers were related, whereof some import that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son; and others, that he proceeds from the Father by the Son; it was acknowledged, that they had all the same sense, tho' they make use of divers expressions; that the *Greeks*, by saying that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, did not intend to exclude the Son; but in regard the *Greeks* thought, that the *Latins* by affirming, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, admitted of two principles, and two spirations; therefore they abstain from saying that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son: The *Latins* on the contrary affirmed, that by saying the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, they had no design to deny that the Father was the fountain and principle of the whole Divinity, viz. of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit; nor to pretend that the Son does not receive from the Father, that wherein the Holy Spirit proceeds from him; nor lastly, to admit two principles or two spirations; but that they did acknowledge, there was one only principle, and one only procession of the Holy Spirit, as they had always held: And forasmuch as these expressions came all to one and the same true sense, they did at last agree, and conclude the following Union with unanimous consent. Therefore in the name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by the advice of this Holy Oecumenical Council assembled at *Florence*, we define that the truth of this Faith be believed and received of all Christians; and that all profess, that the Holy Spirit is eternally from the Father and the Son; that he receives his Substance and his subsisting Being from the Father and from the Son; and that he proceeds from these two eternally as one only principle, and by one only procession; declaring,

The Councils of Basil and Florence, &c. that the Holy Doctors and Fathers, who say, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father by the Son, have no other sense; which they discover by this, that the Son is as the Father, according to the *Greeks*, the *Cause*, and, according to the *Latins*, the *Principle* of the subsistence of the Holy Spirit; and by this, that the Father has communicated to the Son in his generation all that he has, except that he is the Father, and also has given him from all Eternity, that wherein the Holy Spirit proceedeth from him. We define also, that this explication, *and of the Son*, was added lawfully and justly to the Creed, to clear up the truth, and not without necessity. We declare also, that the Body of Jesus Christ is truly consecrated in Bread-Corn, whether it be leavened or unleavened, and that the Priests ought to make use of one and the other according to the usage of each Church: That the Souls of true Penitents, dying in the love of God, before they have brought forth fruits worthy of the repentance of their sins, are purified after their death by the pains of Purgatory, and that they are delivered from these pains by the suffrages of the Faithful that are living, such as Holy Sacrifices, Prayers, Alms, and other Works of piety, which the Faithful do for the other Faithful, according to the orders of the Church; and that the Souls of those who have never sinned since their Baptism, or of those who having fallen into sins, have been purified from them in their Bodies, or after their departure out of them, as we were just now saying, enter immediately into Heaven; and see purely the Trinity, some more perfectly than others, according to the difference of their Merits. Lastly, that the Souls of those who die in actual mortal sin, or only in original sin, descend immediately into Hell, to be there punished with torments tho' unequal. We define also, that the Holy Apostolick See, and the Pope of *Rome* hath the Supremacy over all the Earth; that he is Successor of St. *Peter*, the Prince of the Apostles, and the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the Head of the Church, the Father and Teacher of all Christians; and that Jesus Christ hath given him in the person of St. *Peter*, the power to feed, to rule and govern the Catholick Church, as it is explained in the Acts of Oecumenical Councils, and in the Holy Canons: Renewing on the other hand the rank and order of the Holy Patriarchs appointed in the Canons, so that he of *Constantinople* is next after the Holy Pope of *Rome*, he of *Alexandria* the third, he of *Antioch* the fourth, and he of *Jerusalem* the fifth, without infringing any of their privileges and rights.

This Definition was sign'd *July* the 5th. The Emperor subscrib'd first, and after him the Archbishop of *Heraclea*; and the *Protosyncelle*, Vicars of the Patriarch of *Alexandria*; the Archbishop of *Russia*, Vicar of the Patriarch of *Antioch*; of *Monembase*, Vicar of the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*; of *Cyzicum* in his own name, and in the name of the Archbishop of *Ancyra*; of *Trebizonde* in his own name, and the name of the Archbishop of *Cæsarea*; *Bessarion* of *Nice* in his own name, and the name of the Bishop of *Sardis*; of *Nicomedia* in his own name; of *Tornobe* in his own name, and the name of the Bishop of *Nicomedia*; of *Mitylene* in his own name, and the name of the Archbishop of *Sida*; of *Muldoblach* in his own name, and the name of the Bishop of *Sebastea*, of *Amasia* and *Rhodes*; and lastly, of *Distres*, *Ganne*, *Melenice*, *Drame* and *Anchiala*; together with the Grand Sacrist, the Grand Keeper of Records, the Grand Ecclesiarch, the Grand Protector, and the Archpriest of the Church of *Constantinople*, the Ecclesiarch of the Royal Monastery of the Holy Mount, and four Abbots. When the *Greeks* had signed in the presence of the Cardinals, ten *Greek* Archbishops went to wait upon the Pope; and *Bessarion* having made a discourse to him, wherein he declared, that the *Greeks* were of the same judgment

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ment with the *Latins*, concerning the Words of Consecration, the Pope sign'd it, and after him eight Cardinals, and about sixty Bishops, and many Generals of Orders as well as Abbots.

The next Day, the Ceremony was perform'd of publishing this Definition, and the Union in the Grand Church of *Florence*. The Pope, the Emperor, and the *Greek* and *Latin* Prelates were there present: After the Singing-men of the *Greeks* and *Latins* had sung some Hymns of Thanksgiving, the Cardinal *Julian*, and the Archbishop of *Nice* ascended into the Pulpit, and read the Definition of Faith, the one in *Latin*, and the other in *Greek*; and demanded, the one of the *Latins*, and the other of the *Greeks*, whether they approved it? Having all answer'd, Yes, they embrac'd one another. After this, Mass was solemnly celebrated, and the Ceremony being ended, every one retir'd.

The next Day, the Emperor caus'd to be demanded of the Pope, that the *Greeks* might celebrate in the same Church, and that the Pope, Cardinals, and other *Latin* Prelates might be there present. The Pope made them answer, that he must know beforehand the Order of the Liturgy. The Archbishop of *Russia* having explain'd it to the two Cardinals, who spoke to him in the Pope's Name, they gave an account of it to him: But the Pope thought, that before he was present at their Ceremonies, it was necessary, that he should see them perform'd in private by some *Greek* Priest; or that the Cardinals should be present at a Mass of the *Greeks*, that he might be assur'd there was nothing in their Rites but what he could approve of. The Deputies having brought this Answer to the Emperor, he demanded this no more of the Pope. But the Pope continu'd still to put several Questions to him: As, Why do the *Greeks* divide the Bread into parts before the Oblation, and unite them into the Divine Bread of the Lord? Why do they bow the head when they carry the Oblation before it is consecrated? Why do they mix warm Water in the Chalice? Why do not the Bishops, but the Priests confer the Unction of the Holy Chrism, it being reserv'd as peculiar to the former? Why do they anoint the Dead before they bury them? Why do not the Bishops and Priests confess themselves before they say Mass? Why do they add after the Words of Consecration this Prayer, Make this Bread the precious Body of Jesus Christ, by changing it with the Holy Spirit? Why do they separate Married Persons? And lastly, Why do they not choose a Patriarch, but will return home without a Head? The Archbishop of *Mitylene* satisfy'd all these Demands, except those which concern the Dissolution of Marriage, and the Election of a Patriarch. The Pope desir'd of the Emperor, that he would send him some able Prelates to answer these Questions. He sent him some that were very ignorant, who gave him only this Answer, that they would propose them to the Emperor, that he might answer them. On the 14th. of July, the Pope call'd together the *Greek* Prelates and made the following Proposals to them: First, that all the World complains of them, that they separate Married Persons, which is a thing that needs Reformation. Secondly, that they must call *Mark of Ephesus* to an account for separating from the Synod, and punish him for his Disobedience. Thirdly, that they should choose a Patriarch before they departed. The Prelates said, that they could not give an Answer about these Articles without consulting the Emperor and the other Prelates; that a private Persons they answer'd, they never order'd the Dissolution of Marriages but for just causes; that *Mark of Ephesus* should be judg'd by the *Greeks* upon the place, if he continu'd to be refractory; but that the Patriarch should not be chosen except at *Constantinople*, because this was the Order of their Church. The Pope insisted upon the last Article, but he gain'd nothing; for the Empe-

Conference after the Publication of the Decree of Union.

ror made him the same Answer. Nevertheless to satisfy the Pope in another way, they caus'd his Name to be recited in the Dyptichs, altho' this had not been demanded. These things being thus concluded, the *Greek* Prelates desir'd to return home; but before their Departure, the Emperor made them demand of the Pope the Restitution of the Churches which formerly depended upon them, as those of *Crete*, of *Corfu*, and the other Isles, which the *Latin* Archbishops were now possess'd of; and that he would make some other Provision for the *Latin* Prelates who had these Churches, that the *Greeks* might place there some of their Country-men. The Pope made answer, that it was not just to turn out the *Latins* from the Churches they were in possession of, but that things must continue in the same condition wherein they were; ye he granted, that in these Churches where there were two Bishops, one *Greek*, and the other *Latin*; if the *Latin* Bishop should die first, that the *Greek* should remain the sole Possessor, and those who succeeded him should be *Greeks*; but if the *Greek* Bishop should die first, the *Latin* Bishop should enjoy the Church alone, and after his Death the Pope of *Rome* should provide for that Church for ever. The Pope had a mind to see *Mark of Ephesus*, and to speak with him; and this Bishop went boldly to wait upon him, and was no ways dash'd with his Menaces.

At last, the *Greek* Prelates demanded importunately their Liberty to return, and the Payment of the Months that were due to them; but they were oblig'd before their Departure to sign yet four Copies. After they had done this, the five Months that were due were paid them, and they went with speed for *Venice*, whither the Emperor followed them some time after, and arriv'd there the 6th. of September. The *Greeks* did solemnly celebrate the Divine Service in a Church of the *Latins*, and embark'd the 11th. of October, in order to their return to *Constantinople*, where they arriv'd the 1st. of February, 1440. The Emperor and his Brother found after their arrival, that the Princesses their Spouses were dead.

The Clergy which remain'd at *Constantinople* being prejudic'd against the Union, would not admit those who return'd from the West after they had sign'd it, to perform the Ecclesiastical Functions. The Emperor having a mind that they should do it, the others retir'd and left them alone. In fine, things were push'd on with so great heat, that the Emperor's Name was struck out of the Dyptichs in the greatest part of the Churches. This Prince having a mind to put an end to this trouble which lasted for three Months, resolv'd to give order for the Election of a Patriarch. In the Assembly which was held upon this occasion, the Archbishop of *Heraclea* declar'd, that he was troubled for having consented to, and subscrib'd the Union, so that the other Prelates who had sign'd it, durst not propose him to be their Patriarch; the three whom they made choice of, were the Archbishops of *Trebizonde*, and of *Cyzicum*, and the Abbot *Gennadius*; the Names of these being carried to the Emperor, he founded the Archbishop of *Trebizonde*, but finding him an enemy to the Union, he made the Lot fall upon *Metrophanes* Archbishop of *Cyzicum*, who was engaged by a Writing to maintain the Union. He was enthron'd the Eve of *Assumption-day*, but the greatest part of the Clergy and People of *Constantinople* continued to declare against the Union, and upon that account divided from the Patriarch, who, for his part, us'd all his endeavours to mak'e them receive the Union not only in the City of *Constantinople*, but also thro' all *Greece*; He punish'd the Disobedient; He drove some away from their Bishopricks, and substituted others in their room who submitted to him. The Emperor also had a mind to maintain his own Work, but his grief for the death of the Empress his Wife

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The Departure of the Greeks.

The Dissensions of the Greeks about the Decree of Union.

rebat his heat at the beginning, and the broils he had afterwards with his Brother *Demetrius*, who raised a Civil War, hindred him from taking care of this matter. In the mean time *Mark of Ephesus*, the Archbishop of *Heraclea*, the Philosopher *Gemistus*, the Recorder of the Church of *Constantinople*, *Scuripulus* the Grand Ecclesiarch, and many others, who had been present at the Council of *Florence* and sign'd the Union, set themselves to declaim against it by word of mouth and by writing, and drew into their Party most of the *Greeks*. At last the Archbishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* having gone to *Jerusalem*, complain'd of the troubles and scandal which he pretended were caused by the Union of *Florence*, which approv'd the Doctrine of the *Latins* concerning the Procession of the Holy Spirit, the Addition to the Creed, and the Usage of unleaven'd Bread in the Celebration of the Holy Mysteries; and of *Metrophanes*, that he had usurp'd the See of *Constantinople*, and had embrac'd the Doctrine of the *Latins*; that he join'd with the Emperor in persecuting those who retain'd the ancient Doctrine of the *Greeks*; that he advanc'd to Ecclesiastical Dignities those who were of his sentiments, and had already fill'd the Archbishopricks and Bishopricks depending upon the Church of *Constantinople* with persons devoted to the *Latins*, and had also ordain'd four Metropolitans in *Asia*; *Philotheus* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, *Dorotheus* Patriarch of *Antioch*, and *Joachim* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*; whereupon they published a Synodical Letter, wherein they pronounce a Sentence of Deposition against all those whom *Metrophanes* had ordain'd, and of Excommunication if they should continue to discharge the Ecclesiastical Functions contrary to their Prohibition, and gave the Archbishop of *Cæsarea* Power to put it in Execution. This Letter was dated in the Month of *April*, 1443. At the same time they wrote another to the Emperor, wherein they threaten to excommunicate him, if he continu'd to protect *Metrophanes*, and adher'd to the *Latins*. The Emperor being provoked by these Menaces, and by the Remonstrances of *Metrophanes* took up a resolution to hold a Synod at *Constantinople*, that he might make the Union to be received there; but the death of *Metrophanes* happening the first of *August*, 1443, broke all his measures. After his death *Gregory* the Protosyncelle and Confessor to the Emperor was chosen Patriarch. *John Palæologus* died in the Year 1445. without being able to establish among the *Greeks* the Union which he labour'd so much for. Thus God permits sometimes for reasons unknown to Men, that the Projects which are most just and legal should fail of that success, which one would think might be expected. It is reported, that his Successor *Constantine* held a Council in the Church of *Sancta Sophia* at *Constantinople*, wherein *Gregory* was deposed from the Patriarchate, and *Athanasius* put in his room; that the *Greeks* who sign'd the Decree of Union at *Florence* retracted there; that this Council condemn'd all that had been done by this Decree, reject'd the Doctrine of the *Latins*, concerning the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and from the Son, the Addition made to the Creed, and the other Points about which the *Latins* differ'd from the *Greeks*; that he accused also the *Latins* of many abuses, which he pretended they were guilty of in the Ecclesiastical Discipline. The Acts of this Council were sent from *Greece* to *Allatius*, of which he published an Abridgment in an Appendix to his Book about the Consent of the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches; but he proves by good reasons that these Acts could not be true, and that they contain divers things contrary to the History of that time. Howsoever this were, 'tis certain that the *Greeks* continue still firm in their Adherence to the ancient Doctrine, and in their Schism from the *Latins*.

To return now into the West, the Council of *Basil* had all this while continu'd with the consent of the Emperor, the King of *France*, and other Princes, who had not approv'd its Translation to

Ferrara, nor sent Ambassadors to *Florence* (except the Duke of *Burgundy*) altho' they had not receiv'd the Decrees of the Council against Pope *Eugenius*, but continu'd still to acknowledge him for Pope, and so observ'd a kind of Neutrality. From the twenty third of *January*, 1438. *Charles* the VII. King of *France* caused to be publish'd an Edict, wherein he forbids the Prelates of his Kingdom to go to *Ferrara*; but at the same time he declares that he would not depart from his Obedience to the Holy See. In *Germany* the Electors of the Empire assembled at *Francfort*, after the death of *Sigismund* to choose an Emperor, and there made a Decree the eighteenth of *March*, wherein they declare, that they do equally acknowledge *Eugenius* and the Council, and that they do not receive the Decrees made by the Council against *Eugenius*, or by *Eugenius* against the Council, and took six Months time to consult what they should do, during which time they ordain'd, that the Church should be govern'd according to the usual Laws. At the same time they sent Deputies to the Council of *Basil*, to persuade the Fathers to stop the Prosecution of their Process against *Eugenius*; which was also demanded by the Ambassador of the Duke of *Milan*, and maintain'd by the *Italian* and *Spanish* Prelates. But *Louis* Cardinal of *Arles*, President of the Council, and the greatest part of the Fathers, would have the Process go on without any stop. Hereupon a General Congregation was held the twenty eighth of *May*; at which, in spite of the opposition they met with from the Ambassadors of the Kings of *Castile*, *Aragon*, and of the Duke of *Milan*, they receiv'd the Accusations that were fram'd against *Eugenius*, and it was order'd that proof of them should be made by Witnesses. *Albert* of *Austria*, who had been chosen Emperor in the Assembly of *Francfort* the twentieth of *March*, appointed for his Ambassadors to the Council, the Bishop of *Lubeck*, and *George Wischel*; the same that had been in *Sigismund's* time; approv'd the Council, and renew'd the Securities his Predecessor had given to the Prelates there assembled: And they in requital for this, granted him the Sums that had been gather'd in *Austria* for the Voyage of the *Greeks*: But being press'd by the Legates of the Council to cause the Decrees made against *Eugenius* to be observ'd in *Germany*, he referr'd this Affair to the Assembly of the Princes of *Germany*, which was to be held the twentieth of *July*. In the mean time the Electors having a mind to cure the Division that was between the Council and the Pope, sent Ambassadors to *Eugenius* to persuade him, that he would appoint a third Place in *Germany* for the holding of a General Council. *Eugenius* made them answer, that he waited for the Ambassadors of the new Emperor, and that, in the mean time, he thought it convenient, that an Assembly should be held in *Germany* to which he would send his Legates, wherein an Accommodation might be treated of, and declared to them, that if any other place should be thought more expedient for the Good of the Church, wherein to hold the Council, he would consent to it. The Princes of *Germany* having obtain'd this promise from *Eugenius*, sent their Ambassadors to *Basil*, to pray the Fathers of the Council to delay the Process against *Eugenius* until the time of that Assembly. Fifty Persons were made choice of to examine the Proposal, and to consider what was fit to be done; Some were of opinion, that they should wholly supersede all kind of Prosecution against *Eugenius*, for the space of three Months; the Cardinal of *Arles* on the contrary thought, that tho' they might stop the Sentence of Deposition for three Months, yet in the mean time they must receive the Depositions of Witnesses against *Eugenius*, that he might no longer glory of his Innocence, and that he did not believe the Council had accus'd him falsely; that this would facilitate even the Accommodation, because *Eugenius* would be more pliable, when he knew that his Crimes were prov'd.

The Councils of Basil and Florence, &c. Regulations made in France and Germany concerning the Council.

The Councils of Basil and Florence, &c.
Pragmatic Sanctions.

In the Month of *July* the Cardinal of *Tarragona*, and the Ambassadors of the King of *France*, arriv'd at the Council of *Basil*. The latter brought thither the *Pragmatick Sanction* drawn up a little while before, and received the seventh of the same Month in the Assembly held at *Bourges*, and compos'd of of twenty three Articles drawn from the Decrees of the Council of *Basil*, and chiefly from those concerning the Authority of a General Council, about Collations, Elections, Promises of Benefices when they shall be vacant, Appeals, Annates and other Exactions, about the Celebration of Divine Service, Interdicts, &c. whereof some are nevertheless modified or explain'd. They were commanded to desire the confirmation of it, from the Fathers of the Council, and at the same time to pray them to stop their proceedings against *Eugenius*, upon assurance which the King gave them that he would labour for Peace. The Council thought not fit to delay, and therefore in the next Month of *August* declar'd in a General Congregation, that all those who were in the Retinue of *Eugenius*, or at *Ferrara*, under pretence of a Council, and all those who oppos'd the Council of *Basil* in any manner whatsoever, had incurr'd the Penalties enacted by the Council.

The Assembly of the *German* Princes being held at *Nuremberg* about the end of *July*, the Council sent thither its Deputies; those from the Emperor and the Princes propos'd to them, that they should appoint Mediators of difference between the Council and the Pope, which they refus'd. Some time after, the proceedings against *Eugenius* were renew'd; and notwithstanding the opposition of the Ambassadors, and the Prelates of *Spain*, *Navarre* and *Milan*, it was resolv'd in a General Congregation held the 16th. of *October*, that *Eugenius* should be cited to answer what had been produc'd against him.

The Resolutions of the Assemblies held in Germany, about the Neutrality.

Another Assembly was held towards the end of the Year at *Nuremberg*, to which the Pope sent the Cardinal of *Sancta Crux*, the Archbishop of *Tarente*, *John de Turrecremata*, and *Nicholas Cusanus* to act there on his behalf; the Council of *Basil* sent thither also the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and other Deputies. There it was propos'd, that a third place might be made choice of, where the Prelates of *Basil* and *Ferrara* might assemble. The Deputies of the Council having maintain'd, that this proposal was not reasonable, made answer; that they had no commands about this from the Council. They desired on behalf of the Council, that the Princes of *Germany* would receive its Decrees, and provide for its security. To which it was answer'd, that the Emperor and Princes would make known their thoughts to the Council by their Ambassadors; while those from *France* advis'd the Fathers of the Council to hold to the three places they had made choice of, *Basil*, *Avignon* and the *Savoy*, if they could make the Pope and the *Greeks* agree to them; if not, to name many Cities, among which there should be some which the Pope could not reasonably refuse. The Ambassadors of the Emperor, and the Princes of *Germany* being arriv'd at *Basil*, declar'd to the Fathers of the Council, that the *Germans* did acknowledge the Council for General; that the Emperor meant that all those who were assembled should have security in that place; but that the neutrality had been accepted by all the Prelates, Princes and People; that they honoured the Council and *Eugenius* both together; that they were of opinion it was necessary for promoting peace that the Fathers of *Basil* and *Ferrara* should meet in a third place. The Ambassadors of the other Princes joyn'd with those of *Germany*, and desired the same thing: At last after much dispute, a project was set on foot, whereby the Fathers of the Council were to name the Cities of *Strasburg*, *Constance* or *Mayence*; that the Emperor should communicate this choice to the Pope and the *Greeks* within a Month, and that a Month after he should be bound to accept one of

these Cities; that the Pope should confirm the Decrees of the Council, and the Council should take off the Suspension enacted against the Pope. This project was neither acceptable to the Council of *Basil*, nor to Pope *Eugenius*; and so these matters remain'd in the same state in which they were.

The Councils of Basil and Florence, &c.

In the Year 1439, the Council sent Deputies to the Assembly which was held at *Mayence* in the Month of *March*. The Ambassadors of the Princes who were at *Basil* came thither also, and some persons came thither secretly on behalf of the Pope, among whom was *Nicholas Cusanus*. The Deputies of the Council urg'd earnestly, that he should be obliged to receive its Decrees; and the Ambassadors of the Princes, that they would surcease the Decision of the Process against *Eugenius*. After much contest the Assembly receiv'd the Decrees of the Council, except those that were made against the Pope; and the Deputies of the Council promised that it would consent to the desire of the Emperor, the Kings and Princes, on condition that they would engage to continue the Council after its translation upon the same foot, according to the same laws, the same order and customs which were observed at *Basil*, and that in case *Eugenius* did not acknowledge the truth established by the Council within the time that should be prefix'd, nor execute what the Council had ordained, they would abandon him and assist the Council, and adhere to its Decision. The Bishop of *Quenza* said, that the Pope could not accept these Conditions, and that the Princes would never consent to them: And thus the Deputies of the Council retir'd without making any agreement. After their departure two Deputies of the Pope's Legates arriv'd at *Mayence*, and would have them revoke the resolution of the Assembly about the Decrees of the Council of *Basil*; which not being able to compass, they oppos'd them, and made great complaints, that the Princes maintain'd the Fathers of *Basil* to the prejudice of the Pope's authority.

During this Negotiation at *Mayence*, the Divines which were at *Basil* disputed this Question, viz. Whether *Eugenius* could be declared a Heretick, upon the account of his disobedience, and the contempt he had shewn to the orders of the Church? Some held the affirmative, and others the negative, and among them who maintained the affirmative, some held him simply heretical, and others an Apostate; at last after much dispute, they drew up eight Theological Propositions or Conclusions express'd in these words. First, it is a truth of the Catholick Faith, that the Holy General Council has power over the Pope, and every other person. Secondly, that the General Council being lawfully assembled, cannot be dissolved, translated, nor adjourn'd, by the authority of the Pope without its own consent: This is a truth of the same nature with the former. Thirdly, he that does obstinately resist these truths ought to be accounted heretical. These three Propositions are about Law; the other five concern the facts and person of *Eugenius*, and are as follows. Fourthly, the Pope *Eugenius* IV. has oppos'd these truths, when he attempted to dissolve, or translate, the first time, the Council of *Basil*, by the plenitude of his power. Fifthly, being admonished by the Holy Council, he hath revoked the errors contrary to these truths. Sixthly, the dissolution, or translation of the Council, attempted the second time by *Eugenius*, is contrary to these truths, and contains an inexcusable error in the Faith. Seventhly, *Eugenius* renewing his attempt to dissolve, or translate the Council, has relaps'd into the errors which he had revoked. Eighthly, being admonished by the Council to revoke the second dissolution, or translation which he attempted, and persisting in his disobedience after he had been contumacious, and holding a Convocation at *Ferrara*, he has discovered his obstinacy.

The Disputes of the Divines at Basil about the Authority of a Council.

These eight Conclusions being read in the Assembly, rais'd great disputes among the Fathers of the Council,

The Councils of Basil and Florence, &c. Council, some meaning to approve, and others to reject them. The Archbishop of *Palerma*, who had formerly been one of the great adversaries to *Eugenius*, having receiv'd orders from the King of *Arragon*, was at the head of those who would have them rejected. He acknowledg'd this truth, that the Council is above the Pope, but he maintain'd, that this Doctrine ought not to pass for an Article of Faith: He confess'd that *Eugenius* had done wrong, but he did not believe that he ought to be look'd upon and treated as a Heretick.

Dr. *John* of *Segovia* maintain'd on the contrary, that this truth was a matter of Faith, and that *Eugenius* by opposing it had fallen into Heresy. *Amedeus* Archbishop of *Lyons*, Ambassador from the King of *France*, accused also *Eugenius* of Heresy; on the contrary the Bishop of *Burgos* Ambassador from the King of *Spain* endeavoured to excuse him. An Abbot of *Scotland* and *Thomas* of *Curcellis* maintain'd what the Archbishop of *Lyons* had advanc'd, and defended the Conclusions. The Grand Almoner of the King of *Arragon* oppos'd to them divers difficulties. At last after many deliberations, the eight Conclusions were approv'd by the three first Deputations. The 4th. would receive only the three first, and to hinder the matter from passing by a plurality of Voices, they delayed to give their opinion. On the day of the General Congregation, the contests were renew'd; the *Italians* and *Spaniards* opposed stoutly the reception of these Articles, and made Protestations. The Cardinal of *Arles*, President of the Council, was of opinion, that the three first Articles should be received which concern the Doctrine, and that the publication of the last which concerns the person of *Eugenius* should be put off. The Archbishop of *Aquileia*, the Archbishop of *Lyons*, and *John* of *Segovia* supported his opinion. At last, notwithstanding the noise made by the *Italians* and *Spaniards*, the Cardinal of *Arles* concluded for the reception of the three first Articles. After these transactions the Ambassadors returned from the Assembly of *Mayence*, and were to oppose this Conclusion: The Cardinal of *Arles* caused it to be read in the Congregation before they entred upon it. This reading raised new complaints and contests; but the Cardinal of *Arles* being no ways terrified, caused it to be read a second time at the end of the Assembly, and appointed in the next Congregation, the Session to be held on the sixteenth of *May*.

This was the 33d. Session of the Council of *Basil*, wherein the three first Conclusions which established the Doctrine of the authority of the Council above the Pope, as a matter of Faith, were published. The Ambassadors of the Princes demanded, that the deposition of *Eugenius* should be put off for four Months, which was granted them; but when they demanded also that nothing should be decreed but the first Conclusion, this was refused; upon which refusal they withdrew. None of the Prelates of the Kingdoms of *Spain* and *Arragon* were present at this Session, and there were but two Bishops of *Italy*; but the Doctors of these Nations were present, with 20 Bishops from the Nations of *France* and *Germany*. The Decree was read by the Bishop of *Marseilles*, and the Bishop of *Albenga* read a Protestation against it. At last the Ambassadors of the Princes, and particularly those of *Germany* and *France*, in the General Congregation *May* the 22d. approv'd the Decree made in this Session. All the Bishops almost came over also to the same opinion, and many more of them came to the Council, chiefly from the Dominions of the Duke of *Savoy*. The Ambassadors of the Princes demanded in the Congregation held *May* the 22d. that they should delay to make any Process against *Eugenius*, and that the Council should agree in the choice of a third place. Both the one and the other were refused by the Assembly, which confirmed the five other Conclusions, and cited *Eugenius* to appear at the Session held the 26th. of the same Month, which the Ambassadors could not hinder.

In pursuance of this citation which was affixed upon the Gates of the Church, the Council consisting of 39 Prelates, and almost 300 Ecclesiasticks of the second order, pronounced in the 34th. Session held the 26th. of *May*, the deposition of *Eugenius*, by declaring him notoriously contumacious, and disobedient to the commands of the Universal Church, one that persists in his rebellion, a violator and contemner of the Holy Synodical Canons, a disturber of the peace and unity, one that gives open scandal to the whole Church, simoniacal, perjur'd, incorrigible, schismatical, heretical, obstinate, a destroyer of the rights and revenues of the Church, a bad administrator of the *Roman* Papacy, and unworthy of all title, degree of honour and dignity; they forbade him for the future to take upon him the title of the Bishop of *Rome*, or to execute the functions belonging to it, and prohibited all Christians, of whatsoever quality or condition they were, to obey him, declaring all that he might have done or ordained contrary to this Decision to be null and void. The Fathers of the Council resolved after this to send Deputies to all the Princes of Christendom, to acquaint them with the deposition of *Eugenius*, and persuade them to execute this Decree. Sometime after they received Letters from the King of *France*, who complain'd that the Council had not delay'd, upon his request, the proceedings against *Eugenius*, whereby they seemed to refuse that peace which the Princes so ardently desired. They answered him, that his Majesty should know by the Deputies of the Council the reasons they had, and that they doubted not but he would approve them, and so much the rather, because they could not give peace to the Church to any good purpose, but by restoring it to liberty, and that they would pray him to send the Prelates of his Kingdom to the Council, to consult about the Ecclesiastical Affairs.

The Fathers of the Council deliberated for some time after this, whether they should proceed immediately to the election of a new Pope, upon the account of the Pestilence which was then very violent in the City of *Basil*, or whether they should wait 60 days longer, as the Council it self had ordered. It was thought to be more convenient to wait the ordinary time. In the mean time a Session was held on the 13th. of *July*, wherein it was resolved, that they should remain in the Council until the matters for which they were assembled should be finished, and that the Council could not be dissolved upon any pretence whatsoever, but by the advice of two Thirds of those who had a Vote in it; that in the mean time they should consider of the election of a Pope, which should be made 60 days after the deposition of *Eugenius*; that until that time all those who had adhered to the party of *Eugenius* and the Council of *Ferrara* might have liberty to come over and joyn with those of *Basil*.

The Pestilence continuing carried off many Members of the Council, and among the rest the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, the Bishop of *Lubeck*, the Apostolical Protonotary, the Grand Almoner of *Arragon*, and many others of the first and second order, inso-much that the Cardinal of *Arles* proposed on the 22d. of *August* to adjourn the Assemblies until the end of *September*, and to put off the election of a new Pope until the first of *November*: When they had consulted about this matter, they were of opinion to continue the Sessions without interruption. This resolution being taken, the Council chose Deputies to be sent to an Assembly which was to be held at *Francfort* on the 1st. day of *August*, and others for the Provincial Council which was to be held at *Mayence* on the 15th. of the same Month, and others for the Assembly appointed at *Bourges* by the King of *France*, and others to be sent to the Emperor and the King of *Spain*. On the last day of *August* the Council revoked all the Grants of vacant Benefices and the nominations to Benefices made by *Eugenius*. On the same day a Physician coming in the habit

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of a Hermit to *Basil*, brought thither some propositions extracted from a Book, *Of the simple Soul*, accusing *Eugenius* of maintaining them, and of hindring any person to oppose them.

The Deputies of the Council of *Basil* who went into *Germany*, caused the Decree of the deposition of *Eugenius* to be fixed upon the Gates of the Churches of *Strasburgh*, *Spire* and *Worms*; but having done the same at *Mayence*, the Decrees fixed up were torn in pieces, and they were forbidden to set up any more. They could not after this cause the Decree of the Council against *Eugenius* to be received in the Assemblies of *Frankfort* and *Mayence*; and tho' they spoke against the neutrality, yet they had no other answer, but that for the present nothing could be changed; and those who made up this Assembly, fearing lest they should make use of the Censures enacted by the Council against them, declar'd, that they appealed to a more General Council, to Pope *Eugenius*, to the Holy See, or to those to whom it of right belonged.

On the 17th. of *September* the 36th. Session was held, wherein it was declar'd, that the opinion of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin *Mary* was a pious opinion, agreeable to the Worship of the Church, to the Catholick Faith, to Right Reason, and to the Holy Scripture; that all Catholicks ought to approve it; that no person shall be permitted to teach or preach the contrary, and that the Feast of the Conception shall be celebrated on the 8th. of *December*.

While these things were a-doing at *Basil*, the Pope who remained all this while with his Cardinals and some Prelates at *Florence*, renewed the Decree which he had published at *Ferrara* against the Assembly at *Basil*; declar'd all those who had been present there after his prohibition, to be deprived of all their dignities, honours and benefices; treated them as Schismatics and Rebels, and null'd all that they had ordain'd and defin'd in the two last Sessions. The Fathers of *Basil* made an Apology against this Decree which they call an *Invective*, wherein they shew, that the Propositions which they have defin'd are true, and that they had reason to depose *Eugenius*. It was also proposed, that they should condemn his Decree as heretical; but this was put off to another time.

In the Month of *October* some Prelates came to *Basil*, and the Emperor caused it to be demanded of the Council, that the election of a new Pope should be stopped; but notwithstanding his desire, the Cardinal of *Arles* caused three persons to be appointed on the 14th. of *October*, to make choice of those who should give their Votes in the election of a Pope; these three persons were an Abbot of *Scotland*, *John* of *Segovia*, and *Thomas* of *Curcellis*; and because the *Germans* had made a scruple of approving this choice, these three persons joyned themselves to a *German* Doctor according to the permission that was given them. They took an Oath that they should choose no persons but such as were capable of making this election, and engaged themselves not to declare to any person whatsoever, those that had been chosen, until they were obliged to make publication of them in the Conclave, and they made choice of 28 persons who were to proceed to the election together with themselves, on condition, that there must be two Thirds of the Voices to make a Pope.

In the 37th. Session held the 24th. of *October*, divers orders were made about the future election of a Pope.

In the 38th. held the 30th. of the same Month, a Decree was made against the *Invective* of *Eugenius*, forbidding to publish or approve it, and in it the choice of the Electors of a future Pope appointed by the four Deputies was confirmed. The Cardinal of *Arles* was one by Law, and was not comprehended in this number; which consisted of 11 Bishops, 7 Abbots, and 14 benefic'd Men or Doctors, drawn forth equally from the Nations, besides the Officers

of the Conclave, the nomination of which was also approv'd in this Session.

These Electors entred the same day into the Conclave, on which it was built for them in the City of *Basil*, after they had taken the usual Oaths, and chose for Pope six days after *Amedeus* Duke of *Savoy*, who had retired into the solitude of *Ripaille* in the Diocess of *Geneva*, where he lived as an Hermit, and had the title of Dean of the Militia of *St. Maurice*. The Fathers of the Council confirm'd their election in the 39th. Session, held the 17th. of *November*, and ordain'd, that he should be acknowledged for Pope. They sent to him a Deputation of twenty five persons, and the Cardinal of *Arles* at the head of them, to acquaint him with his election, and to pray him to consent to it. They arrived at *Ripaille* the 20th. of *December*, and having laid open before him their Commission, he made some scruple of taking the Oath that was required of him, of leaving off his Habit, and changing his Name; yet he did not long demurr upon it, but took upon him the Name of *Felix* V. received the Pontifical Robes, and wrote about his election to the Council of *Basil*, and the Christian Princes.

In the mean time, the Emperor *Albertus* of *Austria* dying on the 27th. of *October*, the Electors of the Empire promis'd their protection to the Council, but they would not approve of their Decrees against *Eugenius*, and continued still in the neutrality. These assembling afterwards at *Frankfort*, chose for Emperor on the 2d. of *February*, *Frederick* Duke of *Austria*. The Deputies of the Council of *Basil*, who were present at that Assembly, desir'd that they would acknowledge *Felix* for Pope; but the new Emperor and the Princes would alter nothing of their resolution, and said only that they would so manage things as to procure the peace of the Church. *Felix*, that he might come to *Basil* with the greater State, created four Cardinals, who were approved by the Council, and the consent which they had given to his election was read and confirmed in the 40th. Session, held on the 26th. of *February*, in the Year 1440. whereby all those were excommunicated which would not acknowledge him for lawful Pope; Decrees made against *Eugenius* were renewed, and all the Acts by him were declared null. It was proposed in the Council, that some provision should be granted the Pope and the Court of *Rome* in lieu of Annates, but the *French* opposed this proposal. The Letters wherein *Felix* continued the Legateship and the Presidency of the Council to the Cardinal of *Arles* were read, and because they did not please the Assembly others were drawn up. At last, *Felix* came in person to the Council, and arrived at *Basil* the 24th. of *June*.

Eugenius, to advance his own party, and set up such creatures as might oppose *Felix* and the Council, created seventeen Cardinals; among whom there were many worthy of commendation for their learning. At the same time there arrived at *Florence* Deputies on behalf of *Constantine*, Patriarch of the *Armenians*, whom the Pope had solicited by the Consul of *Caffa* to send, to make a Re-union of the Churches of *Armenia*. These Deputies presented their Credential Letters to the Pope, on the Month of *November*; and after some private conferences with three Cardinals, and some Doctors, they received the instruction; intitled, the Decree for the *Armenians*, which was published in the Assembly of Prelates, held on the 22d. of *November*: It contained the Creed of *Constantinople* with the Addition, the Definition of the Council of *Chalcedon*, and of the sixth Council; an Acknowledgment of the Occumenical Councils celebrated since that of *Ephesus*; an Explication of the seven Sacraments, which treated of their matter, their form, their Minister, their necessity, and their effects; the Creed attributed to *St. Athanasius*, the Decree of Union made with the *Greeks*, and an order to celebrate the Feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin, on the 25th. of *March*; the Nativity of

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The Decree of the Council of Florence against those of Basil.

The Constitutions of Eugenius for the Armenians, Jacobites, &c.

of St. John, on the 24th. of June; the Feast of Christ-
mas, on the 25th. of December; the Circumcision
on the 1st. of January, the Epiphany on the 6th. of
the same Month, and the Purification on the 2d. of
February; and in fine, an approbation of all that was
held and taught by the Holy Apostolick See, the
Roman Church, the Doctors and Fathers whom it
honoured, and a condemnation of the Doctrines and
Persons which it rejected. There came also the next
Year a Deputy on behalf of the Patriarch of the Ja-
cobites, to Alexandria, whom Eugenius caused to be in-
vited to the Council; at which he gave a long Ex-
position of Faith, wherein is inserted a Catalogue of
the Canonical Books, which includes such as the
Jews do not acknowledge; an explication of the
Doctrine of Oecumenical Councils, and the Decrees
for the Greeks and Armenians. This Instrument was
not finished and published till the 4th. of February,
1441. There appeared also at Florence in this Year,
a Man who call'd himself Abbot of the Ethiopians of
Jerusalem, entrusted with Letters from the King of
Ethiopia, called Prester-John, who gave hopes, that
he would come in person into Italy; but it does not
appear what issue this Negotiation had. When
Eugenius returned to Rome, he made also Constituti-
ons in the Year 1444. for the Syrians, the Chalde-
ans of Cyprus, for the Nestorians and the Maronites,
who followed the Doctrine of the Monothelites, which
he gave to some persons who called themselves De-
puties on their behalf; insomuch that he would have
re-united all the Sects of the East to the Church of
Rome, if these Decrees had been received in these
places; but by misfortune they had not that effect,
and all these Sects remain still no less addicted to their
own errors, nor less contrary to the Roman Church
than they were before.

To return now to what concerns the affairs of the
West: As soon as Pope Eugenius understood the elec-
tion of Amedeus, he did not fail on his part to pro-
ceed against him; to declare him heretical and schis-
matical, and to excommunicate his electors, favou-
rers or partizans, if they did not forsake his Faction
within fifty days, by a Decree dated the 23d. of A-
pril; but the Fathers of the Council of Basil gave
him a Rowland for his Oliver, by nulling this Decree,
and forbidding to bring it there, by another Decree
publish'd in the 41st. Session, held the 23d. of July.
The next day, Felix was consecrated and crowned
Pope, and to the end, he might have where-withal
to maintain his dignity, while he could not yet touch
any of St. Peter's Patrimony; it was resolved in the
42d. Session, held the 6th. of August, that for five
Years, the tenth Penny of the Revenues of Benefices
should be granted him.

It was not enough to create a Pope, but he must
be acknowledged by the Princes, for without that
he was but a vain Phantom without authority; and
therefore the Fathers of the Council bestirred them-
selves very vigorously to this purpose; and Eugenius
on his part forgot nothing which might divert this
Storm: Both the one and the other sent Deputies to
the Assembly which Charles the 7th. King of France,
had appointed at Bourges. The Legates of Eugenius,
who were the Archbishop of Crete, the Bishop of
Digna, of Grenada, and the Abbot of Cernai desired
four things of the King: First, that he would reject
the Council of Basil, since its translation to Ferrara,
and that he would approve the Council of Ferrara,
and what was done in it. Secondly, that he would
not approve the deposition of Eugenius, nor the elec-
tion the Council had made of the Duke of Savoy,
but on the contrary reject it. Thirdly, that he would
send no Ambassador to the Assembly which was to
be held at Mayence, without the consent of Eugeni-
us. Fourthly, that he would suspend and abrogate
the Pragmatick, and then Eugenius would provide
for the Benefices of the Kingdom as he should de-
sire. The next day, the Envoys of Felix, and the
Council of Basil, who were Gerard, Bishop of St.
Pons, the Abbot of Vezelai, Hugo Archdeacon of

Metz, and Thomas of Curcellis, Doctor and Canon of
Paris, were heard. The last made a long discourse to
prove, first, that the Doctrine of the Council of Basil,
about the authority of General Councils is true and
certain; Secondly, that it was just to condemn Euge-
nius, who opposed this Doctrine, and that the Sen-
tence given against him is well-grounded and legal:
Thirdly, that they had duly proceeded to the elec-
tion of another Pope, that it was made after a Ca-
nonical manner, and that there was just and suffici-
ent cause for choosing him to this dignity. He con-
cludes his discourse with shewing, of what conse-
quence it would be to maintain what had been done
by the General Council, and how beneficial to the
Church, the Union and good Understanding of Fæ-
lix and the Council would be; and that the only
means to put an end to the Schism, and procure the
peace of the Church, was to acknowledge the new
Pope.

The Assembly, having consulted for six days about
this affair, made answer, First, the Most Christian
King protested, that he following the footsteps of
his Ancestors, was always ready to hear the Church
being lawfully assembled: Secondly, he had always
held the Council of Basil to be lawful; that he had
sent his Ambassadors to it; that this Council had
made many good Constitutions which he approved;
and that he never had owned, nor did own the As-
sembly of Ferrara for a Council: That as to the de-
position of Eugenius, and the election of Felix, be-
cause many persons of probity and authority, doubt-
ed whether his suspension and deposition, and the
election which followed upon it, had been done
justly, canonically and lawfully; and whether at
such a time as this was done, the Congregation did
sufficiently represent the Universal Church, to do so
considerable Acts as these, which concern the whole
Church; therefore the King not being sufficiently
inform'd about these things, did still persevere and
remain in the obedience of Eugenius; but if he should
be inform'd of the truth of this cause by the Oecu-
menical Council, or by another General Council,
or even by a more numerous Assembly of the Gallican
Church with its Dukes, Barons and other Lords, or
in an Assembly of all the Christian Princes, that then
having known and examin'd the truth, he would ad-
here to it, and therefore he pray'd, that Pope Eu-
genius would call together and celebrate a Council,
and that he would be there himself in person:
Thirdly, that he would consider what was to be done
at a convenient time and place about the Embassy of
Mayence: Fourthly, that as to the Pragmatick Sanc-
tion he would have it to be inviolably observ'd, that
if any thing in it appear'd too rigid to the Council
of Basil, it might be moderated. He advis'd also
the Ambassadors of the Council of Basil, that,
they would endeavour the Celebration of another
future Council. This answer was given in the As-
sembly of Bourges, in the presence of the King, as-
sisted by Charles, Duke of Anjou, and the other Prin-
ces of the Blood, on the 2d. of September, 1440.
and accompanied with a discourse which the Bi-
shop of Clermont made, wherein the King testifies
his displeasure against the Heats and Animosities
which were between the Pope and the Council; that
he should have been glad, if it were in his Power,
to favour the Duke of Savoy, who was his Kinsman;
but that he could do nothing against Justice; that
he exhorted the Fathers of the Council to seek af-
ter peace, and not to trouble his Subjects with cen-
sures; Lastly, that he hop'd the Duke of Savoy
would accommodate this Affair by his ordinary Pru-
dence.

The Deputies of Basil were not well satisfy'd with
this answer, which lower'd the Expectations of Fæ-
lix's Party; but they were rais'd again by the Letter
they receiv'd in October, from the King of Arragon,
wherein he gave the title of General Council to the
Council of Basil; by the Letter from the Queen of
Hungary, Sigismund's Widow, to Pope Felix; and

yet more by the acknowledgment of *Albert*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Albert*, Duke of *Austria*, Kinsmen to *Frederick*. *Felix*, to make himself more Creatures depending upon him, created eight Cardinals in the Month of *October*, and six others that were Frenchmen in *November*, among whom was *John* of *Segovia*, and *Nicholas* Archbishop of *Palerma*.

The University of *Paris*, the Universities of *Germany*, and that of *Cracovia*, wrote in defence of the Authority of the Council above the Pope, and acknowledged *Felix*. He was also own'd by the *Carthusians*, and by a Party of the Order of Friars Minors.

Many Prelates and Princes of *Germany* favour'd also his Party; but in the Assembly which was held at *Mayence*, in *April* 1441. the Deputies on both sides being heard, no other resolution was taken, but that a General Council should meet the next year in the Month of *August*, in another place than *Basil* and *Florence*, and in a City of *Germany* or *France*, and that the Emperor should invite the Competitors to be there present. But this proposal had no effect, for the Emperor refer'd the Affair to the Assembly of *Frankfort*, which was held in the Month of *May*, the next year, where the Emperor was present in person; and having heard the Deputies of the Council, and *Eugenius*, confirm'd the resolution that was taken to call a Council, and in the mean time to remain in the Neutrality. In pursuance of this, he sent Ambassadors to *Eugenius*, and the Council, to persuade them to yield to the celebration of a Council, and he himself came to *Basil*. The Fathers of the Council agreed upon the Translation of the Council, and to name many Cities, whereof the Emperor should choose one. But *Eugenius*, after he had consulted a long time, made answer, in the year 1443; that it was no ways necessary to call a new Council, since there was one already call'd; that in the mean time, to satisfy the Emperor, as soon as he should come to *Rome*, he would call together in the Palace of the *Lateran*, whither he had translated the Council, a great number of Prelates, with whom he would consult whether it was expedient to call another. The Emperor *Frederick*, seeing that neither the Fathers of *Basil*, nor *Eugenius* would consent to what he desir'd, wrote a Letter to all Christian Princes in *June*, 1443. wherein he desires their consent for a General Council which he would appoint, and prays them to send their Ambassadors to the Diet, which was to be held at *Nuremberg*, at the *St. Martin*, that they might there consult together of the Means for putting an end to the Schism. This Assembly was not numerous; *Felix* sent thither his Legates; but there was no treating about this Affair, which was put off to another time. In the mean time, *Alphonfus*, King of *Arragon*, the *Venetians*, the *Florentines*, the *Siennese*, and the other People of *Italy* solicited the Emperor to consent, that a General Council should be held in the Church of *St. John* of *Lateran*; and some time after, the Emperor also sent *Aeneas Sylvius* to Pope *Eugenius*, to promise him to take off the Neutrality. *England* had no great share in the Transactions at the Council of *Basil*, there being no Prelates in the Council from that Nation. The Council had sent Deputies into this Kingdom before the Election of *Felix*, to whom the *English* gave almost the same Answer with the *French*, that they honoured the Council, and approv'd its Decrees, except those which had been made against *Eugenius*, whom they acknowledged for lawful Pope. The Fathers of the Council sent thither also other Deputies after the Election of *Felix*; to whom some hopes were given, but they had no positive answer. *Scotland*, except some Lords, declar'd for *Eugenius*; and the Prelates of this Kingdom being assembled in a Provincial Council, excommunicated *Felix*, and the Fathers of the Council of *Basil*. *Poland* promis'd to acknowledge *Felix*, if he would give to their King the Title of King of *Hungary*, and remit to the Lords the Money

which had been gather'd by Indulgences granted for the Union of the *Greeks*. No Body thought that he had Power to grant these desires; yet this prov'd favourable to *Felix*, and the King of *Poland* forbade any to obey *Eugenius*. *Italy* continu'd firm to *Eugenius*, except *Piedmont* and *Savoy*. The Duke of *Milan* begun a Treaty with *Felix*, and seem'd to have agreed with him upon conditions; but it was not concluded. *Ferdinand*, Duke of *Calabria*, sent an Ambassador to the Council, who was order'd to promise obedience to *Felix*. *Francis Sforza* caus'd great Promises to be made, which came to no effect. *Alphonfus*, King of *Arragon*, perceiving that *Eugenius* would favour *Charles* of *Anjou*, in the pretensions he made to the Kingdom of *Naples*, declar'd for *Felix* in the year 1441. and promis'd by a Letter written in *October* to the Council, that he would cause him to be own'd in his six Kingdoms, and gave hopes also of doing something more if a Legate were sent unto him. But he made these Offers for no other reason, but only to engage *Eugenius* in his Interest; for after he had treated with the two Competitors, he declar'd himself for the latter, who gave him more advantageous Conditions, and was better able to perform them; and when the Treaty was sign'd, he caus'd to be published a Declaration, *June* the 20th. 1443. importing, that after he had been a long time doubtful about the Affairs of the Church, God at last had discover'd to him that *Eugenius* was the true Pope, and that he revok'd the Declarations he had made in favour of *Felix*, and the Council of *Basil*. At the same time he gave order to the Archbishop of *Palerma*, the Bishops of *Tortose* and *Vic*, who had been promoted to the Dignity of Cardinals by *Felix*, and to the other Bishops of his Dominions, to retire from *Basil*, and go into *Italy*, or to their own Dioceses.

While the Deputies of the Council being sent to all Christian Princes, us'd their utmost Endeavours to make them acknowledge him for Pope, whom the Council had chosen, which was the grand and principal Affair; the Prelates that remain'd at *Basil*, continu'd their Meetings, and held their Sessions from time to time, tho' they were less frequented than before. *Felix* presid'd in the private Congregations held in 1441. in the absence of the Cardinal of *Arles*, who was sent into *Germany*, and there made the following Orders: First, that the President of the Assembly should always be the most ancient Prelate: Secondly, that no regard be had to the Collations of Ordinaries, unless it be evident, that there was time enough from the Death of the last Incumbent unto the Date of the Collation, wherein the Collator might be inform'd of his Death, and that the Acts of Collation were not pass'd before by a Notary: Thirdly, that the Doctors or Nobles who have a Benefice of 300 Livres or more in Revenue, cannot obtain a dispensation to possess two incompatible Benefices; and that those who are not of this quality, and have a Benefice of 200 Livres, cannot have two Cures, two Dignities, nor two Canonries. Fourthly, that the Doctors or Nobles can have but two Prebendaries in the Metropolitan Churches, three in the Cathedral, or four in the Collegiate; and that those who are not of that quality, can have but one in the Metropolitan Churches, two in the Cathedral, and three in the Collegiate; that the former can have but eight simple Benefices, and the latter but three. Fifthly, that the Cardinals who have 6000 Livres of Rent can have no Benefices, in *Commendam*, nor the Patriarchs who have 4000 Livres, nor the Archbishops who have 3000, nor the Bishops and Protonotaries who have 2000, and the Abbots who have 1000. Sixthly, that Ordinations shall not be made too lightly in the Council, but Persons shall be chosen to examine those who present themselves to be ordain'd. *Felix*, having desir'd that the Reservations of the Benefices of *Savoy* might be granted him, was deny'd.

There

The Councils of Basil and Florence, &c.

There was a long consultation about the celebration of the Feast of the Visitation of the Virgin, which was instituted by *Boniface 9th.* in the time of the Schism: At last, a Decree was drawn up, and publish'd in the Name of the Council, and not in the Name of the Pope, as some would have it; in the forty third Session, held the 1st. of July 1441.

The Translations of the Councils of Basil and Florence.

In the year 1442. the Pope *Eugenius* translated the Council from *Florence* to *Rome*, in the Church of *St. John of Lateran*, by his Bull dated *May* the 3d. The Council of *Basil* on its part publish'd a long Decree in the forty fourth Session, held the 10th. of *August*, for securing the Instruments and Persons of the Council, and voiding and nulling all that might be done against them, or to their prejudice. Towards the end of the year *Felix* retir'd to *Lausane*, with a part of his Cardinals; In the mean time, the Council continu'd to make Congregations at *Basil*, and in them to regulate several private Affairs: It condemn'd many Propositions advanc'd by the Friars Mendicants against the Rights of Curates, and particularly this, that those who die in the Habit of *St. Francis*, remain in Purgatory but one year, because *St. Francis* descends thither once every year, and brings forth all those of his Order. The Council invited *Felix* to return to *Basil*, but whatever opportunity they us'd, he would not return; and he created four New Cardinals. At last, the Wars of *Germany*, the Departure of the Bishops subject to King *Alphonfus*, the Importunity of the Emperor for holding of another Council, the Absence of *Felix*, and the small Assistance the Prelates could expect while they stay'd at *Basil*, oblig'd them to break up after they had appointed the future General Council to be held three years after in the City of *Lyon*; and they continu'd this of *Basil*, if it could be done, in that City, or the City of *Lausane*, by the Decree publish'd in the forty fifth Session, the 16th. of *May*, 1443.

Thus ended the Councils of *Basil* and *Florence*, rather wearied with the struggle than overcome, for neither the one nor the other would yield; and they found a way to put an end to their disputes without making Peace or any Accommodation, by translating themselves in appearance to another place, where scarce any thing more was done: Nevertheless the Schism continued still until upon the Death of *Eugenius 4th.* (which happen'd *February* the 23d. in 1447.) *Nicholas 5th.* was chosen in his room *March* the 6th. who was a meek Man, and of a peaceable temper; and readily comply'd with the proposals of Accommodation which were made to him by the Christian Princes, and chiefly by the *French King*, who did with great Vigour promote the Peace of the Church, by making application both to this Pope and *Felix*, and the Prelates assembled at *Lausane*. For altho' *Savoy* had been given to *Nicholas 5th.* who had granted Indulgences to those who would assist him to conquer it, and upon this account Politick Reasons should have prevail'd with him to push things to extremity against *Felix*; yet he prefer'd Justice and the Peace of the Church before his own Interest, concluded an Accommodation upon Conditions very advantageous to both Parties, which were, that *Felix* should renounce the Papal Dignity, but he should be the first of the Cardinals, and Perpetual Legate to the Holy See in *Germany*; that they should revoke on both sides all the Excommunications, Censures and other Penalties, enacted by the Councils, or by the contending Popes, against those of the opposite Party; that all those on both sides should be maintain'd, who were in Possession of Dignities, Benefices and Ecclesiastical Offices, and that to this purpose all the Collations, Provisions, Postulations, Elections, &c. made in each obedience should be confirm'd; that likewise the Dispensations, Indulgences, and other Graces granted by the Councils, or the Popes

of the two obediences; as also the Decrees, Dispositions, and Regulations they had made should be confirm'd; that the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and other Beneficiaries, should remain peaceable Possessors of the Benefices they were in Possession of, and all Sentences, Judgments and Processes to the contrary should be made null and revok'd; that the Cardinals of both obediences shall remain in their Dignities, and Provision should be made for those who had one and the same Title; as was done at the time of the Council of *Constance*; that the Officers of both Courts shall remain in their Offices, and where there shall be found two promoted to the same Office, he shall be recompens'd who shall be oblig'd to resign; Lastly, that *Nicholas 5th.* shall engage to call a General Council in *France* seven Months after the Accommodation.

All these Conditions, except the last, were granted and executed; and *Felix* after he had confirm'd the Collations, and other Acts he had done during his Pontificate, and revok'd by his Bulls dated *April* the 5th. 1449. the Censures past against *Eugenius*, *Nicholas* and their Adherents, renounc'd on the 9th. of the same Month the Papal Dignity, and all the right which he could pretend to it: The Fathers of the Council of *Lausane* approv'd of his Demission, revok'd also the Excommunications and other Censures enacted by the Council of *Basil* against *Eugenius*, elected and acknowledg'd *Nicholas 5th.* for Pope: And after this, *Nicholas 5th.* on his part revok'd by his Bulls publish'd the 18th. of *June*, all the Censures, Excommunications, and other Penalties. enacted against the Fathers of the Councils of *Basil* and *Lausane*, against *Felix* and their Adherents, confirm'd all the Collations and Dispositions made by these Councils, and by *Felix*; maintain'd in their Dignities, Prelacies and Benefices all those that possess'd them in that obedience, and appointed *Felix* to be the first Cardinal, and Perpetual Legate to the Holy See in *Germany*. Thus a full end was put to the Schism, and *Nicholas 5th.* was acknowledg'd by all for lawful Pope. He spent the rest of his Pontificate in allaying the commotions in *Italy*, and died the 25th. of *March*, in the year 1455.

From this time to the end of this Century, nothing considerable was transacted about Ecclesiastical Matters in the Church of *Rome*; and the Popes were more taken up with the Wars of *Italy*, the Projects of designs against the *Turk*, the Cares of aggrandizing their Temporal Power, and settling their Families; than with Ecclesiastical Affairs. Nevertheless, many Letters and Bulls were written in their Name, about the Affairs which are commonly carried to the Court of *Rome*, as the Canonizations of Saints, the Privileges of Monasteries, the Affairs of Religious Orders, of Dispensations, Processes between Churches, &c. the greatest part of which has been collected by *Ruinaldus* and the other Annalists, and in the *Bullarium*. I shall only add the Names of the Popes, who succeeded *Nicholas 5th.* together with the time of their Advancement to the Pontificate, and of their Death.

Alphonfus Borgia of *Catalonia*, a Cardinal of the Promotion of *Eugenius 4th.* in 1440. was chosen in the room of *Nicholas 5th.* on the 8th. of *April*, in the Year 1455, and was call'd *Callistus 3d.* He declar'd War against the *Turks*, and establish'd the Festival of the Transfiguration of our Lord. Being very old when he was advanc'd to the Papal Dignity, he did not govern long the Holy See, but died *August* the 6th. in the year 1458.

To him succeeded *Aeneas Sylvius* Cardinal, of the Family of the *Piccolomini*, who was chosen the 19th. of *August*, in the same year, and nam'd *Pius 2d.* We shall have occasion to speak of him among the Writers of this Century, among whom he holds a considerable Rank. He died *August* the 14th. 1464.

Paul 2d. a *Venetian*, Nephew by his Mother's side to *Eugenius 4th.* who was nam'd before *Peter Barbo*, succeed-

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The end of the Schism under the Pontificate of Nicholas 5th.

Callistus 3d.

Pius 2d.

Paul 2d.

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Sextus IV.
 succeeded *Pius II.* and govern'd the Church of *Rome*, from the beginning of *September*, in the year 1464. till the 25th. of *July*, 1471. and then died of an *Apoplexy*. Some hold that he was the first Author of that Institution, that Cardinals should wear *Red Hats*. In the Year 1467. he created Cardinal *Francis of Rouere*, a Monk of the Order of *Friars Minors*, and Vicar-general of his Order in *Italy*, descended of an illustrious Family in *Savonna*, who succeeded him under the name of *Sixtus IV.* This Pope made two Decrees about the Conception of the Virgin, one wherein he grants Indulgences to those who shall celebrate the Feast of the Conception, and say the Office compos'd by *Nogarol*, a Canon of *Verona*: The other wherein he forbids under pain of Excommunication, the Sentence being reserved to the Pope, to treat with Hereticks, or accuse those of Mortal Sin, who believed or maintained, that the Virgin was conceived without Sin. He ordain'd, that for the future a Jubilee should be granted every twenty five Years. Before he was made Pope, he had writ-

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 ten some Treatises, viz. A Book of the Blood of *Jesus Christ*, a Treatise of the Power of God, printed at *Rome* in 1471. an Explication of the Treatise of *Nicholas Richard*, about the Indulgences granted for the Souls of Purgatory, printed with the Treatise itself in 1487. He died the 12th. of *August*, in the Year 1484.

Innocent VIII.
Alexander VI.
 His Successor was *Innocent VIII.* a *Genoese*, who had been made Cardinal in 1473. and died the 25th. of *July*, 1492. *Theodorick Borgia*, Nephew to *Calistus III.* procured his own election in the room of *Innocent VIII.* by his canvassing, his Money and the Promises he made to the Cardinals, to give them Benefices and Lands, and took upon him the name of *Alexander VI.* He disgrac'd his dignity by his ambition, his avarice, his cruelties, and his debaucheries, and died on the 18th. of *August*, in the Year 1503. having taken by a mistake that Poyson which he had prepared for poisoning the Cardinals whom he had invited.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Ecclesiastical Writers that flourished in the West in the Fifteenth Century.

Of the Ecclesiastical Writers that flourished in the West in the 15th. Century.
 IN the fifteenth Century, the love and relish of that true and useful Learning, which had been a long time banished, began to revive in the World, and produce in it some good effects. That Theology, which is founded upon the Principles of Scripture and Tradition, begun to be cultivated by the most able Divines, who applied themselves to useful Questions about Doctrine and Morality, and handled them after a clear and solid manner, without entangling them with philosophical terms, and the thorny Questions of *Metaphysics*. *Peter of Ailly*, *John Gerson*, and *Nicholas Clemangis* led the way, and shew'd an example, clear'd their Writings of that barbarism and obscurity, which reign'd before them in the Sums, and the ordinary Commentaries of Theologues; and without insisting upon Questions purely scholastical, handled divers Matters of Doctrine, Morality and Discipline. In the Disputes which the *Latin Church* had against the *Greeks*, and against the *Wickliffites* and *Hussites*, they had recourse to Scripture, and the Tradition of the Church for opposing them, which occasion'd the Writers of Controversy to study the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers in their Originals. There were also able Men in the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Tongues, such as *Paul of Bourges*, *Jerome of St. Faith*, and *Anthony Lebrixa*, who applied themselves to explain the literal sense of Holy Scripture; and to resolve the chief difficulties that might be rais'd about those passages that were more obscure. Great pains also were taken for reforming the Manners and Discipline of the Church; and many Authors signalized themselves by publishing excellent Works upon this subject, wherein they did freely expose the abuses, and shewed the remedies that might be applied unto them. The Doctors of the Canon-Law did no longer slavishly tie themselves to the Decrees and Decretals, but began to look higher to the original Canons, and to inform themselves of the ancient Discipline. Devotion was advanced to the highest degree, and by some even to those excesses which are not tolerable. In those times indeed there was no perfect Historian, but there were many moderately good, whose Style was tolerable. The *Casuits* had their rise almost about that time, and from their first beginning they introduced some loose Opinions, and debated useless Questions; besides, that the meanness of their Style renders them contemptible. Yet there were some Authors who wrote upon these subjects with all the Elegance and Sub-

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 limity of Style that was possible: But the Eloquence of the Pulpit had not the good fortune to be so easily restored; all that can be said in honour of the Preachers of this Age is this, that among many whose Sermons were mean, childish, and unworthy of bearing the name of the Word of God, there were some that delivered sound Morality and useful Instructions, but without Eloquence and Loftiness of Style. The study of *Greek*, *Latin*, Poetry and polite Learning flourished towards the end of this Century, which has furnished us with most valuable Writers of this kind. This is in general the Idea which may be formed of the Writers in the fifteenth Century: We shall now say something of each in particular, and insist upon the Works of those who deserve to have Extracts taken out of them, passing slightly over the rest of them. We shall begin with three famous Theologues of the University of *Paris*.

Peter of Ailly, (Petrus de Alliaco) Cardinal.
 The first is *Peter of Ailly*, born at *Campeigne*, in the Year 1350. of a very obscure family, who rose by his merits to the dignity of Cardinal. He owes this advancement to the College of *Navarre*, which received him into the number of its Bursers, about the Year 1372. From that time he began to make himself known by his Writings of Philosophy, wherein he follows the Principles of the *Nominals*. Afterwards, in the same place, he explained the Master of the Sentences towards the Year 1375. His reputation procured him to be chosen to assist at a Synod in *Amiens*, where he made a discourse to the Priests of that Diocese, tho' he himself was yet but Subdeacon. He received the Doctor's Bonnet at *Paris*, the 11th. of *April*, 1380; and the next Year made a discourse before the Duke of *Anjou*, in the name of the University, wherein he prov'd that it was necessary to call a General Council to put an end to the Schism. The same Year he was made Canon of *Noyon*, and stayed there till the Year 1384. when he was called back to *Paris* to be the Superior of the College of *Navarre*; he discharged the duty of the place with honour, and deserved commendation for his Lessons and Sermons. Out of his School came *John Gerson*, *Nicholas Clemangis*, and *Giles of Champs*, the most celebrated Theologues of this time. The University of *Paris* could find no person more fit than this Doctor, to maintain their cause against *John Monteson*, at the Tribunal of Pope *Clement VII.* whom therefore they deputed to the Court of *Avignon*, where he pleaded himself the cause of the University

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versity against *Monteson*, with so much vigor, that the Pope and Cardinals confirmed the judgment of the University. Being returned from this Deputation, in the Year 1389. he was honoured with three considerable dignities, viz. of Chancellor of the University, Almoner and Confessor to King *Charles VI.* In the Year 1394. he was appointed Treasurer of the Holy Chappel, and sent by the King to *Benedict XIII.* to labour for the peace of the Church. After this, he was chosen successively to two Bishopricks, in the Year 1395. to that of *Puy in Velay*, and in the Year 1396. to that of *Cambray*; he took possession of the latter, and laid down his Office of Chancellor of the University in favour of *John Gerson*. He took great pains afterwards to extirpate the Schism, and assisted at the Council of *Pisa*. In fine, *John XXIII.* made him Cardinal by the title of *St. Chrysogone*, in the Year 1411; and in this quality he was present at the General Council of *Constance*, and was one of those that had a great hand in all that was done there. There he composed some Treatises, and made many Sermons about the matters which were handled in the Council; and afterwards he returned to *Cambray*, where he died in the Year 1425.

There are many Works of *Peter of Ailly*, printed and in Manuscript. The printed are as follow: Short Commentaries upon the four Books of the Sentences, printed a-part in the Year 1500, and at *Strasbourg* in 1490, together with the following Treatises, Questions or Principles upon the four Books of the Sentences, a Recommendation of the Holy Scripture, Principles upon the course of the Bible, and chiefly upon the Gospel of *St. Mark*. *Questio Vespertiarum*, whether the Church of Jesus Christ is governed by the Law? The Question *de Resumpta*, whether the Church of *St. Peter* is governed by the Law, confirmed by the Faith, and has a right to Dominion. In the same Year, and at the same Place there were also printed many Treatises of Piety, by the same Author, which have been also re-printed at *Douay*, in 1634, viz. the Mirror of Consideration, which contains 12 Chap. A Compend of Contemplation divided into three Treatises, whereof the 1st. consists of 12 Chapters of the 2^d. of *St. Thomas*; the 2^d. is of the spiritual Genealogy of *Jacob*, and the Figures which serve for Contemplation; the 3^d. of the spiritual Senses of a Man elevated to Contemplation; a Work of the four Steps of a spiritual Ladder taken from *St. Bernard*; a short Discourse upon the Book of *Psalms*; Meditations upon the 30th. Psalm, upon the Psalm, *Judica me Deus*, upon the seven Penitential *Psalms*, upon the *Canticles*, upon the *Ave Maria*, upon the Songs of the *Virgin*, *Zachary* and *Simeon*; together with an Epilogue of the four spiritual Exercises; a Treatise of the Lord's Prayer, a Tract of the 12 Honours of *St. Joseph*: The Treatise of the Soul, re-printed at *Paris*, in 1505. Twenty Sermons, among which is a Sermon of the Trinity, preached in the Year 1405. at *Geneva*, before *Benedict XIII.* wherein he persuades him to cause the Feast of the Holy Trinity to be celebrated in every Church, with a Constitution of this Pope upon this subject, and a Treatise of the form and manner of choosing a Pope, which was made in the time of the Council of *Constance*, as also his Treatise of the Reformation of the Church, presented to the Fathers of this Council in the Year 1415, printed in the Collection intitl'd, *Fasciculus rerum expendarum*, and a Treatise of the authority of the Church and Cardinals among the Works of *Gerson*. There is also a Sacramental, which goes under the name of *Peter of Ailly*, printed at *Louvain* in 1487. and the Life of *St. Peter of Moron*, or *Celestine*, printed at *Paris* in 1539. A Treatise of Ecclesiastical Power; a Treatise of the Interdict; a Treatise of the Permutation of Benefices, of Laws, and of a General Council; some Questions about the Creation; an Answer to the Conclusions of *Friar Matthew* for the Sect of Whippers, together with the Book of the agreement of Astrology and Theology: These two last

are among the Works of *Gerson*, the other have been printed at *Cologne*, with some other Treatises of Astronomy: A Treatise of the Sphere printed at *Paris* in 1494. and at *Venice* in 1508; a Treatise upon the Meteors of *Aristotle*, and the Impressions of the Air, printed at *Strasbourg* in 1504. and at *Vienna* in 1509. He had a great esteem of Judicial Astrology, and refers to the Stars not only civil events, but also changes of Religion, and the birth of Heresies; and he believed, that by the Principles of this Science, a Man might even foretel the birth of Hereticks, Prophets, and of Jesus Christ himself.

The Manuscript Works of *Peter of Ailly*, which are to be found in the Bibliotheque of the College of *Navarre*, according to *Monsieur Launoy*, who has made a Catalogue of them, are as follow: A Question decided in the Schools of *Navarre*, viz. whether it be heretical to say, that 'tis lawful to give or receive Money for obtaining a Right to preach; a Proposition made before the Pope against the Chancellor of the University of *Paris*, which begins with these words, *Lord, I suffer violence*; a Question upon the reprimand which *St. Paul* gave *St. Peter*; an Answer made in the *Sorbon* upon this Question, viz. whether it be a perfection to be three subsistences in one and the same nature; another Question to which he answered in the *Sorbon*, viz. whether the erroneous Conscience of a reasonable creature can excuse its action; an Answer made in the Hall of the Bishoprick, viz. whether he that has a power which Jesus Christ has given him can be justly damned; another Question, viz. whether the liberty of reasonable creatures is equal before and after the Fall; an Invektive of *Ezekiel* against false Preachers; a Sermon made in the Chapter of the College of *Navarre* upon this Text, *Truth is gone out of the Earth*; a Sermon upon *St. Bernard*; and a Sermon upon these words, *The Kingdom of Heaven belongeth to them*; a Sermon preached in the Synod of *Amiens*, when he was yet but Subdeacon, upon this Text, *Let your Priests be clothed with Righteousness*; another Sermon preached in the Synod of *Paris*; a Treatise upon *Boetius's* Book of Consolation; two Treatises upon the false Prophets, in the latter of which he treats of Hypocrisie, of Knowledge, of the Discourse of good and bad Angels, and of Judicial Astrology; a Discourse of the Vision of the Garden of Scripture, which serves as a Preface to his Commentary upon the *Canticles*; two Discourses spoke before the Pope and the Consistory of Cardinals, against *Friar John of Monteson*; a Treatise made in the name of the University of *Paris*, against the errors of the same Friar, whereof the greatest part is printed at the end of the Master of the Sentences.

The most considerable Work of *Peter of Ailly*, is his Treatise of the Reformation of the Church, which is nothing but an abridgment of many other Works which he wrote upon the same subject. He shews in the Preface the necessity of reforming the Church, because of the disorders which abound in the greatest part of its Members, which will still increase unless a speedy remedy be applied. The Body of the Work is divided into six Chapters, the first is, about the necessity of Reformation in the Universal Church; for which end he shews, that General Councils must be celebrated oftner than they have been in times past, and that Provincial Councils must be held every two Years: The second concerns what must be reformed in the Head of the Church, i. e. in the Pope and the Court of *Rome*, wherein there are many things to be reformed: 1st. That abuse which has been the origine of Schism, that one Nation should detain the Pope in their Country for a considerable time to the prejudice of the rest of Christendom; and to prevent this, he thought it would be convenient, that no more Cardinals should be made of one Nation than another. 2^{dly}. That to hinder the Cardinals from alledging they had made the election of a Pope thro' fear or violence, a time must be fixed, after which this exception shall be no more received, and that the Coun-

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cil must judge to whom it belongs to take cognizance of it. Thirdly, that a remedy must be applied to the 3 principal grievances that the other Churches object against the Church of *Rome*; and which consist in the great number of Exactions, of Excommunications and Constitutions. Fourthly, that care must be taken as to Collations and Elections of Benefices, to retrench many Exemptions which the Court of *Rome* had granted to Abbots, Convents and Chapters; and to abolish many Rights which the Officers of the Court of *Rome* had usurp'd. The third Chapter is concerning the Reformation of the Church in its principal parts, *i. e.* the Prelates of the first order; there he explains the Qualities which Bishops ought to have, after what manner they should live; he proves the obligation they lie under to reside in their Dioceses, and shews what care they ought to have to avoid all appearance of Simony, and to take nothing for Orders, nor for the Administration of the Sacraments; he adds, that it would be expedient to declare, that many things which pass for commands of the Church, are only councils to moderate the Laws of the Church, to abridge and purge the Divine Offices, to retrench a part of the Images and Festivals, and not to canonize so many new Saints. The fourth Chapter is about the Reformation of the religious Orders: He thinks it would be convenient that there should not be so great a number of them, nor so many different Orders, particularly of the Mendicants, whose great number is burdensome and prejudicial to the other States of the Church: That the begging of Preachers should be suppressed, which renders the Word of God contemptible, and the Monks must be hindered from going out of their Houses, under pretence of Study: That it was also necessary to reform the military Orders, and bring them back to their ancient Institution: That as to the Nuns, no Monasteries should be suffered, which have not sufficient Revenues to maintain the Nuns that are shut up in them, for want of which they are forced to go abroad. The fifth Chapter is about the Reformation of mere Ecclesiasticks; he desires that Benefices should be filled with persons capable and worthy to possess them, that Dignities should not be given but only to those who are Doctors in Divinity or Law: He believed also, that the Universities wanted Reformation, and that they should retrench the useless Studies that were in use there. He wished that the Manners of Ecclesiasticks were reformed, which were very disorderly; that Archdeacons were obliged to do their duty; that the Order of Priesthood should not be given but only to those who were qualified, and of good Morals. That for the instruction of those who are already ordained, Lectures should be made in *Latin* and *French*, about those things of Religion which are most necessary, as about Virtues and Vices, about the Articles of Faith, the Sacraments, the manner of confessing, and that they should be published in the Synods; that there should be in each Church a Reader in Divinity, and a number of sufficient Books. The sixth Chapter is about the Reformation of Laymen, and chiefly of Christian Princes, where he gives them excellent instructions concerning their behaviour towards the Church and the General Council.

J. Charlier surnamed Gerson.

John Charlier surnamed *Gerson*, from the name of a Village in the Diocese of *Rheims*, near *Rhetel*, in which he was born December the 14th. 1363. was educated in piety by his Father *Arnulphus*, and his Mother *Elizabeth*. When he arrived at the age of fourteen Years at *Paris*, he was received into the Society of Artists of the College of *Navarre*, and after he had studied there Humanity and Philosophy he was received in the Year 1382. into the Society of Divines: And having studied Divinity for ten Years under *Peter* of *Ailly*, and *Giles de Champs*, he took his Degrees in the Faculty of Theology, and received the Doctors Cap in the Year 1392. Some time after, he succeeded *Peter* of *Ailly* in the dignity of Chancellor and Canon of the Church of *Paris*.

The Murder of *Louis*, Duke of *Orleans*, who was massacred in the year 1407. by order of the Duke of *Burgundy*, stirr'd up the zeal of *Gerson* against *John Petit* a Divine; who, by a base Compliance had undertaken to justify this Action. *Gerson* made many Sermons against this Sanguinary Doctrine, caus'd it to be censur'd by the Faculty of Theology, and the Bishop of *Paris*: He bestirr'd himself vigorously for the Extirpation of the Schism before the Council of *Pisa*, but chiefly in the Council of *Constance*; at which he assisted in the Quality of Ambassador from the King of *France*, and of Deputy from the University of *Paris*, and the Province of *Sens*. He wrote several things, and spoke many discourses during the time of the Council, and was there look'd upon as the most able of all the Divines. There he oppos'd stoutly the error of *John Petit*, and caus'd him to be condemn'd by the Council, which brought upon him the Indignation of the Duke of *Burgundy*; insomuch that he durst not return to *Paris*, and was forc'd to retire into *Germany* disguis'd in the Habit of a Pilgrim. There he stay'd for some time, but at last he return'd to *Lyons*, where he ended his days on the 12th. of July, 1439. at the Age of 76 years.

Gerson wrote many Books which have been printed many times in *Germany*, at *Cologne* in 1483. at *Strasburg* in 1488. and in 1494. at *Basil* in 1489. and in 1518; by *Martin Flacius*, in 1502. by *John Knoebsch* in 1514; and twice at *Paris*, in 1521. in the Gothic Letter, and in 1606. these Editions were divided into four Parts.

The first contains the Treatises concerning Faith and the Ecclesiastical Power. Before it there is plac'd an Encomium of the Works of *Gerson*, after which follows a Concordance of the four Evangelists. The first of the Treatises about Ecclesiastical Power, is the Work which he compos'd upon this Subject at *Constance* while the Council was held, intitled, of the Ecclesiastical Power, and the Origin of Right and Laws. It contains thirteen considerations: in the first he gives the definition of Ecclesiastical Power express'd in these words: The Ecclesiastical Power is a power that was conferr'd supernaturally and specially by Jesus Christ to his Apostles and their Disciples, to pass to their lawful Successors to the end of the World, for the Edification of the Church Militant according to the Laws of the Gospel, and for obtaining Eternal Life. He distinguishes in the second consideration two sorts of Ecclesiastical Power, the power of Order, and the power of Jurisdiction; and divides the former into two, the power of Order as to the mystical and true Body of Jesus Christ and its Consecration, and the power of Order as to the mystical Body of Jesus Christ in its Members, *i. e.* the Church. The power of Jurisdiction is also divided into two, that which concerns the External Court, and that which concerns the Internal; and the former is either such as Jesus Christ did immediately appoint, or such as Humane Constitutions have ordain'd. The power of Order which concerns the Consecration of the Body of Jesus Christ is equal in the Priests and the Bishops; but as to the power of Confirmation and the Ordination of Ministers, that belongs to the Bishops, at least in its Plenitude and Perfection, and is equal in them and in the Pope, as *Gerson* proves in the third consideration. He treats in the fourth of the power of Jurisdiction in the External Court, which is exercis'd over Christians whether they will or no, but with respect to Eternal Happiness; such is the power of Excommunicating and Interdicting. He says, that this power was given by Jesus Christ to his Church to be exercis'd by a General Council; that altho' it was conferr'd upon St. *Peter* and his Successors, yet it was chiefly given to the Church: First, because the Church is infallible, which cannot be said of the Pope: Secondly, because the Church can set bounds to the power of the Pope, which the Pope cannot do to the power of the Church: Thirdly, because the Church comprehends all the Ecclesiastical

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cal Powers, even that of the Pope: Fourthly, because the Church can make Laws to oblige the Pope and reform him, whereas the Pope cannot judge the whole Church, nor set any bounds to its power. As to the effects of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, *Gerson* says, that the last Penalty that the Church can inflict is Penal Excommunication, and that it has no right to make use of any Corporal Punishment, but by the concession of Princes; wherefore he does not approve that so many Censures have been us'd for maintaining this Jurisdiction. He treats in the fifth consideration of the power of Jurisdiction in the Internal Court, which is exercis'd over those that voluntarily submit to it, by enlightening and perfecting them with Instructions, and the Administration of Sacraments, and purifying them by Baptism and by Penance. After he has establish'd these Principles, he applies them in the following considerations. The Ecclesiastical Power consider'd in it self is invariable, and continues the same from the beginning of the Church unto the end, and comprehends all the different powers, even the Authority of the Pope: The same power consider'd respectively in its particular Subjects is variable, since the Subjects are chang'd by Natural or Civil Deaths, by Deposition, Renunciation, &c. The Pope himself may voluntarily resign the Pontificate, or be depos'd. The power which respects the Institution of Ministers has very much varied in the Church, and the Ambitious Desires of Men have caus'd so great confusions about it, that 'tis difficult to distinguish what is in it of Jesus Christ's Institution from that which is of Humane Appointment: The History of the Popes, of General Councils, and the Decretals of the Pope plainly discover this variety. But we ought to consider the many Processes about Benefices which busie the Court of *Rome*, the Collations and Seals of the Pope, the Annates and an infinite number of Practices, by which the Pope would usurp the Institutions, the Rights, the Offices and the Benefices of all the Churches; they ought to remember, that God has not given them a power but to Edification; they have a right to reform Abuses, to watch over the whole Church, to turn out Intruders, to advance the Humble and Poor without Prayers or Presents. The Ecclesiastical Power considered according to its Usage and Exercise is variable, for tho' it be the Institution of Jesus Christ, yet the Use and Exercise of it is convey'd from some Men to others according to the various necessities of the Church. The Plenitude of this Power is subjectively in the Pope only, supposing that he be ordain'd, which was given by Jesus Christ to St. *Peter*, for him and his Successors: But the Church and Princes have granted them Rights which they had not by the Institution of Jesus Christ, and the General Councils could make Laws which the Pope could not destroy, but only by dispensing in case of necessity or apparent advantage, because Humane Laws can never be made so general, but they will admit of some Exception and Interpretation; *Gerson* there gives excellent Rules about Dispensation. After this, he proceeds to the Authority of the Church, and a General Council, which he proves to be the Sovereign Authority in the Church, and to have right to exercise the Pontifical Jurisdiction; and also to take care of it for a time, tho' they cannot abolish it for ever. The twelfth consideration is about the power of the Pope with respect to temporal Revenues. He says, that he has no power to dispose of the Revenues of Clergymen, and much less of those of Laymen, altho' the Government, Direction and Regulation of these Revenues belong to him. He owns, that these Doctrines are contrary to two opposite errors, whereof one is, that the Ecclesiasticks ought not to have temporal Revenues, that if they have any they are only Alms which are not due, and which they ought not to enjoy, but to live in the Poverty of Jesus Christ; the other is, that the Pope is the Sovereign Lord of Temporals as well

as Spirituals; that all Kings receive their power from him; or at least that he is absolute Lord of the Ecclesiastical Revenues, and that he can dispose of them according to his Will without being guilty of Simony, and without admitting any Appeal from his Judgment. He concludes from all these considerations, that the power of the Pope is much superior to all other powers Ecclesiastical and Temporal; but that the power of the Church and a General Council is more extensive and large, not only for its Infallibility, but for the right it has to reform the Church in its Head and Members, and to decide as the last resort the Causes of Faith. He defines a General Council a Congregation made in any place by a Lawful Authority, of all the Hierarchical Orders of the Catholick Church, from which none of the Faithful are excluded, who have a mind to be heard in order to the Management of what concerns the Government of the Church in Faith and Manners. It belongs to the Pope to call them together except in three Cases, in which the Congregation of a Council may be made without the Pope: The first is, If the Pope be naturally dead, civilly, or canonically, if he be depos'd, distracted, or a Prisoner in any place where he cannot be address'd unto; The second is, If being requir'd to call a Council, he does obstinately refuse to do it; the third is, if a General Council being lawfully assembled appoint the time and place of a subsequent Council. The Prelates that ought to be present at a Council are those of the first Order, viz. Archbishops and Bishops who succeed the Apostles; and Prelates of the second Order who are Successors to the 72 Disciples: Both the one and the other have a Definitive Voice in the Council, other Persons have only a Consultative Voice. By the Prelates of the second Order are understood the Parish-Priests; but this cannot be extended to the Regulars, who exercise no Hierarchical Functions but by Privilege. The thirteenth consideration contains the Definition and Division of the different sorts of Laws of Jurisdiction and Government. This Treatise of *Gerson* was written and repeated in the Council of *Constance* 1417.

The second Work of the same first Part is a Discourse spoken at the same Council in 1415. upon occasion of the Processions that were made for the happy Voyage of the King of the *Romans* to *Peter de Luna*; wherein he explains the progress which the Council made towards Peace, by removing the Obstacles which hindred the Extirpation of the Schism and Heresie, and the Reformation of Manners. In it he confirms the Authority of the Council above the Pope in Matters of Faith, and as to the Reformation of Manners.

The third Treatise is intitled, *de Auferibilitate Papæ ab Ecclesia*, the Subject whereof is not as some imagine, that the Church can take away the Pope for ever, but that there are many Cases wherein the Church may be for a time without the Pope, and that there are some Cases wherein he may be depos'd. He takes for the text of his discourse the words of Jesus Christ in St. *Mark* Ch. 2. *The time will come when the Bridegroom shall be taken away from you*, whereupon he enquires; First whether Jesus Christ who is the Bridegroom of the Church can be taken from the Church and its Members. And first, he lays it down for certain, that he cannot be taken away from the whole Church according to the Ordinary Law; Secondly, that tho' he may cease to be the Spouse of particular Believers in the Church Militant, yet he cannot cease to be the Spouse of the whole Church Collectively; Thirdly, that he cannot cease to dispense continually his Graces to the whole Church, and every one of its Living Members; Fourthly, that it was not possible, that Jesus Christ should be taken away from the far greatest part of his Spouse, so that the Church should subsist in one Woman only, or in the Sex of Women only, or in Laymen only. This is what concerns Jesus Christ. Now follow the Propositions

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which concern the Pope his Vicar; First, the Monarchical State of the Church establish'd by Jesus Christ cannot be changed. Secondly, a Pope may cease to be the Vicar of Jesus Christ by Cession or Resignation of the Pontificate. Thirdly, he may be removed by a General Council, even against his will in some cases; and tho' the Council cannot take from him the power of order, yet it may deprive him of the lawful execution of the power of order, and of his jurisdiction. Fourthly, the Council has power to do this legally and with authority. Fifthly, the Pope may be deposed as a Heretick and Schismatick, tho' he be only mentally so, in such cases as he may be presumed and judged to be such. Sixthly, he may in some cases be deprived of the Pontificate without any fault of his, tho' not without cause, as if he become incapable of doing his duty, if he do not prove that his election was Canonical; if his deprivation be a means to procure the peace of the Church, or the re-union of a great many people; or if he has promised to resign. Seventhly, the Church cannot take away the Vicar of Jesus Christ unto the end of the World, supposing that it shall last yet for some time: From whence he concludes, that those who contribute to maintain a Schism, oppose the order of Jesus Christ, because they hinder the Church from having a lawful Head.

The 4th. Treatise of *Gerson*, is about the manner of our behaviour during a Schism; where he shews, that when it is doubtful which of the Competitors is the true Pope, we ought to abstain from condemning one another, and endeavour to procure the peace of the Church, either by obliging the Competitors to resign their pretended rights, or by withdrawing our obedience from them; but above all things, we ought not to divide the Communion of one from the other. At the end of this Treatise, he has added an Appendix, wherein he gives a Catalogue of the Schisms of the Church of *Rome*.

The 5th. Work is a Treatise of the Unity of the Church, wherein he shews with what zeal we ought to seek after Union with one sole Head, the Vicar of Jesus Christ; and of what importance it is to procure it.

After this follows a Treatise of the different States of the Ecclesiasticks, of their duties and privileges; 1st. With respect to the Pope, who hath the Supremacy in the Church, tho' he be subject to the Laws of General Councils; and ought also to pay a deference to other positive Laws. Secondly, with respect to the Bishops, who are of Divine Institution, and exercise their power in subordination to the Pope, yet so that he cannot destroy it, nor deprive the Bishops of it without reason, nor restrain their rights or jurisdictions beyond reasonable bounds. Thirdly, with respect to Parish-Priests, who succeed the 72 Disciples, and who are also instituted by Jesus Christ, who, altho' they be inferior to Bishops, yet are superior to the Regulars, having a right to preach and administer the Sacraments. Fourthly, with respect to the Regulars, who are privileg'd, and have been chosen to preach, and hear Confessions a long time after the establishment of the Church; a privilege which they ought to use charitably, and not from a principle of interest, emulation or ambition, and to the prejudice of the Parish-Priests, and not at all but when they are approved by the Bishop.

The next Treatise is a Work purely of Morality, wherein *Gerson* collects many Christian Maxims for all estates; after which follows a Sermon preached at *Constance*, wherein he relates divers Signs of the approaching destruction of this World; among which he places the pomp, pride and tyranny of the Prelates of his time, and the novelty of opinions.

After this we find a Catalogue of the faults of Ecclesiasticks, which are many: The plurality of Benefices is not forgotten there, nor the tricks and solicitations that are used to obtain them, the absence of Bishops from their Dioceses, the negligence

of Ecclesiasticks in performing their Office, and reading Divine Service; their ignorance, the worldly Life which they lead, the pomp and pride of Cardinals and other Prelates, and an infinite number of disorders both in the manners and behaviour of the Ecclesiasticks.

The three following Treatises were composed before the Council of *Constance*, at such a time as *Benedict XIII.* was yet acknowledged by *France*; wherein he proves the right that *Benedict* had to the Pontificate, and would have him put an end to the Schism, by way of Com-promise or Cession, rather than by a General Council.

Gerson being sent to Pope *Benedict* by the University of *Paris*, preach'd before him two Sermons at *Tarascon*, in the Year 1404. one on the day of our Lord's Circumcision, and the other about the peace of the Church; wherein he undertakes to persuade the Pope that he ought to embrace all ways for procuring it, by even resigning, if need were, his right to his adversary. This discourse was ill taken, wherefore *Gerson* was forced to justify himself by two Letters which he wrote; whereof one is address'd to the Duke of *Orleans*, and the other to the Bishop of *Cambray*. In these Letters he speaks of another preceding Sermon, delivered before the same Pope at *Marseilles*; wherein he declares the occasion of his Embassy, which is printed after the other two, whereof we have now spoken, altho' it should be before them; and there is also among them a discourse which was not preached by *Gerson* till a long time after, in the presence of *Alexander V.*

The other pieces of *Gerson* about the Schism, are a discourse spoken in the name of the University of *Paris*, in 1408. in the presence of the Ambassadors from *England*, who were going to the Council of *Pisa*, wherein he congratulates them, that they were going to this Council to endeavour after the peace of the Church, exhorts them to make a peace, and shews them the means of procuring it. There is a Dialogue of his about the matter of the Schism; wherein he introduces zeal, good-will and discretion, disputing together, about the means of putting an end to contention; a Letter in the name of the University of *Paris*, against the Letter in the name of the University of *Tholouse*; and a Letter in the name of the King of *France*, to justify his subtraction of obedience from *Peter de Luna*.

After these Works follow many Sermons preached at *Constance* during the time of the Council. In the second he sets himself against the Partizans of the Duke of *Burgundy*, who would hinder the Council from examining and condemning the errors of *John Petit*; and shews by many reasons that 'tis very necessary to be done. At the end of this Sermon there is a small piece wherein he recollects divers errors, chiefly about this Precept of the Decalogue, *Thou shalt not kill*, against which some had advanced many cruel and sanguinary Propositions, prejudicial to the security of Princes; and about the validity of confessions made to Friars Mendicants. The Duke of *Burgundy* having caused the Proposition of *John Petit* to be maintain'd by *Peter* Bishop of *Arras*, that it was lawful to kill Tyrants; *Gerson* reply'd to him in the name of the King of *France*, in a long discourse spoken in an Assembly of the Fathers of the Council, on the 5th. of May 1416. and made two other Sermons, wherein he searches this matter to the bottom, and refutes at large the Propositions of *John Petit*, and relates the Censure of it made at *Paris*, both by the Bishop and by the Doctors.

The three following Treatises are not concerning the affair of the Schism, but the Principles of Faith: The first is intitled a declaration of the truths which must be believed, and according to him they are as follow; first, all that is contained literally in the Canonical Books; secondly, all that is determined by the Church, and received by Tradition from the Apostles; not all that it tolerates, or permits to be read publickly, but only what it defines by a judgment

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ment, condemning the contrary; thirdly, the truths which are certainly revealed to some private persons; fourthly, the necessary conclusions of truth which are established upon the preceding Principles; fifthly, the Propositions which follow from these truths by a probable consequence, or which are deduced from a Proposition of Faith, or any other supposed to be true; sixthly, the truths which serve to cherish and maintain devotion, tho' they be not perfectly certain, provided they be not known to be false. From these Propositions he draws the following Corollaries; first, that 'tis false and heretical to affirm, that the literal sense of Scripture is sometimes false; secondly, that 'tis Blasphemy and Heresy to maintain, that nothing that is evidently known can be of Faith; thirdly, that 'tis also heretical and blasphemous to say, that the Precepts of the Decalogue are not of Faith, and that the contrary Propositions are not heretical; fourthly, that the Learned are obliged to believe with an explicit Faith many Propositions that are the consequences of the prime truths, which the common people are not obliged to believe; fifthly, that the Pastors, Doctors, and other persons plac'd in Ecclesiastical Dignity, are obliged to believe explicitly the Precepts of the Decalogue, and many other points of Faith, which other Christians are obliged to believe only implicitly. The second Treatise is intitled, *Of protestation or confession in matters of Faith against Heresies*; where he treats of protestations both general and particular, and of revocations and retractations which we are obliged to make in matters of Faith; and shews, that a general protestation is not sufficient to justify a Man when he is guilty of particular errors; that a particular protestation which is conditional, and express'd in these words, *I would believe this truth if it were known to me to be so*, does not justify neither before God nor Men. He that revokes an error which he hath held, ought not to satisfy himself with making a particular protestation of the contrary truth; but ought to mention, that he retracts the error which he maintained; and this revocation does not hinder him from being an Heretick before. Yet this is not necessary with respect to those who have been in an error, but did not know it, nor maintain it obstinately. Lastly, a retractation does not hinder but he who has made it may still be suspected of Heresy, if he discovers by external signs that his revocation is not sincere. The third Treatise contains the characters of obstinacy in matters of Heresie. In it he defines obstinacy, a depravation of the Will caus'd by pride or some other vice, which hinders him that is in an error from seeking carefully after the truth, or embracing it when it is made known to him. The signs of obstinacy are these, when he who is in an error suffers Excommunication; when being cited he does not appear; when he defends an error contrary to the truth, which he is oblig'd to believe with an explicit Faith; when he hinders the explaining and defining of the truth; when he declares himself an enemy to those who would have the matter decided; when he denies a truth which he had formerly taught; when being required to explain the truth to the Doctors or Judges, he will not follow their advice; when he stirs up wars and seditions, because the truth has been explained; when he declares, that he would rather die than change his opinion; when he defends or maintains a Heretick, knowing that he is in an error; lastly, when one does not oppose an error as he may, or ought, either by his Office, if he be a Judge, or from brotherly Charity. These, according to *Gerson*, are the 12 signs of obstinacy.

The Treatise upon that Question, whether it be lawful to appeal from the judgment of the Pope in matters of Faith? was compos'd by *Gerson*, after the election of *Martin V.* upon occasion of that Pope's refusal to condemn the Propositions, of which the *Polanders* desired the condemnation. There he maintains the affirmative, because the judgment of the

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Pope is not infallible, as that of a General Council is; wherefore in matters of Faith, no judicial determination of any Bishop, or even of the Pope himself, does oblige the Faithful to believe a truth as of Faith; altho' it oblige them under pain of Excommunication not to be dogmatical in affirming the contrary, unless they have evident reason to oppose against the determination founded on the Holy Scripture, or Revelation, or the determination of the Church and a General Council; but in every case, as we may appeal from the judgment of a Bishop to the Pope, so we may appeal from the judgment of a Pope to a General Council.

The following Pieces are concerning the Proseses made against *Peter de Luna* in the Council, to shew that he is perjurd, schismatical, one that gives scandal to the Church of God, and is suspected of Heresy, and that as such he ought to be depos'd.

In the last Piece he examines this Proposition, whether the Sentence of a Pastor, tho' it be unjust, ought to be observed; and he maintains, that it is false, erroneous, suspected in matters of Faith. He explains also this other Proposition, unjust Sentences are to be fear'd, that is, that they may sometimes be the occasion of fear, with respect to timorous Consciences, but not that they are in themselves formidable.

The Treatise of the Incarnation, which follows, consists of two parts; in the first, he treats of the natural Incarnation of Jesus Christ; and in the second, of the Eucharist. In the former he speaks of the immaculate Conception of the Virgin, of the perfections and graces which she received from Jesus Christ, who gave her all those, which he in his wisdom thought convenient, but not all those which he could have given her. As for instance, he gave her not the perfect use of her Reason immediately after her Conception or Birth, which would be a rash assertion. In the second part he treats of the actual reception of the Body of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist; he examines what we ought to think of the spiritual sentiments of love, and the tenderness which some of the Faithful feel; and shews, that they are not necessary, that oftentimes they are illusions, that when one gives himself up to them, he is liable to fall into extravagancies and errors.

John Rusbroek had fallen into this excess, in the third part of his Book about the ornament of the spiritual Marriage; where he advances many Propositions about the Union of the contemplative Soul with God. *Gerson* refutes him in the Letter which he wrote to a *Carthusian*; wherein he shews how dangerous it was to make use of new terms to express the more sublime truths of Divinity; and that those who have not studied the Doctrines of Religion, how contemplative soever they may be, ought not to meddle with teaching, or talking of speculative truths, because they are liable to fall into dangerous errors, or at least to advance many Propositions that are false and ill-express'd, which give occasion to the common people to fall into error. *John Schonhow* wrote a piece to defend the Treatise of *Rusbroek*; to which *Gerson* answered in a second Letter, wherein he shews, that these novelties cannot be excus'd, nor maintain'd. This Piece of *John Schonhow*, and the Answer of *Gerson* follow the first Letter whereof we now speak.

The two Lectures upon St. *Mark* are Discourses, wherein he handles divers Questions of Morality and Discipline; as, about the validity of Confessions made to Friars Mendicants, the reiteration of Confession, the literal sense of the Scripture, the causes of errors, &c.

He shews in a Piece about the Communion of the Laity under both kinds, that tho' the Scripture is the Rule of Faith, yet it may admit some interpretations; and that it belongs to the Church to explain it. In the second part of this Piece he opposes the error of those who maintain'd, that it was necessary to Salvation for the Laity to communicate under

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both kinds; and relates the reasons for justifying the taking away the Cup from them.

The two next Treatises are very useful for establishing such genuine Principles, whereby we may distinguish true Doctrine from that which is false. The former is intitled, *The Tryal of Spirits*; and the latter, *The Examination of Doctrines*: In the former, he gives Rules for distinguishing false Revelations from true; in the latter, he lays down the Maxims by which we may know, to whom it belongs to examine a Doctrine, and what Rules they are to follow in this examination. A General Council is the Sovereign Judge of Doctrines of Faith; after it the Pope, whose authority nevertheless is not infallible, and each Bishop in his own Diocese, whose decision is different from that of the Pope; so that the authority of the first extends to the whole Church, whereas the two last can oblige only those that are subject to their jurisdiction. The Doctors also have an authentick judgment in matters of Doctrine; and each person instructed in Scripture and Tradition may also give his judgment, and teach even the Pope and Prelates those truths which he knows. The same is to be said of those who have the Spirit of discretion and understanding. The Rules which we are to follow in judging of a Doctrine, whether it be sound or no, are these: First, that it be agreeable to Scripture and Tradition: Secondly, that he who teaches have authority to do it, and be worthy of credit; upon which account the Visions and Revelations of Women are commonly suspected, because they may be easily seduced: Thirdly, that we ought to examine the design of him that publishes a Doctrine, whether he be acted by pride, interest or pleasure. In the end of this Treatise he relates the example of a Woman in a Town of *Bresse*, who persuaded many persons that she had delivered Souls out of Hell, by feigning extasies and wonderful things, and by using extraordinary abstinence; and who being taken, confess'd that she feign'd all these things to get a livelihood. He adds afterwards other Rules very useful to preserve us from these ways of seducing.

He makes an Encomium of St. *Bonaventure*, in a Letter written 1426. to a Friar Minor at *Lyons*, and in another Letter written 1424. to *Oswald* a *Carthusian*.

In the Letter address'd to the Students of the College of *Navarre*, he gives his opinion about the Studies a Divine ought to follow. As to the Schoolmen, he advises them to read *William Auxerres*, St. *Bonaventure*, *Durand*, *Henry of Gondavo*, and St. *Thomas*, chiefly in his 2d. of the 2d. He blames these Authors and the like, only for one thing, that they have handled Questions purely physical, metaphysical, or even logical, in theological terms. As to Morality, he advises them to read Matters of History, the Dialogues of St. *Gregory*, the Conferences and Lives of the Fathers, the Confessions of St. *Austine*, and the Legends of the Saints: As to Preaching, the mystical Expositions of the Fathers; such as the *Morals* and *Pastoral Care* of St. *Gregory*, the Commentary of St. *Bernard* upon the *Canticles*, and some Works of *Richard* of St. *Victor*, and of *William* of *Paris*. As to the Works of prophane Authors, he would not have a Christian give his Mind wholly to them; but only look into them, and curiously run them over, like a Traveller, to pick up their moral Sentences, to form a Style, and to render himself moderately skill'd in History and Poetry.

In a Letter written to the same, he gives them instructions, and exhorts them not to oppose the re-establishment of the *French* Preachers in the University of *Paris*, but to favour it.

Gerson being consulted by a *Carthusian*, if he might quit his Convent, or forbear to repeat some part of his Office, that he might have more time to read and study, and about the Books which he should read; answers this Regular in 18 Propositions, where-

of the 12 first tend to shew that the design of this Regular is dangerous and irregular, and the 6 last to inform him in the Studies he should follow. Upon this occasion he refers him to his Book about the Examination of Doctrines, advises him to read spiritual Books, as most agreeable to his Profession; among the rest, the Works of St. *Bernard*, the *Morals* of St. *Gregory*, the spiritual Works of *Richard*, and *Hugo* of St. *Victor*, and of *Bonaventure*.

In another Tract he notes the Books which must be read with precaution; among which are the Works of the Abbot *Joachim*, of *Ubertin* of *Casal*, of *Raimund Lully*, and among the Ancients the Ladder of *John Climacus*.

In another Treatise he gives the signs for discerning between true and false Visions; the first is Humility; the second, Submission; the third, Patience; the Fourth, the Truth of all the predictions and things which are said to be reveal'd; and the fifth, Charity.

The Trialogue of Astrology theologiz'd, is a Dogmatical Work, wherein he treats of the Heaven, the Stars, their Influences, of the Angels, and establishes Principles for confuting Judicial Astrology.

In the next Treatise he opposes the superstitious opinions of those who believed certain days to be happy or unhappy; and in two other Treatises, the superstition of two Physicians of *Montpelier*; whereof one made use of a Medal, whereon was engraven the figure of a Lyon, for curing diseases and the other would not make use of his remedies but on certain days.

In a fourth Treatise about this matter, he confutes the errors of the Magical Art by very solid Principles, and proves that this Art is equally false and criminal. He relates at the end of this Treatise, a Censure of the Theological Faculty at *Paris*, made the 19th. of September, 1398. against 27 Propositions which tend to justify the Practice of Magic.

A Regular of the Order of Friars Preachers, nam'd *Matthew Grabon*, of the Convent of *Weimar*, in the Diocese of *Mersbourg* in *Saxony*, having asserted some Propositions, which advanc'd the state of the Regulars so far above that of the Seculars, that he affirm'd there could be no perfection out of the Religious Orders; and that the Evangelical Counsels, and the Virtue of poverty could not be practis'd in the world: This Doctrine was condemn'd by the Cardinal of *Cambray*, about which *Gerson* relates his own opinion, and founds it upon six Propositions: First, that the Christian Religion can only be properly call'd a Religion: Secondly, that it does not oblige Men to the observation of the Evangelical Counsels: Thirdly, that it may be perfectly observ'd without a Vow, which obliges to the practice of these Counsels: Fourthly, that particular Rules are not necessary for the more perfect observation of the Christian Religion: Fifthly, that 'tis an improper speech to say, that Religious Orders instituted by Men, are a state of perfection: Sixthly, that the Pope, Cardinals and Prelates, ought to observe the Christian Religion more perfectly than the Regulars. From these Principles he draws Conclusions contrary to the Propositions of Friar *Matthew Grabon*. This affair being examin'd in the time of the Council of *Constance*, this Regular was forc'd to retract; and his retraction follows in the Treatise of *Gerson* against these errors.

The next Treatise is against the Sect of Whippers, and the publick Whippings. He observes at first, that the Law of Jesus Christ ought not to be burden'd with servile Works, nor mingled with Superstitions; that its Vertue proceeded from Mercy and Grace which is produc'd by the Sacraments; from whence he concludes, that the Whippers who maintain'd that Whipping is of more Vertue for remission of Sin, than Confession, and who equal it to Martyrdom, are in an error: He says, 'tis to be

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be fear'd lest this effusion of the Blood of Ecclesiastical Persons, and in holy places, should make the former fall into Excommunication or some Irregularity, and profane the latter; that when it is forbidden to impose publick Penance upon Clergymen, it is much less lawful to chastise them publicly with Whippings, which are contrary to modesty and decency; that to make these Whippings lawful, they should be impos'd as a Penance by some Superior; that 'tis convenient they should be us'd by the hand of another with moderation, without scandal without ostentation and effusion of Blood, as it is practis'd in some approv'd Convents, and by devout persons; that the publick Whippings are a dangerous novelty condemn'd by the Church, and are the cause of infinite mischiefs, as the contempt of Priests and Sacraments, the idleness, the robbery, the lewdness, &c. From whence he concludes, that a stop must be put to this practice lest it should revive and prevail, by opposing it with Preaching, with Laws, and by chastising the Disobedient; and besides, as it is not lawful to cut of any member unless it is for the health of the Body, so neither does it seem to be lawful to draw Blood out of the Body by violence, unless it be by the way of medicine. After this Treatise follows a Letter address'd to St. Vincent Ferrier of the Order of Friars Predicants which does not so vigorously oppose this usage, but rather recommends the care of it to him; and desires him to come to Constance, there to procure the condemnation of this Sect of Whippers. These things were written in the Year 1417.

The next Treatise, against the Proprietors, who make profession of the Rule of St. *Austine*, is falsely attributed to *Gerson*. This is the last Piece of the first part of his Works.

The second part consists of moral Writings: The first is intitled, *Moral Rules*, and is a Collection of many Axioms and Maxims upon different subjects, which appear not to have *Gerson's* Style, as neither has the next Treatise, which is an Abridgment of speculative and moral Theology.

The Tripartite Work, wherein he treats of the Precepts of the Decalogue, of Confession and the Art of dying well, was found so useful, that the Bishops of *France* made choice of it in their Synods, to serve for an instruction to Priests, and to the Faithful of their Dioceses; recommended it to the Curates to be read in their exhortation, and inserted into the Rituals. The first part contains an easie exposition of the Articles of Faith, and a very useful explication of the Precepts of the Decalogue; the second, the different Sins of which one may accuse himself in Confession; and the third, Exhortations and Prayers to assist a man at the time of Death. These things are handled in this Piece, after a plain, but solid and instructive manner.

The Treatise of the difference between venial and mortal Sins, was written in *French* by *Gerson*, and translated into *Latin* by some person at the same time. To distinguish between these two Sins, he lays down as a Principle, that among the Commands of God, there are some which we are oblig'd to practise, under the pain of forfeiting his Grace, and incurring eternal Damnation, *viz.* those which bind us to the obedience we owe to God, and those which maintain society among Men, as the Commands of loving God, of not killing, not stealing, &c. There are other Commands which have only a temporal Penalty annex'd to them; to violate the former is a mortal Sin, and to transgress the latter is only a venial Sin. But a Command may be violated either upon mature deliberation, with certain knowledge and an express consent, or through ignorance from a first motion, and without a formal consent; and in this case they do not always sin mortally by transgressing one of the former Commands, because it is the consent that makes the Sin: And thus these Sins which are call'd mortal, are not always so. Vain-glory of it self is only a venial Sin;

but it becomes a mortal Sin, upon the account of the end, or the Action wherein the Vain-glory is sought for. He distinguishes the cases wherein it is a mortal Sin, and wherein it is not. He runs over all the other capital Sins, and examines what circumstances render them mortal or venial. He shews also on what occasion ignorance or sincerity excuses from Sin. He gives many instructions about Confession, and the Sins which are committed in the way of traffick; about the obligation to take off the Excommunication which is incurr'd, and having no commerce with those who are excommunicated. Lastly, he proves that we should avoid all kind of Sins, and explains by a comparison which are mortal, and which venial.

The following Treatises are concerning the Sacrament of Penance. In the first, intitled, *Of the Art of bearing Confession*, he gives divers Rules to Confessors concerning their Office. In the second, he teaches them after what manner they ought to behave themselves, to make their Penitents confess the Sin of Debauchery. In the third, he teaches them divers Remedies which they may apply to hinder a relapse. In the fourth, he reprimands a custom of the Order of the *Carthusians*, whereby the Confessors of that Order did not grant Absolution, but only for venial Sins; and as to mortal Sins, referr'd them to their Superiors. In the fifth, he treats of the different kinds of Excommunication, and of Irregularities, and of the manner of granting Absolution. In the sixth, he treats of the form of Sacramental Absolution, of the other Absolution, of Excommunication, of Indulgences and their effect. In the next Piece he enquires whether a dead Man may be absolv'd. In the eighth, and ninth, he speaks of reserv'd cases. In the tenth, he explains wherein consists the power of binding and loosing. In the following Treatises he decides divers cases about Irregularities and Absolutions. Lastly, he treats of Indulgences in two particular Tracts, wherein he has very useful discourses about Indulgences and their effects. After all he concludes, that a Man ought not to be prodigal of them, lest they should become contemptible; that he ought to give them only for the publick good, and that he ought to take heed lest he appear to grant them out of interest.

In another Treatise he resolves four Questions, *viz.* First, If it be always a Sin to speak evil of another in his absence; Secondly, If he that has made a feign'd Confession be oblig'd to confess all his Sins anew; Thirdly, Whether the person confessing being suspected of not examining his Conscience sufficiently, may be absolv'd without putting other Questions to him; Fourthly, If the Eucharist may be celebrated upon broken Altars, with Girdles which are not blessed, or patch'd Priestly Garments.

He answers to the first, that we ought to consider the end which he has who speaks evil of his neighbours; which may be, first, the instruction or information of those to whom he speaks, that they may shun these faults, or that they may not be deceiv'd by those of whom he speaks; Secondly, the profit of those who are absent, that those to whom it is spoken, may advertise them of it, or pray for them; Thirdly, curiosity or an itch of talking; Fourthly, hatred or envy. One may speak evil of his neighbour without Sin, nay, and deserve well, when he does it from the two former motives; the third is seldom free from Sin, and sometimes it is mortal; the last is always a Sin. For resolving the second he distinguishes four sorts of fictions in matter of Confession; the first, which is made by a pernicious lye; the second, by a deceitful reservation; the third, because he has not a true resolution to forsake his Sin; the fourth, because he has not duly examin'd himself. The first of these fictions renders the Absolution null, and the second also, if it be done with a design of fraud, and to deceive the Confessor; but not in case some Sin be conceal'd,

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which the Penitent believes he ought not to discover to his Confessor for certain good reasons. The third renders also the Confession null; the fourth does not always render the Confession null. As to the third Question, he says, that if the Confessor be not a Curate, he may delay the Confession, or refer the Penitent to another Confessor; but if he be a Curate, and be oblig'd to grant him Absolution, and the Penitent will not answer his Questions, he ought to grant him with a tacit condition, that it shall be of no use to him if he conceals any Sin; but if the Penitent be willing to be examin'd and ask'd Questions, he ought to do it with Prudence. Lastly, as to the fourth he answers, that he must follow the customs of the place.

He resolves many other Questions in the next Tract, whereof the principal are these. First, Whether one does sin mortally with respect to the Vow of Obedience? To which he answers, No, because it is not credible, that those who command others, would oblige them under the pain of mortal Sin; and so at least when there is no formal contempt of the Command, there is no Sin. Secondly, If any can be certain that God has remitted his Sins at least as to Guilt, and if he cannot, how long time he ought to bewail his Sin? He answers, That no body can be certain of this, but that we are to believe that he who confesses his Sins, and is firmly resolv'd to sin no more, is in a state of Grace; and that when he has compleated the Penance impos'd upon him, he ought no more to reflect upon his past Sins, but go on to perfect himself in Virtue, except when he is tempted with Pride. Thirdly, Whether a Priest who has a private Mass to say, can celebrate it for all the People? And if he do celebrate it for all the People, whether the Sacrifice is more for all the People, than for those to whom he is specially oblig'd? He answers, that the Priest ought not to trouble himself about these things, but leave it to God to make application of the Sacrifice, as if he should say, *Lord, have pity of all, as thou knowest needful, and as thou canst, and as thou thinkest fit, be willing, O Lord, I pray thee*: Besides, that Mass ought not to be celebrated but when we pray for all those that are in the Communion of the Church; and if any would restrain the efficacy of it to some particular persons, this ought to be done without prejudice to the whole Church; and lastly, that it were better to make a general Prayer to God, than to restrain your self to particular persons, that it is not convenient during Mass to think particularly of this or that Man, because it may be the cause of distraction; that we ought to think of them before Mass, and 'tis sufficient when we say it, to recommend in general those for whom we ought to pray, unless we be obliged to pray for one that is dead. After this, he resolves divers other cases about what may happen during the celebration of the Mass; and then proceeds to the Sacrament of Penance, as to which he answers many Questions, about the power of an Abbot in Confession; about the secrecy of Confession, that he would not have it reveal'd in any case, or for any reason; about imposing of Penance, the circumstances of the Sins whereof he is accused, admission into a Convent, &c. After this Treatise here follow two small Tracts, one about venial and mortal Sin, and the other about the rebuke of our neighbour.

The Treatise of the manner of conducting Children to Jesus Christ, contains several Precepts very useful for their education.

The Treatise about Contracts contains certain Rules for judging of the justice and injustice of Contracts, founded upon the Principles of Nature and Reason; where he treats also of difficult Questions, about different kinds of Contracts.

The Treatise of Simony is about another matter which is yet more nice, where he handles divers cases about Simony, and the means which a Council ought to use for the extirpation of it. There

he condemns the Annates of Simony, because it is an exaction which the Pope imposes for granting the Provisions of a Benefice; and tho' he believes that the Money may be excused from absolute Simony, which is given or received for things which have a certain price, as the dispatches of Letters, Mens care and pains; yet he does not approve that any thing should be given or exacted upon this pretence: Nevertheless he does not condemn the custom of giving or receiving something from those to whom the Sacraments are administered; provided it be not the principal motive of administering them, and that it be done without scandal, and without appearance of covetousness.

In the next Treatise intitled, *Of the care of Ecclesiasticks*, addressed to the *Celestines*, he resolves 16 Questions about the foundations of Prayer and Divine Service; the application of Masses to those who give a recompence to the Priest, the intention we ought to have in Prayer for Founders or Benefactors.

The next pieces are Tracts of piety, viz. twelve Considerations to make a Christian Sacrament, a Letter about disposing of his Books after his death, another Letter to the *Celestines* to desire their Prayers, the Establishment of an Anniversary in the Church of St. Paul at Lyons, granted to Gerson by the Archbishop, the daily Testament of a Pilgrim in Prose and Verse; a Letter of consolation in Verse to his Brother John a Monk of St. Remigius of Rheims, upon the death of Nicholas one of their Brothers who was a *Celestine*, and a Treatise of preparation for the Mass.

The Works which follow are concerning Discipline; a Treatise of Celibacy, and the Chastity of Ecclesiasticks; an Apology of the Order of *Carthusians* against those who attack'd it; a Letter to justify this Order, as to what was objected, that they are never permitted to eat victuals; many Decisions of a case proposed about a married Soldier in debt who was made a *Carthusian*; a Treatise of the moderation that Ecclesiasticks ought to observe in their Table and Habit; a Sermon about the life and behaviour of Clergymen; many Sermons preach'd on Holy-Thursday, viz. a Sermon of Humility, a Sermon of Penance, a Sermon of Evangelical Dominion, a Sermon against the covetousness of Clergymen, a Sermon about the Resurrection preach'd on Easter-day, a Discourse of the Office of Pastors spoken in the Council of Rheims, in the Year 1408. a Treatise of the visitation of Prelates, and the care they ought to take of their Curates, a Sermon upon the dedication of a Church, many Sermons upon the Feast of All-Saints, a Sermon for the day of our Lord's Nativity, two Sermons preach'd on the day of Septuagesima; Panegyrics of St. Bernard and St. Louis, a Sermon upon Prayer, preach'd to the Council of Constance, a Sermon of the Holy Spirit, a Treatise upon the Words of our Lord, *Come unto me all ye that are in pain and affliction*, a Piece containing the reasons why he would quit the dignity of Chancellor, a Discourse to the Licentiates of Law, a Treatise of Nobility, and an Instruction for Princes.

There are also in this part three Books which are not Gerson's, viz. a Treatise of the Conception of the Virgin Mary, a Dialogue between an *Englishman* and a *Frenchman*, and some Reflections upon the victory at Pucelle in Orleans.

The third part of the Works of Gerson begins with a Book which is intitled, *The Imitation of Boethius, concerning the Consolation of Divinity*, which he compos'd during his exile in Germany, partly in Verse, partly in Prose, by way of Dialogue; wherein he collects many Principles of Christian Philosophy, to serve him for Meditation and Consolation.

The second is an Apology, or rather Complaint by way of Dialogue, that the Doctrine of John Petit, who affirm'd it to be lawful to kill Tyrants, was not condemn'd in the Council.

After these Treatises there follow some Poetical Pieces, and among the rest a Poem of the Life of St.

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St. Joseph, after which there is a Discourse of the Nativity of the Virgin.

The Centilegium of Idea's is a Work purely philosophical. The Treatise of the spiritual Life of the Soul, is not so much mystical, but rather a Work of Morality and Discipline, wherein he handles many important Questions, about the nature and distinction of mortal and venial Sin, the different kinds of Laws and their obligation: There he maintains, that Laws purely humane, and which have no foundation in the Divine Law, cannot oblige under pain of Sin, unless in case of scandal and contempt.

In the next Work he treats of the different kinds of impressions which Men receive either from God, or Angels, or evil Spirits.

In the Treatise or mystical Theology, he handles this Science methodically, and by way of Principles, and afterwards gives Rules as to what concerns the practice: To these are joyned some explications upon the same subject. In this Treatise he avoids the excesses of mystical Divines, and advances nothing but what is rational, and there he lays down very useful Maxims to hinder Men from falling into these follies and errors, into which the mystical Authors are many times led by an indiscreet devotion.

In the next Treatise addressed to William Minaud, formerly Physician to the Cardinal of Saluzzes, and then a Carthusian, he resolves divers Questions which he had put to him, as to the manner, in which the Prior of the Carthusians ought to behave himself upon different occasions towards his Regulars.

In the Treatise intitled, *A Theological Question, viz. Whether the Light which shines in the Morning be got the Sun*; He treats of the practice of Evangelical Counsels, and the perfection of their state who take upon them a Vow to practise them; and shews, that the state of Prelates and Curates is more perfect than that of Monks and Regulars. The same Question he handles in the Treatise of the perfection of the Heart which is written by way of Dialogue.

The following Treatises are Works of Piety, whose Titles discover their subject: viz. A Treatise of Meditation, a Treatise of Purification, or Simplicity of Heart, a Treatise of Uprightness of Heart, a Treatise of the Illumination of the Heart, a Treatise of the Eye, a Treatise of the Remedies against Pusillanimity, Scruples, false Consolations and Temptations written in French and translated into Latin; a Treatise of divers Temptations of the Devil, translated also out of French, an Instruction concerning the spiritual Exercises of simple Devotionists, a Treatise about the Communion, a Piece against a Regular profess'd, who was disobedient, and another about the Zeal of a Novice, eight spiritual Letters, a Treatise of the Passions of the Soul, two spiritual Poems, a Treatise of Contemplation which was also translated out of French, a Conference of a contemplative Man with his own Soul, wherof the second part contains several Prayers and Meditations, a Letter to his Sisters about the Thoughts we ought to entertain every day, an Act of Appeal from the Justice of God to his Mercy, a Treatise of Prayer and its Effects, an Explication of these words in the Lord's Prayer, *Pardon our Sins*, &c. a Prayer of a Sinner unto God, many Treatises upon Scripture-Songs, particularly upon the *Magnificat* and the *Canticles*, a Treatise of the Elevation of the Soul to God, or the Alphabet of Divine Love, a Treatise upon the seven Penitential Psalms, Donatus moraliz'd, that's to say, moral Questions in the form of Donatus's Grammar, a Poem of a solitary Life. These are the Books contained in the second Part of Gerson's Works, at the end of which are put two Epitaphs of the Author, and a Letter from his Brother John the Celestine, about Gerson's Works; after which follows a Catalogue which contains a great part of the Works whereof we have spoken.

The fourth Part contains many Sermons, some Letters and divers Treatises. The first Sermon is a Discourse about the Angels, rather dogmatical than

moral; after which follows a Conference about the the Angels, a Sermon about Circumcision, and the Panegyricks of St. Louis and St. Nicholas, two Discourses for the Licentiates in Law, a Sermon upon the Supper of our Lord, a little Tract wherein he advises to read the Ancients rather than the Moderns, three Letters about spiritual and contemplative Writers to Peter of Ailly, Bishop of Cambray, a Supplement to a Sermon which begins with these words, *A Deo exivi*, a Memorial about the Duty of Prelates during the Subtraction, two Pieces containing divers Proposals for the Extirpation of Schism, a Tree of Right and Laws, and the Ecclesiastical Power, containing their Divisions, a second Panegyrick of St. Louis, and a Letter to John Morel, Canon of St. Remigius of Rheims, about the Life of a Holy Woman which he thought not convenient to publish.

The Treatises which follow are more considerable; the first contains a definition of all the terms of speculative and moral Divinity, and also of the virtues, vices and passions; the second is an addition to the Treatise of Schism; the third is a Letter address'd to the Abbot of St. Dennis, to persuade him to suppress a Placard injurious to the Parisians, wherein he accuses them of an error and a fault about the Relicks of St. Dennis; the fourth contains some proposals about the extirpation of Schism; the fifth, two Lectures against curiosity and novelty in matters of Doctrine; the sixth, a Treatise against Horoscopes and Judicial Astrology; the seventh, a Sermon for Holy-Thursdays; the eighth, another Sermon upon the Feast of St. Louis; the ninth, two Letters about the celebration of the Feast of St. Joseph; the tenth, a Treatise of the Marriage of St. Joseph and the Virgin, with the Office of the Mass for that day; the eleventh, divers Conclusions about the power of Bishops in matters of Faith; the twelfth, a Treatise of the Illumination of the Heart; the thirteenth, a Resolution of a Case, viz. whether it be lawful for the Regulars of St. Benedict to eat victuals in the house where they use to do it; to which he answers affirmatively; the 14th. a Tract against the Superstition of those who affirm, that such as will hear Mass on a certain day shall not die a sudden death; the 15th. Instructions to John, Major Preceptor to Louis XI. Dauphin, about his Duty; the 16th. a Sermon preach'd at Lyons in 1422. about the Duty of Pastors; the 17th. a Treatise to justify what he had written of lascivious Pictures, against the writing of one who would justify this custom; the 18th. a Treatise of good and evil Signs to discern whether a Man is just or unjust; the 19th. an imperfect Sermon about the Nativity of the Virgin; the 20th. of Principles against a certain Monk who prefer'd the Prayers of a devout Woman and Laymen before those of Ecclesiasticks who are Sinners; the 21st. a Sermon preach'd the day after Pentecost; the 22d. a Rule for a Hermit of Mount Valerian; the 23d. an Opposition made to the Subtraction of obedience from Benedict XIII; the 24th. a Letter written from Bourges in the Year 1400. about the Calamities of the Church; the 25th. the Articles for the Reformation of the University; the 26th. the Centilegium of the final Cause of the Works of God; the 27th. a Treatise of Metaphysics and Logicks.

After these Treatises follow many Sermons preach'd in French by Gerson, and translated into Latin by John Briscoique, after which there are printed also some other Tracts, viz. a Treatise of Consolation upon the death of his Kindred; a Discourse spoken in the Louvre, in the presence of King Charles VI. the Dauphin, and the Court, containing many Instructions for a Prince, to which are joyned ten Considerations against Flatterers; another Discourse spoken also before the same King, in the Year 1408. about the Peace of the State and the Church; a 3d. Discourse about Justice; a Sermon upon the Passion, preach'd in the Church of Notre Dame in Paris; a Treatise against the Romance of the Rose; some

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Conclusions against the sport of Fools, that's to say, against the custom which was introduced of going disguised into the Churches on certain days; an Admonition to the Duke of Berry, to cause the Feast of St. Joseph to be celebrated; some devout Meditations upon the Ascension of our Lord; certain Means by which those who could not go to Rome in the Year of Jubilee, might make this Pilgrimage in a spiritual manner; an Instruction for the Government of the Tongue; the Means of conceiving and nourishing of Jesus Christ within us; a Piece in Prose, intitled, *The Mirror of a good Life*; a Discourse in favour of the Hospital of Paris; several Considerations against Blasphemers; a Complaint of the Dead who are in Purgatory, addressed to the Living, to desire their Prayers; an Admonition to Regulars; Instructions about Tribulation; Advices about Scruples; twelve Considerations upon Prayer; a Treatise about shameful Temptations, and a Dialogue in Prose, between Reason, Conscience and the Senses.

From the time of St. Bernard, the Church had never an Author of greater reputation, more profound knowledge, and more solid piety than Gerson. His Style is harsh and careless; yet he is methodical, reasons well, and exhausts the subjects which he handles: He founds his resolutions upon certain Principles drawn from Scripture, or natural Reason: He handles Morality, sometimes dogmatically, sometimes in a moving and mystical manner: He defends the truth upon all occasions with an admirable and undaunted courage: He suffered a cruel persecution for a righteous cause, and died in exile for maintaining it with vigor. His reputation was so great, that in the Council of Constance, he was own'd and commended by Cardinal Zabarella, as the most excellent Doctor in all Christendom. Yet it must be confessed, that all his Works are not of equal strength, that there are some of them which are inconsiderable, and that he does not always take the right side of the Questions which he handles and decides. Nevertheless, many of his Books are excellent, and Divines cannot profit more than by reading them diligently; this study would be very useful to them, and from them they might draw a great many Principles and Maxims which would be very serviceable to them: It were to be wish'd, that his Books were more common, and that this Author were not so much neglected, so little known, and so little read as he is at present. The new Edition of his Works, which Monsieur Herouval a Canon Regular of St. Victor had undertaken to publish from many Manuscripts, might have render'd them more correct and more common, if his design had been put in execution.

Nicholas Clemangis, or, of Clemange, which is the name of a Village in the Diocese of Chalons, was sent to Paris at twelve Years of Age, to follow his studies there, in the College of Navarre; where he had for Masters John Gerson, Peter of Nogent, and Gerard Mathebet. His accomplishments were chiefly Eloquence and Poetry, and he was created Rector of the University in the Year 1393. About this time he applied himself to writing; and the first of his Pieces, was a Letter which he address'd to King Charles VI. about the Schism of the Church; wherein he discovers three ways for putting an end to it. After this he wrote upon the same subject to Pope Clement VII. and after this Pope's death, to the Cardinals. Benedict XIII. who succeeded Clement VII. sent for him to come and live with him. He defended stoutly his party, and wrote to King Charles VI. to dissuade him from subtracting his obedience. He was suspected to have compos'd the Letter which Benedict XIII. wrote against the King and Kingdom of France, dated in the Month of May, 1407. tho' he had retired two Months before from this Pope's Court to Genoa, and did afterwards return into France to take possession of a Canonry, and the Treasurer's Place in the Cathedral Church of *Langres, to which he was promoted during his sojourning at Avignon: Though he asserted that he was not the author of

this Letter, yet he was believed to be so, and was oblig'd to hide himself in the Convent of the Carthusians, at Valsonds, or the Fountain in the Wood. In this retirement he wrote the greatest part of his Treatises and Letters, without returning to the Court of Pope Benedict, though he was earnestly solicited to do it. Having obtain'd favour of the King, he return'd to Langres, where he sojourn'd a long while. He was afterwards Chantor of the Church of Baieux, and at last retir'd toward the end of his life into the College of Navarre, where he died before the Year, 1440.

The greatest part of Clemangis's Works have been publish'd by Lydius a Protestant Minister, and printed in Holland by Elzevir, in the Year 1613. The first is a Treatise, intitled, *Of the corrupt State of the Church*, written about the Year 1414. the design of which Treatise is to reprove the vices and disorders of the Ecclesiasticks. He says, that while he was reading the first Epistle of St. Peter, he light upon these words, *Now is the time that Judgment shall begin at the House of God*; that they sham'd and astonish'd him, and made him reflect upon the Afflictions and Calamities which the Church endur'd; that at the same time some very just causes of these miseries were presented to his Mind, while he thought of the Ministers of the Church, whereof Jesus Christ alone is the portion; that they ought to be free from all lust; that 'twas reasonable, that those who handled, consecrated, and distributed the Celestial Sacraments, and the most excellent Price of the Redemption of Mankind, should be chaste and without spot; that those who represent a Judge who is merciful, just and humble, should have his virtues, and that those who are Mediators of the peace and agreement between God and Man, should live in peace and union; Lastly, that those who are appointed to instruct others, ought to shew themselves an example and pattern of virtue; and yet these very persons are defil'd with all kind of vices: Why then should we wonder, that miseries befall them, since their Crimes bring upon them the wrath of God? After this he undertakes to discover and rebuke these disorders; and beginning with lust, which is the fountain and root of all vices, he says, that the contempt of riches and goods of this world, which the Ministers of Jesus Christ express'd in the Primitive Church, brought upon them the blessing of Heaven, the liberal gifts of Princes, and the riches of this life; that it was by this means only that the Church became powerful, that Monasteries, Chapters, Cathedral and Parochial Churches were founded and establish'd; the Ecclesiasticks, who had obtain'd these Goods by their virtues, did not employ them to profane uses, but for alms and exercises of charity; they had no other treasure but that of their good Works; no vessels of Gold or Silver, nor any Equipage, and then they enjoy'd all kind of prosperity: That then charity, innocence, faith, piety, justice, and sincere friendship reign'd upon the earth, and that fraud and calumny were banish'd out of it, because the Pastors instructed their people in these virtues by their sound Doctrine, and their holy life, but that abundance having produc'd luxury and pride, Religion grew cold by degrees, and avarice took possession of the Minds of Men, and extinguish'd charity in them; that after this, the Salvation and Edification of the Faithful was not design'd in the Ecclesiastical Offices of Divine Service, but only the great revenue of Benefices; that the greatest part of benefic'd Men, thought only of ravishing the profit, without putting themselves to the trouble of discharging the office. Afterwards he enters upon the particular abuses which lust has introduc'd among the Ecclesiasticks, and begins with those which the passion of domineering and enriching themselves, has introduc'd into the Court of Rome: Such as are the Collations of all Benefices, which the Popes have engross'd in their own hands to the prejudice of elections; the sums which the Apostolick Chamber hath exacted for these Collations; the promises

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of vacant Benefices which they have granted to unworthy Men, who have rendered the Priesthood contemptible; the rights of vacancy, the tenths, and the other taxes of Pence which have been exacted with an unparallel'd rigor; an infinite number of Processes which the Court of *Rome* hath given birth to, and maintain'd by its tricks; the pride and pomp of Cardinals, who being formerly employ'd for burying of the Dead, are now so highly advanc'd that they despise not only the Bishops, whom they call in derision little Bishops, but even the Archbishops, the Primates and Patriarchs; who heap together an infinite number of incompatible Benefices, uniting in their own persons the titles of Monks and Canons, Regular and Secular, and possessing Benefices of all sorts of order and nature, not only to the number of two or three, but even to twenty, nay a hundred or more of the most considerable and richest Benefices; while a great number of poor Ecclesiasticks have not whereupon to live, and are forc'd sometimes to purchase Benefices of them. He accuses them of being the Authors and Causes of Schism, of selling their Votes, of making Creatures and Dependents by the Benefices which they give. After this he proceeds to other Prelates, and reprehends the ignorance and avarice of some, the absence of others from their Benefices, and the neglect of discharging their duties; the disorders of some Canons, the excesses of some Monks, and the pride of some religious Mendicants. He describes in words very sharp, and apparently passionate, the disorders which were in some Monasteries of the Regulars. Lastly, having compar'd together the manners of the Christians of his time, and those of the Primitive Church, for fear lest what he had said should be abus'd; he adds this caution, that his intention was not to comprehend all Ecclesiasticks without exception, as being guilty of the disorders which he had spoke of; that he knew that Jesus Christ who cannot lie, had said, *Peter I pray for thee, that thy Faith fail not*; that he was perswaded there were in each state just and innocent persons, who have no hand in the disorders of which he had complain'd, although he believed that the number of wicked men was far greater. After this, he aggravates the disorders of the Pope's Court at *Avignon*, and the miserable consequences of the Schism; and says, that we must have recourse to God, and pray him to reunite his Church, and heal the breaches which were among its members: He concludes all with a Prayer directed to Jesus Christ for this purpose. After this Work follows a Poetical Piece in Hexameter Verse; wherein he bewails the Schism of the Church, and exhorts Pope *Benedict 13th.* to extinguish it.

The Treatise of the falling and restoration of Justice, address'd to *Philip Duke of Burgundy*, is a Work rather Political than Theological, wherein he shews that without Justice a state cannot be maintain'd; he detests the Civil Wars, the contempt of Justice and Religion, and the other disorders which reign'd then in *France*, and enquires after means to remedy them.

The third Dogmatical Treatise of *Clemangis*, is about the Infallibility of a General Council. This he wrote when the Council of *Constance* was sitting, and the University of *Paris* did vigorously maintain the Infallibility of General Councils. *Clemangis* wrote then two pieces by way of conferences with a Scholastical Divine of *Paris*; wherein he proposes the difficulties and doubts which there are about this Question, and the reasons which are brought to prove this Infallibility: He says himself at the end of this Work, that he has no design to affirm any thing, but only to propose his doubts and difficulties, that the matter may be clear'd up; and that he is ready to retract or amend what he has written upon this subject, if it shall be found contrary to truth, or be the cause of scandal. This temper may serve to excuse what he has written so boldly in this Treatise against the Infallibility of General Councils, though

he does not oppose the Infallibility of Councils in matters of Faith, which he acknowledges but, only in Questions of Fact about Morality or Discipline.

To these three Treatises must be join'd his Book about Theological Studies, publish'd by Father *Dom Luc Dachery*, in the seventh Tome of his *Spicilegium*. It is address'd to *John of Picmont*, Batchelor of Divinity, who had consulted him whether he should commence Doctor. He answers him in this Book, that we must distinguish between him who is truly a Doctor, and him who has only the external marks of that Degree; that undoubtedly he would do well to be a Doctor in the first sense, that's to say, to be capable of teaching, and doing the office of one by his discourses, and by his life; but if he enquir'd whether he ought to take upon him the exterior marks of one, i. e. the Degree and Cap of a Doctor, he must consult himself, and reflect upon his own mind and design, because it was a thing which might be well us'd or abus'd; yet he must examine what motives mov'd him to assume this Degree, and search the secret corners of his Heart, that he might discover the springs of this action: From thence he takes occasion to explain to him what ought to be the object and end of a Divine's studies: He blames those who study this Science out of interest or vanity, and think of nothing but to enrich themselves by this means: He would have a Divine who is a Preacher, to be in truth the same thing which he says; to live according to God, and give an example of that life which he preaches; that his Sermons should be the effect of the Charity of the Holy Spirit spread abroad in his Heart; that he should read continually the Scriptures, and the Books of the Holy Fathers: He complains of the Divines of his own time, that they read the Holy Scriptures negligently, and employ their wit and time in barren subtilties: He says, that the ancient Fathers asserted nothing which they did not ground upon the Holy Scriptures; whereas the greatest part of the Schoolmen valu'd them so little, that they laugh'd at these discourses which are founded upon authorities; which render'd them so lazy, and so unfit for preaching and instruction which ought to be the end of a Divine's studies: 'For, says he, he ought not only to study to understand Divinity, which would be a vain curiosity; nor to purchase the favour and applause of the people which would be vain-glory; nor to acquire reputation, which would be a barren commendation; nor to gain revenues and riches, which would be covetousness; nor to be advanc'd to honours and dignities, which would be ambition; nor to be honoured with the title of Master, which would be vanity; nor to meditate in peace and at leisure, which would consopite his Mind and make it more remiss; but he ought to study to improve that Talent of Doctrine which God has entrusted with him, by using it faithfully, and conducting as many as he can to Life eternal, and therein consists true Charity. He admonishes Divines therefore to take good heed, that they do not aspire to the title of Doctor by a blind ambition; as may be seen in many, says he, at this day, who will have high titles, not that they may teach, but that they may gain riches even to Excess: They make their Court to Prelates, and obtain Benefices by their importunity; of which they are so covetous, that there is nothing which they will not do to obtain them; I dare not say after what manner they use them, after they have got into possession.' Certainly it had been much better for this people never to have aspir'd to the title of Doctor, than thus to be thrown down by their ambition into so many pains and disorders. After this he enquires, which is the most excellent employment and most conducing to Salvation, to preach to the people; or after they have taken a Doctor's Degree, to stay in the University, and read Lectures there. He confesses there is one whom the School calls a Solemn Doctor, who prefers the latter; but

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he is not of his opinion, but esteems the former much more excellent and more useful. Above all, he blames those negligent Pastors who excuse the little care they take of their flocks with a pretence of study, and those benefic'd Men who cloak the plurality of their Benefices with the same pretence: Nevertheless, he confesses, that the office of Professors is necessary; but he says, it belongs to those who are not call'd to other employments to discharge that office; and he does by no means approve that those who are call'd to the care of Souls, should neglect it for studying or teaching Divinity.

Of the five other Treatises of *Clemangis*, printed among his Works, there are three of Morality, viz. the Discourse of the Parable of the Prodigal; wherein he discovers the bad use which Men make of the Benefits of God; the Treatise of the Advantage of Solitude, and that of the Improvement of adversity, wherein these things are handled with as much eloquence and politeness, as beauty and strength. The two others are concerning two important points of Discipline; the former to shew, that 'tis not convenient to appoint new Festivals; and the second, against the simony of Prelates.

In the former, he undertakes to prove, that it was not convenient in his time to appoint new Festivals in the Church, chiefly without necessity, because they are become so numerous already, that it were more expedient to retrench some of them than to add to them; and so much the rather, because things which are rare, are more esteem'd, whereas those that are common become contemptible. 'It remains only to be consider'd, says he, with how little devotion Christian People do celebrate these Festivals: Few come to Church on these days; many hear not Mass at all, others hear but a part of it; and go away before the Priest says, *Ite missa est*: Some satisfy themselves with entering into the Church, and taking there a little consecrated water, or falling down on their knees for a moment, saluting the Virgin, or any Saint, or adoring the Body of Jesus Christ during the Elevation. As to the office of Mattins or Vespers, few persons are present at it, and often times the Priest repeats alone with an Under-Clerk; scarce one can be found sometimes to answer at the Mass. Some go to their Houses in the Country, others go about their affairs, the greatest part go to Fairs, which they seldom do, but on these days; many take the diversion of a Comedy, or a Play: The Rich make Feasts on these days with great pomp and magnificence, but take no care to purge their Consciences. The meaner sort of people profane the Holiness of these days by going to the Ale-house, where they swear, blaspheme, quarrel, and beat one another, and spend the night and day in riot and luxury. The younger sort of people come to Church on these days only to see the Women, who are better dress'd on these Days than others. In fine, an infinite number of Crimes are committed on these days. Those are severely punish'd who labour in the Vineyard, or in digging the Ground on these Festival Days; and yet they are not punish'd at all, who violate the Holiness of these days by their Crimes; tho' St. *Austine* affirms, that it is less criminal to till the Ground than to dance on a Festival Day. *Clemangis* concludes from all this, that these disorders are almost inevitable; that it was expedient to retrench the Festivals which are not necessary, rather than to add to them, as the Church has abolish'd the Vigils which were formerly us'd in Churches with much advantage to piety, because they became the occasion of debauchery, whereof there are still remaining shameful examples in some Churches. He explains afterwards the reason of the institution of Festivals, and the manner in which they should be celebrated. 'There comes no benefit to the Saints, says he, from our worship, nor from the praises we give them; they did not themselves rejoyce in the glory they had upon earth, which they despis'd, when

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they were clothed with this mortal Flesh: all the advantage of their Festivals is for us, if we celebrate them as we ought to do: They are appointed for our Salvation, to excite our devotion, that being delivered on these days for a little time from the cares of the World, and the labour of the Body, we may take pains for the good of the Soul. 'And because it rarely happens but in our daily labours, and the care of our domestick affairs, we fall into some Sin, either thro' infirmity, or weakness, or by negligence, therefore the Lord's Day and other Festivals are appointed, that Men being freed from such cares on these days, may descend into their own Breast, recollect themselves, examine their own Conscience, reflect upon their Sins, and blot them out by their contrition, wash them with their tears, drive them away by prayer, ransom them by alms, and by praying to God for pardon, thro' the invocation of Jesus Christ and the Saints, and for grace to forsake them for the time to come; for he is not a true Penitent, nor worthy of pardon, who has not a firm resolution to forsake his Sins. Now to the end that the Heart may be quickned to this devotion, the Faithful must be assist'd on these days with Holy Mysteries; they must hear Mass, and the Word of God, which is able to soften the hardest Hearts, if they hear it with attention; they must meditate on the actions and virtues of the Saints, whose Festival is celebrated, that they may imitate their example. 'Tis probable, that the Saints are more favourable to those who pray to them, who honour them on the days of their Festivals, than at other times; and that Jesus Christ has then a greater regard to their intercession: But the Faithful must so prepare themselves, that the Saints may pray to Jesus Christ for them, and that Jesus Christ may hear their Prayers.' He declaims afterwards against the profaneness of the greater part of Christians in his time on these days, and the disorders which they committed. But since it might be objected to him, that tho' many persons had abused the Festivals, yet there were many others who celebrated them with devotion, and spent these days in Prayer, and Good-Works: That the Festivals being chiefly appointed for persons of piety, it was not convenient to abolish them, but that even new ones might be added to them, to procure farther means of edification, and so much the rather, because the administrations of the Church are chiefly designed for the benefit of the Elect, which herein follow the foot-steps of its Head: He proposes therefore this objection, and before he answers it, he observes that there is a great deal of difference between the Commandments of God and the Traditions of Men, as to what concerns their observation, or neglect; that the Commandments of God cannot be abrogated by any humane Institution, upon any pretence of profit whatsoever, because no Man has a right to change the Law of God: But as to Ecclesiastical Constitutions, altho' they have been appointed for just and sufficient reasons, they do not oblige so indispensably, but they may often be changed, with respect to times, places, and customs, by the Universal Church, or even by particular Churches. He alledges Images for an example, which were thought to be forbidden in the primitive Church, for fear lest the Faithful, who were newly converted from Paganism, should believe that there was some Divinity in them, and which were afterwards allowed, when the Faithful were confirmed in the Faith, and this inconvenience was no more to be fear'd. He adds, that about four Years ago, *Michael* Bishop of *Antisiodorum*, a Prelate of great virtue, and lately deceas'd, had taken away by his Synodical Decrees many Festivals which were wont to be celebrated in his Diocess, upon the account of the disorders which were committed at them, and the necessities of the common people, that this retrenchment did not hinder pious persons from celebrating them with devotion, and

and assisting at the Office; that 'tis true, the Church ought to manage all things for the good of the Elect, but then it ought not to despair of any Man, nor to look upon any Christian as a Reprobate, while he lives upon earth; that it ought to take care of the good and the bad; that according to the Gospel, we should rather cut off our Hand, or our Foot, and pluck out our Eye, than give offence to the least of our Brethren: How much more reason is there then to take away a thing which gives scandal both to great and small. He intimates also, that the consideration of the miseries to which the common people in his time were reduc'd, was a sufficient reason for abolishing these Festivals, which deprived them of the means of gaining their livelihood. Lastly, he blames the new Festivals, whose rents they cannot enjoy, without celebrating them in their Churches; an abuse which had so subverted the Divine Service in the greatest part of their Churches, that the Office for the day was scarce any more regarded, because these new Saints had engross'd all the days, and sometimes had even taken up the days of the Festivals consecrated to God: from whence it came to pass, that the Holy Scripture was no more read in the Office, but only the History of the Saints; and that there was a necessity of changing every day the ancient Offices, and the order of the Church. He complains that these novelties were introduced into the greatest part of the Churches, and even into the Cathedrals, except that of *Lyons*, which he says did not receive these novelties. Lastly, he conjures those who had more zeal than was necessary for the institution of the new Festivals, to reflect upon these reasons, and if they found them just, to acquiesce in the truth; if they found any thing in them worthy to be blam'd, to acquaint him wherein he was deceiv'd, and declares that he was ready to correct what he had written, if it were against the Rule of the Church; and protests that he had not compos'd this Book to contradict their affection, which he believed to proceed from a good intention, but to discover the scandal and mischief which arise from this multiplication of Festivals, for the instruction and satisfaction of those, who not considering them, procure these novelties out of a good zeal but not according to knowledge.

In the Treatise of *Simoniackal* Prelates, addressed to *Gerson*, he declaims earnestly against the custom of some Bishops in his time, who took and exacted Money for conferring of Orders, under pretence of dispatching the Letters, or otherwise. 'Tell me, O Bishops, says he, who are not ashamed to sell Doves in the Church of Jesus Christ, wherefore think ye that Ecclesiastical Benefices were appointed? Was it not for the performing of some Office for which ye were ordained? Ye will not tell me that it was to baptize, to consecrate the Eucharist, to hear Confessions, to give Absolutions, to celebrate Marriages, since this is common to you, with the Curates and Priests of your Diocess. Neither will you say that it was to preach; for altho' it belongs to you to discharge this duty, yet ye do it very rarely and negligently, and commonly turn it over to others: What then is the Office which is not common to you with others? 'Tis chiefly to confer Orders in your Diocess, this is the principal end for which ye were ordained Bishops. How comes it to pass then that ye do not discharge this duty *gratis*, having so great revenues of your Bishopricks for this very reason? As to what might be objected to him, that there were many Bishops of great piety that used to do this; and that it was authorized in some places by an ancient custom. He answers, that no custom nor prescription ought to be alledged against the Law of God, the Holy Decrees of Councils, the Commands of the Holy Fathers, and against decency, and good manners. He refutes also the excuse which some alledge, who would defend this usage. We do not say, they sell the Orders, it is not for

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Orders that the Money is given, but for the Letters, the Seal, and the Notary. These, says he, are fictions, and not truths; for it often happens, that those who refuse to take the Letters to shun this Simony, have nevertheless been obliged to give the Money to be ordain'd; what say I, to be ordain'd? Their Names are not so much as set down in a Catalogue of those who are to receive Orders, unless they pay what is demanded of them: Whether this turn to the profit of the Bishop, or his Secretary, God is witness, and the Secretary may be also. But suppose that this turn to the profit of the Secretary, is it just that the Bishop should pay to him another's Money; and among so many Officers, cannot he maintain a Secretary at his own charges? Besides, that it is expressly forbidden in the Canons to take any thing, not so much as for the writing, which excludes all kind of pretence. In fine, he affirms, that this abuse is the fountain of all the disorders that are in the Church; for whence, says he, comes the indolence of the people, the contempt of Priests, the abolishing of the rights and liberties of the Church, but because it is full of contemptible persons, and unworthy of their Ministration? Whence comes it to pass that an infinite number of ignorant persons are admitted to the Priesthood, who understand no *Latin*, and can scarce read; and who in repeating or singing the Prayers, know not whether they bless or curse the Lord, and so many others of bad morals, who live in all sorts of debauchery. The Bishops are the chief cause of these disorders, because they admit to Orders indifferently all sorts of persons, without examining their learning, or their manners; and they are satisfied with punishing them in their purse, without endeavouring to reform their faults. And after all this, can any one wonder, that the Ecclesiastical State should be trampled upon, despis'd, hated, afflicted, oppress'd, robb'd and persecuted? These are the words which *Clemangis* makes use of to exaggerate the disorders of the Ecclesiasticks in his time, which thanks be to Heaven, to the Decrees of Holy Councils, and chiefly to that of *Trent*, and to the pastoral vigilance of our Bishops, are now corrected and reformed in our Age, which abounds with Ecclesiasticks of singular learning, and extraordinary piety.

The Collection of *Clemangis's* Letters contains 137. all written with much Elegance and Chastity, and full of Christian, moral and politick instructions; of the descriptions of vices and virtues, of draughts of History, of critical questions, of wholesome advices and compliments. The most considerable; with reference to Ecclesiastical Matters, are those which were written about the Schism, and about the State of the Church, viz. the 1st. address'd to King *Charles VI.* wherein he exhorts him in a most pathetic manner to labour for the reformation of the Church, and the extirpation of Schism. The 2^d. address'd to Pope *Benedict XIII.* lately chosen, written with a great deal of art upon the same subject. The 3^d. wherein he makes an apology for the former. The 13th. address'd to *Benedict* about the inconveniences of the Subtraction. The 15th. to *John Gerson*, about the danger in which the Church was. The 17th. to King *Charles VI.* to dissuade him from the Subtraction, which is very long and eloquent. The 29th. address'd to *Peter of Ailly*, Bishop of *Cambray*, about the afflictions of the Church. The 40th. address'd to *Renald of Fountains*, to justify, that he was not the Author of the Letter which *Benedict* sent into *France*, for excommunicating the King and the Kingdom. The 42^d. to the University of *Paris*, upon the same subject. The 43^d. to *Renald of Fountains*, to clear himself of some other things which he was accus'd of writing in Letters intercepted. The 44th, 45th, and 46th. about the persecution which he suffer'd upon this occasion. The 55th. against the enemies of Pope *Benedict*. The 102^d.

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of the qualifications which Deputies ought to have that are sent to a General Council. And the 112th. address'd to the Council of *Constance*, wherein he praises the Fathers of that Council who were already assembled for two Years, and exhorts them not to part 'till they had procured the peace of the Church; and insinuates to them towards the end of the Letter, that it would be more convenient to choose one of the Competitors, than not to conclude the peace of the Church; signifying withal, that he did not approve the Decree, which some said they had made, that they would not choose one of the Competitors.

Those which are about the Civil Wars, and the Mischiefs wherewith *France* was afflicted at that time by the divisions of Princes, are equally strong and beautiful; they are full of Christian Maxims and Politicks about the peace and reformation of the State: See the Letters 59, 63, 67, 61, 68, 69, 89, 90, 97, 98, 101, 103, 107, and 132. to which may be added the 56th. to *Louis Duke of Aquitain*, eldest Son to King *Charles VI.* wherein he exhorts him to mildness and clemency: The 93d. about the instructions of this Prince, address'd to *John d' Arcanval* his Governor, and the 136th. to *Henry King of England* about justice and the other virtues of a Prince.

In many of his Letters he gives lively descriptions of the disorders, and corruption of Manners in the Ecclesiasticks and Secular Men of his time: See the 14, 15, 28, 31, 35, 54, 133. In others he treats of important Points of Morality, as in the 9th. of patience under afflictions, in the 11th. that the health of the Soul is preferable to that of the Body, in the 60th. of shunning vain-glory, in the 62d. of the advantages of afflictions and persecutions; in the 65, 73, 74. of preaching, of the fervor and constancy that should be us'd in this Ministration, in the 75th. of the vigilance of Pastors, and the things wherein they ought to employ themselves. There he confirms the same Principles, which are in his Books of the corruption of the Church and the study of Theology; in the 82d. he treats of the uncertainty and shortness of this life; and in the 92d. of Alms and Christian Watchfulness.

There are some Letters, which are not about serious matters, and so do not discover the learning and excellent wit of *Clemangis*, as the fourth and fifth, in which he refutes what *Petrarch* had affirmed, that no where but in *Italy* there were any Popes and Orators of worth; the 23d. wherein he enquires, whether one might make use in *Latin* Letters of the form of Salutation us'd by the Ancients; the 24th. wherein he describes very pleasantly a property he had of smelling an evil scent in pestilential places; the 27th. wherein he treats learnedly of the causes of the Pest; the 39th. wherein he relates two stories which had been told him by a Man whom he met in a journey, one about an assassination discovered in an extraordinary manner; and the other, of a wild and hairy Man taken in a Forest; the 61st. wherein he relates a story of a visible judgment upon a wicked wretch.

This Author is no whit inferior to the Ancients for Eloquence and nobleness of thought, and as to the purity of his words, and the chasteness of his *Latin* Style he does even surpass them: His discourse is adorn'd with the natural ornaments of true Eloquence without affectation, and abounds in choice words, rich thoughts, and happy applications of the passages of sacred and prophane Authors: It is a little too luxuriant in his Declamations, and too biting in his Satyrs, but it is pleasant in his Descriptions, polish'd in his Narratives, full in his Instructions, earnest in his Exhortations, and wise in his Advices. In fine, whatever may be said of him he will always pass in any Age whatsoever, for an Author worthy to be read and valued.

Gerard Machet Bishop of Castres.

Gerard Machet, after he had studied in the College of *Navarre*, towards the end of the preceding

Century, took a Doctor's Degree in 1411. He was promoted some time after to a Canonry in the Church of *Paris*, and discharged the Office of Vice-Chancellor in the absence of *Gerson*; and in this quality he was appointed by the University to harangue the Emperor *Sigismund* as he passed through *France*: *Charles VII.* made choice of him for his Confessor, and gave him the Bishoprick of *Castres*. He wrote many Letters which are found in Manuscript in the Church of *St. Martin at Tours*, whereof Mr. *Launoy* speaks in his History of the College of *Navarre*, and has given us the Titles of the chief of them; but he has drawn nothing from them very remarkable as to Ecclesiastical Matters.

John de Courtecuisse (in *Latin* *Brevicosa*) born in the Country of *Mayence*, was admitted in the Year 1367. into the College of *Navarre*, where he took the Degree of Doctor in 1388. and after that was one of the Ambassadors from King *Charles VI.* to the Popes *Benedict* and *Boniface*, for obtaining the peace of the Church: He was afterwards of the opinion of the Subtraction, and made a discourse in 1408. against the Interdict under which the Kingdom was laid by *Benedict*, for which he was rewarded with the Office of *Almoner* to the King. He perform'd the Duty of Chancellor to the University of *Paris*, in the absence of *Gerson*, and was afterwards chosen Bishop of *Paris* in 1420: But because he was not acceptable to the King of *England*, who was then Master of that City, he could not continue in the possession of the Bishoprick, but was forced to hide himself in the Monastery of *St. Germain Despres*, and chose rather to quit *Paris* and go to *Geneva* (whereof he had been made Bishop) in the Year 1422. than submit to the domineering of the *English*. The Year of his death is not certainly known: His Works are not yet come to light: Those which are found in Manuscript, are as follow: A Treatise of the power of the Church and the Council, in the Bibliotheque of *St. Victor*; a French Version of a Treatise about the Virtues of *Seneca*, in the King's Library; divers Questions of Theology, and Lectures upon many places of the Gospel, in the Libraries of *St. Victor*, and of the Church of *Paris*.

John of Lignano, a Lawyer, of *Milan*, wrote a Book upon the *Clementines*, and divers other Treatises of Ecclesiastical and Civil Law, which are to be found in the Collection of Law-Treatises, printed at *Venice* in 1584. Among the rest, there is a Treatise of Friendship, a Treatise of the Plurality of Benefices, a Treatise of Ecclesiastical Censures, a Treatise of the Canonical Hours, a Treatise of the Ecclesiastical Interdict, and some Explications of the three first Books of the Decretals. He flourish'd at the beginning of the fifteenth Century. *Rainaldus* has publish'd at the end of the seventeenth Tome of his Annals a Treatise of this Learned Lawyer in behalf of *Urban 6th.* wherein he defends the election of that Pope.

Nicholas Biart, an *English*-man of the order of *Friars Predicant*, flourish'd at the beginning of the fifteenth Century, and wrote some Sermons, some moral Distinctions, and a sum about abstinence, Works which are to be met with in Manuscript in *England*.

John of Lignano a Lawyer.

Nicholas Biart a Dominican.

Adrian, the *Carthusian*, a *Fleming*, flourish'd at the beginning of this Century, and wrote in imitation of *Petrarch*, a Treatise of the remedies of both Fortunes, printed at *Cologne* in 1471.

Adrian the Carthusian.

Thomas, Abbot of *St. Andrew at Verceilles*, of the order of *St. Benedict*, according to some, and according to others, Canon-Regular, wrote a Commentary upon the Books attributed to *St. Dennis the Areopagite*, printed at *Cologne* in 1526. with the Commentary of *Dennis the Carthusian* upon the same Books. There is also attributed to him a Commentary in Manuscript upon the Canticles. He flourish'd according to some at the beginning of this Century, and according to others in the thirteenth.

Thomas Abbot of St. Andrew at Verceilles.

John

John Petit, a Licentiate in Theology, of the Faculty of *Paris*, of the order of Friars Minors, being a mercenary Soul, had the impudence to maintain by Word of mouth and by Writing, the Assassination of the Duke of *Orleans*, in the Year 1407. by order of the Duke of *Burgundy*, whose Creature this Regular was; He being condemn'd for this, and driven away from the University of *Paris*, retir'd to *Hesdin*, where he died in 1411. He wrote, besides this Treatise which was burnt at *Paris*, another Book about Schism, and some Questions which are to be met with in Manuscript in the Library of St. *Victor*.

At the same time, a Regular of the order of Friars Predicant, call'd *Martin Poree*, undertook to defend the same cause, and wrote a Treatise upon the same subject, for which he was rewarded with the Bishoprick of *Arras*. This Treatise is to be found in Manuscript in the Library of the College of *Nacarre*, together with the Answer. *Poree* was one of the Ambassadors from the Duke of *Burgundy* to the Council of *Constance*, and afterwards made a Journey into *England*. He died September the 6th. 1426.

There was towards the end of the Pontificate of *Boniface 9th.* an English Writer nam'd *Paul*, a Doctor in Law, who wrote about the Year 1404. a Treatise, intitled, *A Mirror of the Pope and his Court*, by way of a Dialogue, wherein he writes against the abuses of the Court of *Rome* concerning Collation of Benefices. 'Tis divided into three parts; in the first he treats of the nature of Benefices, of the order which is among Prelates, of the injustice of reservations, and promises of vacant Benefices, of the Simony that is committed for the obtaining of Benefices, and the enormity of the Crime of Simony, of the Penalties which Simoniacks and those who have a hand in Simony do incur. In the second, he shews, that the Pope may commit Simony by receiving money for the Collation of Benefices, directly or indirectly. In fine, he alledges in the last, that the Court of *Rome* and its Officers, commit Simony by receiving money for the dispatch of Bulls, of Benefices and Graces; that the Cardinals partake in this Simony; that the Pope cannot be excus'd when he grants exorbitant Graces, and that the plenitude of his Power does not give him right to grant Dispensations without cause and without reason. This Treatise is printed in the second Tome of the Monarchy of *Goldastus*, Page 1527.

About the same time flourish'd another Englishman, call'd *John Latterbur*, of the order of Friars Minors, who wrote a moral Commentary upon the Lamentations of *Jeremy*, printed in 1482. and some other Treatises in Manuscript, viz. Theological Distinctions, a moral Alphabet, and some other Pieces which are wholly lost, as Commentaries upon *Jeremy*, upon the Psalms, upon the Acts of the Apostles; some Lectures upon the Scripture, and some Sermons.

Richard Ullerston, Doctor and Professor of Divinity at *Oxford*, flourish'd also at the beginning of this Century, and wrote in the Year 1408. a Treatise of the Reformation of the Church, at the desire of *Robert (a)* Cardinal Bishop of *Salisbury*. This Treatise is to be found in Manuscript, in a Library at *Cambridge*; (b) and the Title of it is, *The Petitions of Richard, for the Defence of the Church Militant*. It contains sixteen Articles; the first is about the Election of a Pope, the second of Simony; those that follow are against the abuses of the Revenues of the Church, against Dispensations, Exemptions, Plurality of Benefices, Appeals, Privileges, about the Life and Manners of the Benefic'd Clergy, and the Celebration of Divine Service. In this Piece he speaks boldly against the disorders of the Court of *Rome*. There is in the same Manuscript (c) a Treatise of the Duty of a Soldier, written by the same Author at the desire of *Richard Courtney* his Master,

and dedicated to *Henry Prince of Wales*. There is also mention made of some other Treatises of the same Author, which are not to be found, viz. a Defence of the Donation of *Constantine*, Commentaries upon the Psalms and the Canticles, of the ordinary Lessons, and a Treatise upon the Creed.

Some time after, *Boston* a Benedictine Monk of the Monastery of St. *Edmund (d)* [at *Usk* in the Province of *Wales*] wrote a Catalogue of the Writers, which he had found in the Libraries of *England* which is only in Manuscript. There is also another Treatise attributed to him, intitled, *The Mirror of the Monks*, and *The Chronicle of his Monastery*, which Works are lost.

Theodorick of Niem, a German, Secretary to some Popes; and according to some, Bishop of *Ferden*, and afterwards of *Cambray*, wrote the History of the Schism of the Popes, from the death of *Gregory 11th.* to the election of *Alexander 5th.* in three Books; to which he added another Work, intitled, *Nemus Unionis*, which contains the Original Pieces written on both sides about this Schism; and a third, wherein he writes the Life of Pope *John 23d.* and the Transactions of the Council of *Constance*, until the deposing of this Pope. The two former were printed at *Basil* in 1566. at *Nuremberg* in 1592. and at *Strasburg* in 1608. and in 1629. the latter was printed at *Francfort* in 1620. He wrote also a Treatise of the privileges of the Empire, as to the Investiture of Bishopricks and Abbies, printed at *Basil* in 1557. and at *Strasburg* in 1609. and 1618. The Exhortation to *Robert King* of the *Romans*, which is in *Goldastus*, is one of the Chapters of his Book about Union. The Style of this Author is harsh and unpleasant; but he is full of vigor, faithful and exact in his relations.

Jerome of St. *Faith*, a Spanish converted Jew, and Physician to *Benedict 13th.* is the Author of two Treatises against the Jews; whereof the one is intitled, *The Means of refuting and convincing the Jews*; and the other is against the *Talmud*. Both of them have appear'd under the Title of *Hebræo-mastix*, and were printed at *Francfort* in 1602. and in the last Bibliotheque of the Fathers. In the former he proves, that the twenty four Conditions, which the Jews acknowledge, should happen at the coming of the Messias, according to Scripture and their own Tradition, are all accomplish'd in Jesus Christ. In the second, he discovers the errors and wild conceits of the *Talmud*; and shews that it contains things contrary to Charity, to the Law of Nature, to the Service of God, to the Law of *Moses*, and Blasphemies against Jesus Christ. These two Treatises were written by *Jerome* of St. *Faith* in the Year 1412. and many Jews were converted by reading them.

About the same time flourish'd another Spaniard, who was also a converted Jew, call'd *Paul* of *Carthage*, a Native of *Burgos*, who was Bishop of *Carthage*, and after that of *Burgos*, Chancellor of the Kingdoms of *Leon* and *Castile*, and at last Patriarch of *Aquileia*. He had three Children before his Conversion, *Alphonfus*, *Gonsakus*, and *Alvarus Garfias*: The first succeeded him in the Bishoprick of *Burgos*, the second was Bishop of *Plaisance*, and the last continu'd in a Secular Life. He died in the Year 1435. aged 82 Years, and in the preceding Year he finish'd a Work, intitled, *The Scrutiny of the Bible*, printed at *Mantua* in 1474. and at *Burgos* in 1591. But his principal Work is an Addition to the Postils of *Nicholas* of *Lyra*, upon the whole Bible, printed with that Glo's. He wrote also a Treatise about the Name of God, printed with the Notes of *Drusus* at *Francquer* in 1604. There is much Jewish Learning in this Work, and they are very useful for the understanding of Scripture.

Peter of *Ancharano* of *Bononia* in *Italy*, descended of the Family of the *Farnese*, a Disciple of *Baldus*, and a famous Lawyer, flourish'd from the Year 1410. until yet.

Of the Ecclesiastical Writers that flourish'd in the West in the 15th. Century.

(d) This Boston was of the Abby of St. Edmundsbury, Whart. Hist. Lit. App. p. 90. Theodorick of Niem, Bishop of Ferden.

Jerome of St. Faith a converted Jew.

Paul Bishop of Carthage.

Peter of Ancharano.

until about the middle of this Century. He wrote Commentaries upon the Decretals and Clementines, printed at Lyons in 1549. and 1553. and at Bologna in 1581. and some other Treatises of Law.*

[viz. Consilia, five juris Responsa, printed at Venice, 1568, 1585, 1569, 1599. & Selecta Questiones omnium praestantissimorum Jurisconsultorum in tres Tomos digesta Francofurti, 1581. Wharton Hist. Lit. App. p. 90.]*

St. Vincent Ferrier, born at Valence in Spain, of the order of Friars Predicant, made himself famous by his Sermons, by the Holiness of his Life, and by his Miracles. He was Confessor to Benedict 13th. and Master of the Sacred Palace. He was present in 1418. at the Council of Constance, and died the next Year at Vannes in Brittany, April the 5th. He was canoniz'd by Callistus 3d. in 1455. He was the Author of a great many Treatises of Piety; among the rest, of a Treatise of the Spiritual Life, or the Interior Man, printed at Magdeburg in 1493. at Venice in 1500. and in many other places; of a Treatise of the Lord's Prayer, printed at Lyons in 1523. and at Antwerp in 1573. a Treatise of the end of the World, or the ruine of the Spiritual Life, the Ecclesiastical Dignity, and the Catholick Faith; and of the two-fold Coming of Antichrist, containing divers Predictions and Threatnings, printed at Naples; a Treatise of Consolation in the Changes of Faith, printed with the Treatise of a Spiritual Life, and the following Letters at Valence in 1591. The first of these Letters is address'd to Benedict 13th. the second to John de Podio General of the order of Friars Preachers; the third, whereof there remains only a Fragment, to Boniface General of the Carthusians; the fourth, which is also imperfect, to John Gerson; two Letters to the Infant of Arragon, sent to King Peter 4th. a Letter to Ferdinand 1st. King of Arragon. As to the Collection of Sermons, printed under his Name, at Ulme in 1475. at Cologne in 1485. at Strasburg in 1493. and 1503. at Lyons in 1527. and at Venice in 1606. 'tis no ways credible that 'tis made up of the true Sermons of St. Vincent Ferrier, those which it contains being unworthy of his Gravity and Piety.

John Capreolus of the order of Friars Predicant, of the Diocese of Tholouse, and Professor in the University of that City, flourish'd from the Year 1415. until the Year 1451. when he was present at the Council of Basil. He wrote Commentaries upon the four Books of Sentences, with a Defence of the Doctrine of St. Thomas Aquinas, printed at Venice in 1484. in 1514. and 1588.

Loup of Olivet, a Spaniard, Brother to St. Vincent Ferrier, Prior General of the order of Hieronymites, hath fram'd the Rule of his order, which is to be found among the Works of St. Jerome, from whence it is taken, and is the Author of many Manuscript Sermons; he liv'd till after the Year 1420.

Boniface Ferrier, of the order of the Carthusians, another Brother to St. Vincent Ferrier, General of his order, wrote a Treatise of the Approbation of his order; a Discourse to shew the reason why so few of the Carthusians were canoniz'd, and so few Miracles were done in their order, and some Letters. These Works of his were never yet printed.

Anthony Rampellogus, Doctor of Divinity of the order of Friars Hermites of St. Augustine, who flourish'd at the beginning of this Century, compos'd a Collection for the young Preachers of his order, intitled, *Figures of the Bible*, printed at Paris in 1511. at Strasburg in 1516. and at Lyons in 1558. and 1570. There he relates the History of the Bible, and draws Moralities from them; but there are a great many Fables and Falsities in this Work.

Gobelin Persona, a German of Westphalia, born in the Year 1358. after he had stay'd a long time in the Court of Rome, was ordain'd Priest in 1386. and made Curate of the Church of the Holy Trinity of Paderborne, having preached against an Edict of the Magistrates of that City, he was drove away

from his Benefice; but in Recompence, he was made this Bishop's Official: He was quickly oblig'd to leave this Employment, because of the Contentts he had with the *Benedictines*, and then he retir'd to *Bilfeld*, where he was made Dean of the Cathedral Church. He died at last, being a Monk, aged 60 Years: He is the Author of the *Chronicon*, intitled, *Cosmodromium*, from the beginning of the World to the Year 1418. printed at *Francfort* in 1599. He wrote also the Life of St. *Meinulphus*, printed at *Mayence* in 1616.

Henry of Hesse, or Langestein, Licentiate in Theology, of the University of Paris, flourish'd there at the end of the preceding Age; and having return'd into Germany, he was made Canon of *Wormes*, and call'd to *Vienna* in *Austria*, to teach there in the University. *Trithemius* attributes to him some Commentaries upon the Sentences, upon *Genesis*, a Treatise of the Antichrist and of Schism, a Treatise of the Instruction of the Priesthood, a Treatise of the Contemplative Soul, the Mirror of the Soul, a Treatise of the Canonical Hours, a Treatise against Astrologers, a Treatise of the Lord's Prayer, of the Angelick Salutation, and of the Creed of the Apostles; a Treatise of the Contempt of the World; a Treatise against a *Wicklefite* and a Friar, *Telephorus*; a Treatise of Canons Regular, some Sermons and Letters: Some of these Treatises are to be met with in Manuscript, in the Library of *Ausburg*. I believe we must attribute to the same Author the Rules for discerning between mortal and venial Sins, printed with the Treatise of Instructions to the Confessors of St. *Antonine*; the Book of Contracts, and of the order of Rents, which is among the Works of *Gerson*, and the Treatise of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, against the Disputes of the Friars Minors, and to vindicate St. *Bernard*, printed at *Milan* in 1480.

There is another Henry of Hesse a Carthusian, who flourish'd sometime after, and was Prior of the Monastery of St. Mary in *Guelderland*, to whom *Trithemius* attributes also the following Works; a Commentary upon the Master of the Sentences, Commentaries upon *Genesis*, upon *Exodus*, upon the *Proverbs* of Solomon, and upon the *Revelations* of St. John, a Dialogue between a Bishop, and a Priest, and some Sermons. He died about the Year 1428.

Some pretend that there was a third Henry of Hesse, of the order of the Hermites of St. *Augustine*, to whom they attribute a Treatise of the Keys of the Church, and of Indulgences; and others found him with the first.

Thomas of Walsingham, an English-man, of the County of Norfolk, a Monk of St. *Albans*, wrote two Histories of England, one a short History, from the Year 1273. until the Year 1422. and the other more large from the Conquest of England by the Normans, i. e. from the Year 1066. to the 6th. Year of Henry 5th. being the 1417th. of Jesus Christ. These have been printed in the Collection of Historians of England, at London, in 1574. and at *Francfort*, in 1602. He has also continued the *Polychronicon* of *Ranulph Higden*.

*[*Whereof Dr. Wharton saw one Manuscript Copy, in the Library of Gonvil, and Caius, which reaches no further than the Year 1398. tho' the History was continued from 1342, to 1417. Wharton Hist. Lit. App. p. 120.]*

Nicholas of Inkelspuel of Suabia, Rector of the University of *Vienna*, flourish'd at the beginning of this Century, and was present in the Councils of *Constance*, and *Basil*. He wrote a Commentary upon the four Books of Sentences, and some Questions upon the same Books; but these Treatises are lost; there remain now only of his some Discourses of Piety, printed at *Strasburg*, in 1516. viz. eleven Sermons, and Discourses upon the Precepts of the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, upon the three parts of Penance upon the eight Beatitudes, upon the seven mortal Sins, and the Tribunal of a Confessor. *Trithemius* also mentions a Treatise of the seven Gifts of the Holy

Of the Ecclesiastical Writers that flourish'd in the West in the 15th. Century.

Henry of Hesse, or Langestein, Canon of Wormes.

Henry of Hesse a Carthusian.

Henry of Hesse an Augustine

Thomas of Walsingham, a Benedictine Monk.

Nicolaus Dinkelpuol, Rector of the University of Vienna.

Of the Ecclesiastical Writers that flourished in the West in the 15th. Century.
Holy Spirit, a Treatise of Charity, a Treatise of the Sins of the Tongue, and of the eight capital vices; and many Sermons which *Aeneas Sylvius* says were much sought after in his time. The Treatise of the seven Gifts is to be found in Manuscript in the Library of *Ausburgh*, together with a Treatise of Gratitude, and Ingratitude, and a Treatise of Sacramental Communion.

Theodoricus Ingelhus.
At the same time flourish'd *Theodoric of Ingelhuise*, a German, Canon of *Hildesheim*, who wrote the *Chronicon of Chronicons*, or an Universal Chronicon from the beginning of the World, to the Year 1425. published by *Maderus*, and printed at *Helmstadt*, in the Year 1671.

Hermani Petri.
Hermani Petri of *Stutdorp*, a German, Carthusian of the Monastery of *St. Anne*, near *Bruges*, died in the Year 1428. wrote a Treatise of the Government of Nuns, and many Sermons; whereof fifty upon the Lord's Prayer have been printed at *Louvain*, in 1484.

Thomas Waldensis.
Thomas Waldensis, or of *Walden*, a Village in the County of *Essex*, in *England*, the Son of *John Netter*, and *Mathilda*, studied at *Oxford*, and after he had taken the Degree of Doctor, he entered into the Order of *Carmelites*. He was present at the Councils of *Pisa*, and *Constance*, and was chosen for Confessor to *Henry V.* King of *England*, whom he waited upon in his Journey to *France*, where he died at *Rean*, November the 3d. 1430. He stoutly oppos'd the errors of *Wicklef*, and confuted them, and established the truth of the Doctrine of the Church; he wrote a great Book, intitled, *A Doctrinale of the Antiquities of the Faith of the Catholick Church*, against the *Wicklefites*, and *Hussites*, divided into 3 Tomes, and printed at *Paris*, in 1532. at *Salamanca*, in 1556. and at *Venice*, in 1571. This Work is dedicated to *Martin V.* and approved by this Pope. In it the Author proposes to himself to relate the Doctrine of Jesus Christ, of the Apostles, and the Fathers, against the errors of the *Wicklefites*, and joyns Tradition, and the Testimony of the Universal Church, and of the Councils with the Holy Scripture, which are the Principles he lays down for his foundation, in refuting the false Maxims of *Wicklef*, who following the footsteps of the ancient Hereticks, rejected the Tradition and Authority of the Church, pretending, that we ought to found our Doctrines upon the Scripture only.

The first Tome of this Work contains 4 Books against the errors of *Wicklef*. In the 1st. he refutes the errors of *Wicklef* concerning the Divinity, the humane Nature, and the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. In the 2d. he treats of the Preheminence of *St. Peter* among the Apostles, of the Church, of the Primacy and Privileges of the Pope, and of the *Roman Church*; of the Authority, Rights and Prerogatives of Bishops, and other Pastors, as well in matters of Faith, as for the Government of the Church. In the 3d. he defends the profession of the Regulars; and in the last, he justifies particularly the Orders of the Regulars Mendicants, of those who live by the labour of their hands, and of those who have revenues; and shews against *Wicklef*, that the Ecclesiasticks may possess temporal revenues.

In the second Tome he lays down the Doctrine of the Church about the Sacraments, and shews against *Wicklef*, 1st. that the Consecration and Administration of the Sacraments by Ministers is valid, tho' they be Sinners. After this he treats of the Eucharist, and having prov'd the Real Presence, and Transubstantiation, he shews that the Communion under both kinds is not necessary. As to Baptism, he establishes the absolute necessity of it to Salvation, and proves that Infants who die without Baptism are damn'd, and that this Sacrament imprints a Character. As to Confirmation, he insists chiefly upon discovering the effects of it, and shews that the Bishops only can administer it. As to the Sacrament of Orders, he makes it evident that the distinction

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between Bishops and Priests was established from the beginning of the Church; that the Priests ought to be ordained by the imposition of the hands of the Bishops; that the Reprobate may consecrate as well as others; and that the Celibacy of Priests is according to the Spirit and Genius of Holy Scripture, and agreeable to the practice of the ancient Church. As to Marriage he shews, that this Sacrament may subsist between persons who preserve Continence, that it ought to be contracted according to the Forms prescribed by the Church, and with the Benediction of the Priest, and distinguishes between Marriages which are lawful, and which unlawful. In the Treatise of Penance he defends the necessity of Confession, the vertue of Absolution, and the practices of the Church, against the accusations and errors of *Wicklef*. There he establishes the difference between Sins mortal and venial, against *Wicklef*, who made no distinction between them, but with respect to the Predestination of God, and who admitted no other mortal Sin but final impenitence. He shews also that the Predestinate may lose Charity against the opinion of the same Heretick. Lastly, he shews that the Sacrament of Extreme Unction was founded by Jesus Christ, and his Apostles; and that the Sacrament produces its effect by its own vertue, and not only by the merits of the Prayers of those who administer or receive it.

In the third Tome he treats of those things which are called Sacramentals; and first of the effect and necessity of Prayer in general. 2. Of singing Prayers in the Church. 3. Of the Service of the Church. 4. Of the Mass, and its parts. 5. Of the Ceremonies of the Sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation, Orders, and Penance. 6. Of the Observances of the Regulars, and the Vow of Obedience. 7. Of the Participation of Suffrages and Prayers among the Living. 8. Of Prayers for the Dead. 9. Of Prayers for the Saints, and the Worship that is due to them. 10. Of the Canonizing of the Saints, and the Honour that is given to their Relicks. 11. Of devout Pilgrimages, and the Festivals of the Saints. 12. Of building of Churches, their Dedication, their Ornaments, of Images, Crosses, and their Worship. 13. Of the Benediction of the Paschal Wax-Candle, of Bread and Water, and the first Fruits and Exorcisms.

The last part of this Work, which was about Fasts, Indulgences, Rights, and Ecclesiastical Privileges, was never printed.

The method in which the Author handles these Questions, is, first, to relate the errors of *Wicklef*, or the *Wicklefites*, to oppose against them passages of the Holy Scripture, of the Fathers, or Ecclesiastical Writers, which he sets down at full length, and then to draw from them conclusions when it is needful, but in few words. So that the ground of this Work is a collection of passages out of different Authors, about the matters which he handles, which is the fountain from which many Writers of controversy since his time, have drawn those passages they make use of against the late Hereticks.

He wrote also many other Works, which have never seen the light to this day; some whereof are mentioned, as follows. A Commentary upon the four Books of the Sentences, *Postils* upon the whole Bible, a Bundle of the Tares of *Wicklef*, out of which *Balaus* has given us some Fragments †; a Treatise of the Catholick Truth, Sermons and Commentaries upon the Books of *Aristotle's* Philosophy. The titles of some other Treatises are also mention'd, as, of the Religion of the Perfect, of the Body of Jesus Christ, of Divination, of Prescience, and Predestination, of Faith, of Indulgences, of the Sacraments, of Poverty; a Book address'd to the Council of *Constance*, and two Books intitled, *a Defence of the Peace*; but 'tis not known what's become of these Works, neither is it certain if ever there were any such, and whether they be different from

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† And Archbishop Usher had another Copy of it, as he himself tells us, Whart. Hist. Lit. App. p. 88.

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Some Chapters of the *Doctrinal* of the Faith, which are upon the same subjects.

Peter of Rosenheim, a German, of the Order of St. Benedict, dedicated to Cardinal *Branda of Chatillon*, Legate to the Holy See in *Austria*, some moral Distichs, intitled, *a Memorial of Roses, of Divine Things*, printed at *Strasburg* in 1544. 'Tis said that he wrote also a Sum of Theology, and of the Gospels in Verse, with Figures. He flourished about the Year 1430.

John of Imola, a Bohemian Lawyer, a Disciple of *Baldus*, died at *Bologna* the 18th. of February 1436. He is the Author of a Commentary upon 3 Books of the Decretals, upon the 6th. of the Decretals, and upon the *Clementines*, printed at *Venice* in 1575. to say nothing of his Works of the Civil Law.

John Nider, a German, of the Order of Friars Predicant, Inquisitor in Germany, flourished in the University of *Vienna*, and was one of its Deputies at the Council of *Basil*, which appointed him to go and invite the *Bohemians* to come to the Council; he died at *Nuremberg*, in 1438. He wrote divers Tracts of Morality, and Piety, whereof here follows a catalogue. The Consolation of a timorous Conscience, printed at *Paris*, in 1494. and at *Rome*, in 1604. *Fornicarius*, or a Dialogue exhorting to a Christian Life, from the example of an Ant, printed at *Paris*, in 1519. and at *Doway*, in 1602. a Treatise of the Precepts of the Decalogue, printed at *Paris* in 1507. and 1515. and at *Doway* in 1612. the Alphabet of Divine Love, which is to be found among the Works of *Gerson*; the Manner of living well, under the name of St. *Bernard* to his Sister, printed at *Paris*, in 1484. and at *Rome* in 1604. three Books of the Reformation of the Regulars at *Antwerp*, in 1611. a Treatise of the Contracts of Merchants in the Collection of the Treatises about Law; Sermons for the whole Year; two Letters to the *Bohemians*, and other Pieces in the Acts of the Council of *Basil*. There are many other Works of this Author in Manuscript.

Nicholas Auximanus of *Marca d' Ancona*, of the Order of Friars Minors, flourished about the Year 1430. He wrote a Summary of Cases of Conscience, printed at *Venice* in 1484. an Interrogatory of Confessors, printed at the same place, in 1489. He wrote also a Commentary upon the Rule of Friars Minors, an Abridgment of the Canon-Law, and some Sermons never printed.

St. *Bernardin* of *Siena*, so called, because he was the Son of *Tollus*, of the Family of the *Albizesehi* in that City, who came to settle at *Massa* in *Tuscany*, and there married the Daughter of a Gentleman of that place, called *Nera*; was born there in 1383. Having lost his Mother when he was three, and his Father when he was seven Years old, he was educated by one of his Aunts 'till he was thirteen Years of Age, and then his Kindred sent for him to *Siena*, where he studied Grammar under *Onuphrius*, and Philosophy under *John of Spoleto*. Some time after he entred into the Confraternity of the Disciplinators of the Hospital of the *Scala* in *Siena*; there he assisted with much fervour and zeal those who were infected with the Pest, and practised great austerities. In the Year 1405. he made profession of the Rule of St. *Francis*, in the Monastery of the *Observantines* of *Columbarius*, which was near to *Siena*. Being ordained Priest, he addicted himself to preaching, and founded in *Italy* many new Monasteries of the *Observance*, and reformed those that were ancient. He was afterwards sent to *Jerusalem*, and made Guardian of the Holy-Land; and having returned from thence, he continued to preach in *Italy*; and the more to stir up the devotion of the people towards our Lord, he had a custom of shewing the name of *JESUS*, painted in a Circle surrounded with the Sun, and made a great many such Pictures, which sold very well. His enemies accused him of affirming in his Sermons many false things, and delated him to Pope *Martin*, who cited him to appear

before himself, and caused his Works to be examined. But finding nothing in them worthy of condemnation, after the Pope had heard his defence, he absolved him, and sent him back, with permission to continue his preaching. The Cities of *Siena*, *Ferrara*, and *Urbino*, desired Pope *Eugenius IV.* to make him Bishop, but he refused the Bishoprick, notwithstanding the importunity of this Pope in urging it upon him: He would only accept of the title of Vicar-General of the Friars of the *Observance* for all *Italy*; and there he reformed or founded anew near 300 Monasteries. He died at last in the City of *Aquila* in *Abruzzo*, May the 20th. 1444. He was canoniz'd by *Nicholas V.* in 1450.

The Works of this Saint are divided into four Tomes; the 1st. contains 61 Sermons, under the title of the *Quadragesimale* of the Christian Religion. The 2d. another *Quadragesimale*, intitled, *The eternal Gospel*. The 3d. two *Advents*, one upon the *Beatitudes*, and the other about *Inspirations*: two *Quadragesimale's*, one intitled, *Of the spiritual Combate*, and the other, *Seraphim*; and some particular Sermons. A Treatise of Confession, the Mirror of Sinners, a Treatise of the Precepts of the Rule of Minors; a Letter to the Regulars of his Order in *Italy*, containing some Regulations; Aspirations to God for all the Days of the Week; a Discourse by way of Dialogue, between the World, and Religion, before the Pope; a Treatise of Obedience, by way of Dialogue. Father *La Haye* does not think that the two *Quadragesimale's* which are in this Tome are truly St. *Bernardin's*, because they are of another Style, and are written with less Exactness, Elevation, and Judgment.

The last Tome contains Sermons upon other *Sundays* of the Year, and the Festivals of our Lord, and the Saints, with a Commentary upon the *Revelations*. The Treatise of the Conception of the Virgin, mention'd by *Trithemius*, and other Authors, is not St. *Bernardin's*.

The Sermons of this Saint are not of a sublime Style, but they contain a solid Morality, and well drawn out into Particulars; and the Author does not fall into such false and childish Thoughts, as other Predicants have done.

These Works have been printed at *Venice*, in 1591. by the Care of *Rodolphus* Bishop of *Sinigaglia*, and at *Paris*, 1636. by the Care of *Peter de la Haye*, in two Volumes in Folio.

Augustine of *Rome*, of the Order of the *Hermits* of St. *Augustine*, was chosen their General in the Year 1419. made Bishop of *Cesena* in 1431. and afterwards Archbishop of *Nazareth* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and died in 1443, or 1445. He wrote many Books, a Treatise upon the four Books of the Sentences, Commentaries upon the Epistles of St. *Paul* and the *Revelations*, a Book of Original Sin, a Book of Free-will, a Treatise of the Power of the Pope, a Treatise of the Divinity of Jesus Christ, and of his Church, a Treatise of Jesus Christ as Head of the Church, a Treatise of his Charity towards the Elect, and of his infinite Love. 'Tis not known where these Works are: *Bellarmino* says, that the three last are in the Index of prohibited Books, which makes it credible that they have been printed. *Possevin* affirms, that he saw in the Library of the *Augustines* at *Padua*, a Manuscript containing this Author's Commentaries upon St. *Paul's* Epistles, the Canonical Epistles, and the *Revelations*.

William Lyndwood, a famous English Canonist, in the University of *Oxford*, flourished under the Reign of *Henry V.* King of *England*, and was sent by this Prince Ambassador into *Spain* and *Portugal*, in 1422. After the death of this Prince, who died in *France*, in the Castle of *Vincennes*, he forsook the Court and retired into *England*, where he was made Bishop of *St. David's* in 1434. and died in the Year 1446. He wrote a Collection of the Constitutions of the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, from the time of *Stephen Lang-*

ton to Henry Chicheley, divided into five Books, printed at Paris in 1505. at London in 1557. and at Oxford in 1579. and 1663 *.

Dr. James in his Treatise of the Corruption of the Fathers, p. 261. adds, that Lyndwood being sent Ambassador from Henry VI. to the Council of Basil, presented an Appeal in the King's Name to the Fathers of that Council, against the Pride and Arrogance of the Popes, and asserted that the Kings of England, own no Superior on Earth in Temporals; which Appeal, says he, is hitherto fraudulently left out by all the Editors of the Councils.

Alexander Carpenter, so called, because he was the Son of an Englishman of that trade, flourished about the Year 1430. and wrote a Treatise, intitl'd, *De-structorium Vitorum*, printed at Nuremburg in 1496. and at Venice in the Year 1582. under the name of Alexander the Englishman.

Raymund of Sabunde, or Sebeyde, a Spaniard, Professor at Tholouse, who is the Author of a Treatise, intitl'd, *The natural Theology of Men and Creatures, or a Treasure of Divine Considerations*, printed at Darenter without date, at Strasburg in 1496. at Paris in 1508. at Lyons in 1540. at Venice in 1581. and at Francfort in 1631. He put the same Work in the Form of a Dialogue, intitl'd, *The Violet of the Soul*, which differs not from the former but only as to the Form, printed at Cologne in 1501. and at Lyons in 1568. This Work of natural Theology was translated out of Spanish into French, by Montague, who shews a greater value for it than it deserves. It is a Work that contains many wild and metaphysical discourses and reflections upon Religion and Christian Morality.

Peter of Jeremy, of Palermo, entered into the Order of Friars Predicant at Bologne, and returning into Sicily, he founded there, and reform'd many Monasteries of his own Order, after which he returned, and died at Bologne in 1452. He was famous for preaching, and has left us Sermons for the whole Year, and upon the Festivals of the Saints, an Explication of the Lord's Prayer, an Explication of the Decalogue, a Treatise of the Passion of our Lord, and a Treatise of Faith. These Works were printed at Hagenu in 1514.

John of Ragusio, of the Order of Friars Predicant, was present at the Council of Basil, and made there a long discourse about Communion under both kinds, against John of Rockfana; after this, he went over to the party of Pope Eugenius, who made him Bishop, and sent him to Constantinople, in the quality of Legate, to the Emperor Palaeologus. His discourse is at the end of the Acts of the Council of Basil.

Henry Kalteflin, a Native of Coblentz, of the Order of Friars Predicant, a Doctor of Cologne, was appointed by the Pope to preach the Croisade against the Bohemians. He was present at the Council of Basil, where, in a discourse that lasted three hours, he refuted Ulrick, a Priest of the Sect of the Orphelines, concerning preaching of the Word of God: His design is chiefly to shew, that mere Priests ought not to thrust themselves upon the Office of preaching without a Mission. He was honoured with the dignity of being Master to the sacred Palace in 1440. and was made Inquisitor General in Germany. In 1452. he was consecrated by Nicholas V. Archbishop of Nidrosia, or Drant in Norway, and of Casarea, and he died October the 3d. in 1465. The discourse which he spake in the Council of Basil, is printed in the 12th. Tome of the Councils. Trithemius assures us, that he wrote many Sermons of Time and of Saints, and upon the Magnificat, some Questions and Conferences.

We may also place in the rank of Ecclesiastical Writers, John Polemar Archdeacon of Barcelona, a Doctor of Vienna, who opened the Council of Basil, and made there many discourses; among the rest, one about the temporal Dominion of the Clergy, against the discourse of Peter Payne an Englishman, which is printed in the 12th. Tome of the Councils.

John Patriarch of Antioch, who was present at the Council of Basil wrote a Treatise of the Superiority of the Council above the Pope, which is at the end of the Acts of this Council.

At the same time, and in the same Council, flourished John Archbishop of Tarento, who made an Harangue to the Fathers of the Council, which is in the Acts of that Council, where there is also a discourse of Gerard Landrianus, Bishop of Lodi, Ambassador from the Council to the King of England and his Council, and many other discourses of the same nature, which are to be found in the Acts of the Council of Basil.

Jordan of Brice a Civilian, Consistorial Advocate and Grand Judge of the Province, in the Year 1433. wrote a Piece at the desire of the Cardinal of Foix, to defend the election of Eugenius IV. against the objections made by Cardinal Dominick of Capranica. This Cardinal was advanc'd to his Dignity by Martin V. on the 24th. of May in 1426. together with the Bishop of Lerida, Prosper Colonna, and Julian Cesarine; but his promotion was kept secret until the death of Martin V. which happened six Years after, at which time he had done no Office belonging to a Cardinal. When this Pope died, Capranica came to enter into the Conclave by virtue of the Decree of Nomination sign'd by the Cardinals, importing, that in case Martin V. should die before the publication of this Nomination, the Cardinals chosen should be published immediately after, and admitted into the Conclave; yet the College of Cardinals would not receive him, and the election was made without him: He was also cited before the Cardinals whom Eugenius appointed to judge of this affair; but he appealed from them to the Council of Basil, whither he came in person, and there he was acknowledged for Cardinal. Nevertheless he was reconciled to Pope Eugenius, and waited upon him at Florence, where he received a Cardinal's Hat from his hand, and lived after that till the Year 1458. in great credit at the Court of Rome. While he was at the Council of Basil, some would have made use of his exclusion to nullifie the election of Eugenius IV; upon which Question, the Civilian of whom we are speaking, wrote in favour of Eugenius IV. and proves, first, that the Decree of Nomination made by Martin V. is null; secondly, that the consent which the Cardinals gave to it is also null, and does not oblige them at all; thirdly, that tho' this Decree should be of some force, yet the election of Eugenius would be valid, and that the exclusion of Capranica did not make it null. These are the three Points which this Author handles after the method of the Canonists, in his consultation published by Monsieur Baluzius, in the 3d. Tome of his Miscellanies, together with the Funeral Oration of the Cardinal of Capranica, made by Baptista Poggio his Son.

The Cardinal of Capranica wrote also some Treatises, as, an Introduction for the administration of the Pontificate, the Art of dying well, a Discourse to Alphonfus King of Naples, some Letters to Philelphus, and some other Works.

Alphonfus Tostatus, a Spaniard, finish'd his Studies in the University of Salamanca, at the Age of 22 Years, and made so great progress in all Sciences, that he was fit to teach them at that Age, and did it. He was present at the Council of Basil, and was afterwards made Bishop of Avila, and advanced to the chief Offices in the Kingdom of Spain. He died in the Year 1454. aged 40 Years, and was interr'd in the Church of Avila, with this Epitaph,

Hic stupor est mundi, qui scibile discutit omne.

In effect, his Memory was burden'd with an infinite number of things, and he was an able Man in all Sciences: But what is most astonishing is this, that in the time of a very short Life he could not

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only study so many different things, but also write such a great number of Volumes upon all sorts of subjects; for there is scarce any Author whose Works amount to so great a collection: There are 27 Volumes in Folio of them, whereof the first 24 are Commentaries upon the following Books of Scripture: The first upon *Genesis*, the second and third upon *Exodus*, the fourth upon *Leviticus*, the fifth and sixth upon the Book of *Numbers*, the seventh upon *Deuteronomy*, the eighth and ninth upon *Joshua*, the tenth upon the Books of *Judges* and *Ruth*, the eleventh and twelfth upon the first Book of *Kings*, the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth upon the three other Books, the sixteenth and seventeenth upon the Book of *Chronicles*; the seven following Volumes upon the Gospel of St. *Matthew*: The twenty fifth contains his Tracts: Which are, the Defence of three Conclusions, a Book of five figur'd Paradoxes, a little Piece of the Trinity, another upon these Words, *A Virgin shall bring forth a Son*, a Work against concubinary Priests, a Treatise of the State of Souls after death, and another of good Politicks; the two last Tomes are Tables. All these Works were printed at *Venice* in 1530. by the order of Cardinal *Ximenes*, at the same place in 1596. and at *Cologne* in 1612. 'Tis the last Edition which is in twenty seven Volumes: Besides this, there are also some other Treatises of *Tosatus*, printed a-part by themselves, as the Censure of the Conference at *Ratisbone*, printed in 1608. a Commentary upon the Chronicle of *Eusebius*, in *Spanish*, printed at *Salamanca* in 1506. fourteen Questions, whereof the 1st. four are an Abridgment of the History of the Scripture, and the rest of the Morality, printed in *Spanish* at *Antwerp* in 1551. He wrote also many other Books, as well upon Prophane Sciences as Ecclesiastical Matters; among the rest, a Treatise of five Laws, *i. e.* of the Law of Nature, of the Law of *Moses*, of the Law of Pagans, of those of *Mahomet*, and the Law of Christians; a Treatise of the Origine and Distinction of Jurisdictions; a Treatise of the Power of the Pope; a Treatise of the Reformation of the Church; a Treatise of Indulgences; a Treatise of the Councils; a Work against the Jews, and another against the *Alcoran*; a Book of Love and Friendship, dedicated to the Queen of *Castile*, and many other Works. There are also attributed to him many Sermons.

Laurence Justinian Patriarch of Aquileia.

Laurence Justinian a noble *Venetian*, Canon-Regular of St. *George* in *Alga*, was made Bishop of *Venice* in the Year 1435. by *Eugenius IV.* and advanced to the dignity of a Patriarch by *Nicholas V.* He died in 1455. aged 74 Years, and was canonized by *Clement VII.* in 1524. He wrote many Books of Piety, full of Unction, whereof here follows the catalogue: The Tree of Life; of Discipline and spiritual Perfection; of the chaste Marriage of the Word and the Soul; the Packet of Love; of the triumphant Combate of Jesus Christ; of the interior Conflict, the Complaints of Christian Perfection; many Sermons upon the Festivals of Jesus Christ, of the Virgin, the Saints and the Eucharist; a Treatise of a solitary Life, another of the Contempt of the World. These Works were written before he was Bishop: He wrote afterwards those which follow, a Book of the spiritual Death of the Soul; two Books of its spiritual Resurrection, by the Operation of the Grace of Jesus Christ, Mediator between God and Man; Treatises of God, and the Instruction of Prelates, of Obedience, of Humility, of the Degrees of Perfection, of inflaming the Divine Love, and some Letters. All these Works were printed at *Basil* in 1560. at *Lyons* in 1568. and at *Venice* in 1606. The Life of *Laurence Justinian* was written by his Nephew *Bernard Justinian*, who was also the Author of a History, of some Sermons, and many Letters, whereof the Style is pure and elegant.

Bernard Justinian.

Albert of Sarciano.

Albert of Sarciano, a City of *Tuscany*, a Man well vers'd in the Greek and *Latin* Tongues, and in sacred and prophane Learning, Interpreter to the Council

of *Florence*, and Vicar-General of the order of Friars Minors, compos'd some Pieces which were well enough written, but have not yet seen the light; whereof *Vaddingus* gives the following Catalogue in the Library of the Authors of his own order; a Treatise of Penance written in 1433. a Discourse upon the Eucharist spoken in 1422. a Discourse upon the Conditions of Friendship, and the Malice of Envy; another Discourse to shew that the meanness of Extraction is no hindrance to Virtue; another about the Reprimands which should be given to insolent Persons, made in the Year 1446. a Treatise address'd to *Eugenius 4th.* against those who blame the Martyrs; a Discourse spoken in the General Chapter of his Order, held at *Padua* in 1443. Many Letters to Pope *Eugenius*, and to *Christophilus* Bishop of *Rimini*. *Vaddingus* has inserted some Fragments of these Works in the fourth Tome of his Annals, which discover the Excellency of his Wit, and the Politeness of this Author who died at *Milan* in 1450.

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John of Anagnia, a Civilian of *Bononia*, a Professor and Archdeacon in that City, flourish'd about the Year 1440. and died in 1455. He wrote Commentaries upon the Books of the Decretals, printed at *Milan* in 1492. and 1497. at *Lyons* in 1596. not to mention his other Works of the Civil Law.

John of Anagnia.

Francis de la Place, a Civilian of *Bononia*, wrote about the Year 1440. a Summary of the Mysteries of the Faith of Jesus Christ; wherein he treats of Restitutions, of Usury, of Marriage, of Ecclesiastical Censures, of Excommunication, &c. printed at *Padua* in 1473.

Francis de la Place.

About the same time flourish'd *John Felton* an English-man, Vicar of the Church of St. *Magdalen* in the Suburbs of *Oxford*, who compil'd some Sermons for all the *Sundays* in the Year, which are to be found in Manuscript in the Libraries of *England*.

John Felton.

Anthony de Rossellis of *Arezzo*, Doctor in Law, who was sent to the Council of *Basil* by *Eugenius 4th.* and was afterwards Secretary to the Emperor *Frederick 3d.* is the Author of a considerable Work, intitled *Of the Monarchy*; wherein he treats of the power of the Emperor and the Pope, *viz.* Whether the Pope has the power of the two Swords; and of the Authority of a Council according to the method of the Canonists. 'Tis a compleat Treatise, wherein he decides an infinite number of Questions about the Ecclesiastical and Secular Power. It was printed at *Venice* in 1483. and 1587. and is to be found in the first Tome of the *Monarchy of Goldastus*. There are some other Treatises of Civil and Canon-Law written by the same Author, in the Grand Collection of Treatises about Law.

Antonius de Rossellis.

St. Catherine of Bologna, a Nun of the order of *St. Clare*, and Governess of the Monastery of the order founded at *Bologna*, in honour of the Body of Jesus Christ, wrote about the Year 1440. some Revelations that were made to her, which have been printed at *Bologna* in 1511. and 1536. and at *Venice* in 1583. 'Tis said, that she wrote also a Rosary of the Mysteries of the Passion of our Lord, and the Life of the Virgin, and a Book of the seven necessary Weapons for a Spiritual Combate, which have not been printed. She died the 9th. of *March*, 1463.

St. Catherine of Bologna.

Leonard of Udine, of the order of Friars Predicant, Professor at *Bologna*, and Preacher to *Eugenius 4th.* has left us many Sermons preach'd in divers places, and printed many times in different places, and in many Volumes; a Treatise of the Common Places of Preachers, printed at *Ulme* in 1478. and a Treatise of Laws at *Venice* in 1473.

Leonardus de Udino a Dominican.

St. John Capistran, a Disciple of *St. Bernardin* of *Siena*, and of the same order, employ'd himself, as did his Master, in preaching under the Pontificate of *Martin 5th.* *Eugenius 4th.* *Nicholas 5th.* and *Callistus 3d.* He was made General of the Croisade against the *Fratricelli* and the *Hussites*, burnt a great many

St. John Capistran.

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many Villages whither the former had retir'd, defeated the *Bohemians*; and with 100000 fighting Men succour'd *Belgrade* when it was besieged with the *Turks*. He died the 3d. of *October*, 1456. aged 71 years; he was beatified by *Gregory 15th.* and canoniz'd a little while after. There are of his the following Treatises; a Treatise of the Authority of the Pope, and of a Council, against the Council of *Basil*, printed in the Collection of the Treatises of Law at *Venice*; a Mirror of the Clergy, or a Discourse to the Clergy, spoken in a Diocesan Synod at *Trent*, printed at *Venice* in 1580. together with an Instruction for Priests, and an Apology for the third Order of *St. Francis*; the Mirror of Conscience, a Penitential; a Treatise of Excommunication, and a Treatise of Marriage, in the Collection of Treatises of Law; Some Treatises of the Civil Law, and a Treatise of Usury and Contracts, printed at *Venice* in 1583. and 1587. a Treatise of the Universal Judgment, of Antichrist and the Spiritual War, printed at *Venice* in 1578. This is what is printed under the Name of this Author. Those who have spoke of them do mention also the following Treatises, of the Ecclesiastical Dignity to Pope *Nicholas*, of the Pains of Hell, and of Purgatory; of Restitutions and Contracts; a Commentary upon the Rule of Friars Minors, three Books of Lust, a Discourse of the Conception of the Virgin, and one upon the Passion of our Lord; a Treatise against the *Hussites*, and a Discourse against *Rockfane*.

Laurence Valla.

Laurence Valla, a Roman Patrician, Canon of the Church of *St. John* of the *Lateran*, did not only excel in Polite Learning, and a Critical Knowledge of the Tongues; but made himself famous also by some Pieces which respect Religion, and particularly by his Notes upon the New Testament, which yet are rather Grammatical than Theological; but still they are useful for understanding of the Text; they have been printed at *Paris* in 1505. at *Basil* in 1541. at *Amsterdam* in 1631. and in the great Criticks of *England*. With them we must join the Discourse about the Forgery of *Constantine's* Donation, which is written rather like an Orator than a Critick, which has been printed in the Collection of *Grotius*, and a-part at *Leyden* in 1620. a Treatise of Free-will, printed at *Basil* in 1540. and a Discourse upon the Eucharist, printed at *Strasburg* in 1490. This Author flourish'd at *Rome* about the Year 1440. He went out of it to go to *Naples* in 1443. where he taught *Latin* to *Alphonso 5th.* King of *Arragon*. 'Tis said, that he was delated to the Inquisition, and that he escaped the Flames only by the favour of King *Alphonso*, who yet could not save him from being publickly whipp'd with Rods: But this History appears so much the rather fabulous, because when he return'd to *Rome*, he was honoured with a Pension, and taught there publickly. He died in 1465. aged fifty Years.

Flavio Blondus.

Flavio Blondus, or rather *Blondus Flavio*, was born at *Foro-livio* in 1388. He was sometime Secretary to Pope *Eugenius 4th.* and died under the Pontificate of *Pius 2d.* on the 4th. of *June*, in the Year 1463. He made himself famous by his three Decades of the History of the Western Empire, from the Year 410. to the Year 1440. of which *Aeneas Sylvius* has made an Abridgment. He wrote also other Books to illustrate the History of *Italy*, viz. Three Books, intitled *Rome Restor'd*, which contain a Description of the City of *Rome*, as it was in his time; eight Books of *Italy* illustrated, wherein he gives a new Description of the State of *Italy*, as it was in his time; a Treatise of the Origine and Actions of the *Venetians*, from the Year 450. to the Year 1291. and a Treatise intitled *Rome Triumphant*, divided into ten Books, which contains a Description of what belongs to the Government of Ancient *Rome*. All these Works were printed at *Basil*, in 1559.

Ambrosius Camaldulensis.

Ambrose of Camaldun may justly be rank'd among Ecclesiastical Writers; as well upon the account

of his Profession, as an *Hermit* in the Abby at *Camalduli*, which he embrac'd at the Age of fourteen Years, as because of his Works, which are almost all about Ecclesiastical Matters. He was born at *Pertico*, a small City of *Romandiola*, and was the Disciple of *Emanuel Chrysolorus*, under whom he learn'd the Greek Tongue, which he understood better than any *Latin* Authors of his time, in the judgment of *Scuropolus*. He flourish'd under the Pontificate of *Eugenius 4th.* and was made General of the Order of the *Camaldule Hermites* in 1431. He was one of the Divines who was present at the Councils of *Basil*, *Ferrara*, and *Florence*: 'Twas he that drew up in the last, the Form of the Union. He died at his return from this Council, *October* the 21st. in the year 1439. His chief Works are his Translations of the Greek Authors, viz. of the Life of *St. John Chrysostome*, written by *Palladius*, and printed at *Venice* in 1533. of the *Spiritual Meadow*, printed at *Lyons*, in 1617. of the Ladder of *St. John Climacus* at *Venice*, in 1531. of four Books of *Manuel Calecas*, against the Errors of the Greeks, printed at *Ingolstadt*, in 1608. of some Sermons of *St. Ephrem*; of the Books attributed to *St. Dennis*, of the Coelestial Hierachy, of a Treatise of Virginitie by *St. Basil*; of a Treatise of *St. Athanasius* against the Gentiles; of three Books of *St. Chrysostome* to *Stagyrius*; of his Homilies upon *St. Matthew*, and of many other Works of the Fathers. Of the other Works of *St. Ambrose* there are none printed, but his Voyage into *Italy*, publish'd at *Florence*, in 1681. wherein he describes the disorders of many Monasteries which he had visited: But there are many more Manuscripts of his at *Florence*, in the Library of *St. Mark*, viz. Sixteen Books of Letters, the Chronicon of *Mount Cassinus*, two Books of his own Actions, while he was General of the *Camaldulians*; a Treatise of the Sacrament of the Body of *Jesus Christ*; a Treatise against the Greeks, about the Procession of the Holy Spirit: Some Discourses spoken in the Councils of *Ferrara*, and *Florence*; and in the Library of *St. Justina* at *Padua*, a Treatise against those who censure a Monastick Life. The Style of *Ambrose* the *Camaldulian* is *Latin* good enough, but he takes a great deal of liberty in his Translations, and does not always render the words according to their true and proper signification.

Mapheus Vegius, of the City of *Lodi* near *Milan* Ditary to *Martin 5th.* is the Author of this Age, who wrote most usefully, most pleasantly, and most elegantly. He wrote a Treatise of the Christian Education of Children, which is the most compleat that we now have of this kind. There he treats of the Duties of Fathers and Mothers, of the Studies of Children, and the Virtues that ought to be inspired into them; 'tis full of a most Christian Morality, and an uncommon Prudence. The six Books of the same Author about perseverance in Religion, contain a solid Piety, and most useful instructions for making great progress in it, and for maintaining and preserving a sense of Piety and Religion; which is also the design of his Discourses concerning the four last ends of Man, which he handles excellently well. The Dialogue of Truth banish'd is a piece of Wit. I say nothing of his profane Works; as his Supplement to the twelfth Book of *Virgil*, and some other Pieces of Poetry and Eloquence, wherein he excell'd, and came near to the Ancients. He died in 1458.

Mapheus Vegius

St. Antonine being born at *Florence* in 1389. studied Law at *Fiesoli*, and at the Age of sixteen years entered into the Order of Friars *Predicant*. Among them he spent some part of his Life, tho' he was employ'd by the Republick of *Florence* in divers Negotiations, and was at last made Archbishop of *Naples*, by *Eugenius 4th.* in 1446. He died the 2d. of *May*, in 1459. His principal Work is an Historical Summary, or a Tripartite Chronicle, from the beginning of the World, to the year 1459. which is nothing but a Collection taken out of many Hist-

St. Antonine Archbishop of Naples.

rians, and without much choice. It was printed at Venice, in 1480. at Nuremberg, in 1484. at Basil, in 1491. and at Lyons, in 1586. His Theological Sum was printed at Memmingen, in 1483. at Strasburg, in 1495. and at Venice, in 1591. His Sum of Confession has been printed in many places; at Strasburg, in 1492. and 1499. at Paris in 1516. at Lyons, in 1564. and at Venice, in 1572. There are Treatises of this Author about Excommunication, and the other Ecclesiastical Censures, printed in the Collection of Law-Treatises. There is also a Treatise of his about the Disciples of *Emaüs*, printed with his Life, before the Year 1500. a Treatise of Virtues, printed at Nuremberg, in the Year 1472. and Annotations upon the Donation of *Constantine*, printed at Cologne, in 1535. besides many other Manuscript Works.

Leonard Arétine, and *Poggio*, who were celebrated Authors for Polite Learning, employ'd their pains about matters very different from Religion, yet some of their Works may have a Reference to it, as the excellent Discourse of the former against Hypocrites, printed in the Collection of *Othuin Gratius*, and with a Dialogue against Hypocrisy, by *Poggio*, at Lyons, in 1679. The description of the Death of *Jerome of Prague*, address'd by *Poggio* to *Leonard Arétine* in the same Collection, and among the Works of *John Huss*. The Funeral Orations of *Francis Zabarella*, *Nicholas Albergat* Cardinals; and of *Laurence de Medicis* by *Poggio*; four Books of the variety of Fortune, dedicated to *Nicholas 5th.* by the same Author; a Discourse of the Authority and Power of the Pope, and Council, by the same; a Treatise of Nobility, and another of Humane Misery. These two Authors excell'd in the study of the Greek and Latin Tongues, and both of them were Secretaries to Popes, the former under *Gregory 12th.* *Alexander 5th.* and *John 23d.* the latter under the following Popes: The former died in 1443. and the latter in 1459. both of them at Florence, whither *Laurentius de Medicis* had call'd them.

John de Sterclo, of the Diocess of *Liege*, a Benedictine Monk, of *St. Laurence* of *Liege*, wrote the History of the Actions of the Bishops of *Liege*, to the Year 1449. and was continued by another *John de Lasse* of the same Order.

Mathew Palmier, a Florentine, wrote a Chronicle from the beginning of the World, to the Year 1449. of which there is nothing printed but what follows the Chronicle of *St. Prosper*, i. e. from the Year 444. in the Edition of *Basil*, of the Chronicle of *Eusebius*. 'Tis said, that this Author having made a Poem about the Angels in Italian, was accus'd of *Arianism*, upon the account of some words that escap'd him in that Work, and that he refusing to retract his Errors, was burnt; but this Story is groundless.

The Chronicle of this Author was continued down to the Year 1481. by another, who had or took upon him the same Surname, and is no otherwise distinguish'd, but by the name of *Matthias*, which was given him instead of that of *Mathew*; this Author was also of *Pisa* or *Vicenza*: He translated also the History of *Aristeas*, which was printed at *Basil*, in 1536. and 1551.

John Capgrave, an English-man, of the Order of Friars *Hermites*, of *St. Augustine*, a Doctor of Oxford, and Confessor to the Duke of *Gloucester*, flourish'd about the middle of this Century, and died in the Year 1464. He wrote a Catalogue or a Legend of the Saints of England, printed at London, in 1516. and there are in England many other Manuscript Works of the same Author. †

Nicholas of Cusa, so call'd from the Name of the place of his Birth, situate upon the Banks of the *Moselle*, in the Diocess of *Treves*, the Son of a poor Fisherman; was advanc'd by his Merits to the Highest Ecclesiastical Dignities. He was at first a Canon-Regular, afterwards Archdeacon of *Liege*, and Dean of *St. Florin* in *Constance*; He was present

at the Council of *Basil*, and was one of the greatest Defenders of the Authority of the Council above the Pope: Upon this occasion he wrote a considerable Work, intitled, *Of Catholick Agreement*, which was divided into three parts. After this he chang'd sides, and turn'd over to Pope *Eugenius's* Party, and was employ'd by him in Embassies into Germany, and France, and promoted by *Nicholas 5th.* December the 20th. 1448 to the Dignity of a Cardinal, with the title of *St. Peter ad Vincula*. He was sent again into Germany, and made Bishop of *Brixen* in the County of *Tyrol* which occasion'd a difference with *Sigismund* Duke of *Austria*, who forc'd him at last to depart out of Germany. He died at *Todi* in Italy, August 12th. 1464. aged 63 years. The Works which he wrote are these following: three Books of Learned Ignorance, wherein he endeavours to give Ideas of the Essence of God, of the Trinity, and of other Mysteries of Religion, drawn from Metaphysical and Mathematical Principles. This Work is very abstract and obscure; which being attack'd by some body, he wrote an Apology for it. The two Books of Conjectures are yet less intelligible, and less useful, and contain nothing but Metaphysical Notions, which are of no use. The Piece about the Filiation of God is founded upon the same Principles, and written in the same method. The Dialogues upon *Genesis*, upon *Wisdom*, and *Wit*, and about Statical Experiments, have something in them more solid, and descend more to particulars. The Treatise of the Vision of God is more pathetical, and contains fine Meditations. The two Books of the Globe are written to give an Idea of the Mystery of the Trinity by this Figure, and he enlarges upon the same Argument in another Dialogue. The Book about *Beryl* contains divers Metaphysical Principles, which are very confus'd. The Books of the Gifts of the Father of Lights, of seeking after God, of the pursuit of Wisdom, contain divers abstract and general Maxims, which are above our knowledge. The Book of the top of Theory is almost unintelligible; the Dialogue of an Unknown God may be of some use. These are the Works contain'd in the first Tome, now follow those in the second. A Dialogue upon the Annunciation of the Virgin, a Work intitled *Excitations*, divided into ten Books which contain Allegorical and Mystical Reflections upon many select passages of Holy Scripture: Three Books of Catholick Agreement; wherein he treats 1st. Of the Church in itself. 2d. Of the Priesthood, and the Authority of General Councils, and of the Pope. 3d. Of the Empire, and the Power of Princes. He wrote this Treatise before he was Cardinal, during the Council of *Basil*, and in it he handles these Questions with much moderation. The principal Points which he establishes in it are these; that the Church is the Union of all Souls with Jesus Christ its Spouse; that there are in this Church different Degrees; that altho' it be united, yet it may be divided into Militant, Dormant, and Triumphant; that the two last parts are made up only of the Predestinate, and that the first is a mixture of those who are good and evil: that the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy has its Degrees resembling those of the Angels; that there is but one sole Chair in the Church, which is fill'd by all the Bishops Successors to *St. Peter*, among whom the Bishop of *Rome* is the first. That the *Roman* Church is taken in different senses, sometimes for the Pope, and the Clergy, and the Diocess of *Rome*; sometimes for those who belong to that Patriarchate, and sometimes for the Universal Church, because the true Church is at present reduc'd to the Patriarchate of *Rome*; that in this last sense only 'tis infallible; that regularly it belongs to the Pope to call a General Council, and to preside in it: That to the end a Council may be General, it must be compos'd of five Patriarchs, and be kept publickly; and that its Decisions may be infallible, 'tis necessary that it should be free, and that they be made with common

Of the Ecclesiastical Writers that flourish'd in the West in the 15th. Century. *Nicholas Cusanus* Cardinal.

[† viz. His Comment upon Genesis, and the Acts of the Apostles, and the Lives of the famous Heretics, to H. 6th. Whart. App. p. 132.]

consent upon which chiefly depends the Authority of the Council; that the Canons of these Councils do not oblige particular Churches till after their Acceptance; that the Validity of the Council does not depend at all upon the Pope; that an Universal Council is above him, whose Laws he can neither change, nor repeal; that Provincial and National Councils have also their own Authority; that the Pope has a right to judge in difficult cases, to receive Appeals from the Judgments of particular Churches, to take care of the Universal Church; lastly, that his Primacy is of Divine Right, and that he received it from Jesus Christ, with the consent of the Church; that the Imperial Power does not at all depend upon that of the Pope; that 'tis not he who has translated the Empire from the Greeks to the Latins, nor created the Electors; that the Power of the Emperor is Sovereign, that he received it immediately from Jesus Christ; that he can call Councils by way of exhortation, be present at them, maintain order in them, and cause their Decrees to be put in execution. Lastly, he proposes divers regulations for the reformation of the Empire, and concludes with shewing, that nothing is more contrary to the good of the Church than a discord between the Empire and the Priesthood. He follows the same Principles in a Letter in 1442. to Roderick Ambassador of the King of Castile at the Diet of Franckfort. The two next Letters are address'd to the Bohemians about the Communion of the Laity under one kind, and there he makes it appear, that the Church has power to take away the use of the Cup, and that no more Grace is receiv'd by communicating under both kinds than under one; the three other Letters are also address'd to the Bohemians, about the Peace and Unity of the Church; and the seventh is also about Communion in one kind. The Treatise of the Agreement or Peace of Faith, is a Dialogue between persons of many Religions and Nations about matters controverted in Religion. In fine, the last Work of this Tome is a Treatise which he wrote about the Alcoran, intituled, *The Alcoran sifted*, wherein he does not only prove the falshood of this Book, but also makes use of such places which are to be met with in it as favour the Christian Religion, to persuade the Mahometans to embrace it. There is at the end of this Tome a little Piece, intituled, *A Conjecture upon the last times*, wherein he relates what is said in Scripture about the last times, without determining any thing precisely, as to the time that the World shall yet last. The last Tome contains his Works of Mathematicks, Geometry and Astronomy, which shew his profound knowledge in these Sciences; so that each Tome of his Works has its peculiar Characters; Metaphysicks reign in the first, Theology in the second; and Mathematicks in the third. As to the Style it is clean and easy, without affectation and ornament. This Cardinal knew the Oriental Languages, and it cannot be denied, but that he was a Man of profound Learning, and a sound Judgment. His only fault was, that he was too abstract, and too metaphysical in many of his Works. All his Works are printed at Basil in 1565.

Julian
Cesarin.

Julian Cesarin, of an illustrious Family in Rome, being appointed Cardinal-deacon with the title of St. Angelo, in the Year 1426. and afterwards Cardinal-priest with the title of St. Sabina; and lastly, Cardinal-bishop of *Frescati*, was sent by *Martin V.* against the Bohemians, and appointed to assist in the quality of Legate to the Holy See at the Council of *Basil*. *Eugenius IV.* confirm'd him in these employments, and he presided at the beginning of the Council of *Basil*. He would not dissolve it, as he had received orders from the Pope; but when the Greeks arriv'd, he left the Council of *Basil*, and went to *Ferrara*, where he was at the head of the Latins, who were appointed to confer with the Greeks. There are two Letters of this Cardinal address'd to Pope *Eugenius*, to dissuade him from the dissolution of the Council, printed in the collection of *Gratius*

and elsewhere, a Discourse which he made in the Council of *Basil* against the Bohemians; and many Discourses which he spoke at *Ferrara* and *Florence*. He was eloquent, learned, and a great Politician.

At the same time flourished *Nicholas Tudeschus* a Sicilian, commonly called *Panormitanus*, because he was Abbot of an Abby of the Order of St. *Benedict* in *Palermo*, and afterwards Archbishop of that City. He is one of the most famous Canonists we have: He was present at the Council of *Basil*, and had a great hand in what was done there against Pope *Eugenius*; in recompence for which service, he was named Cardinal by *Felix V.* in 1440. But at last he was obliged by the orders of the King of *Arragon* his Master, to return to his Archbishoprick, where he died of the Pest in 1445. His Works are; a great Commentary upon the five Books of the Decretals, printed at *Venice* in 1492. and at *Lyons* in 1586. Some Commentaries upon the *Clementines*, and their Glosses; 118 Counsels, and 7 Questions, printed also at *Lyons* in 1584. and 1586; a Treasure of Canon-law, and some other Treatises: But the most curious of all his Works, is his Treatise of the Council of *Basil* against Pope *Eugenius*, wherein he gives a History of all the transactions in that Council until the suspension of *Eugenius*; and after that makes it appear, first, that the Council of *Basil* is an œcumenical Council; secondly, that this œcumenical Council being above the Pope, has the power to proceed against *Eugenius*; thirdly, that the Council has done nothing against him but what is just. This Author handles the Question of the Superiority of the Council above the Pope, and gives a very solid decision of it, answers objections according to the Principles of Canonists themselves, and omits nothing in the Question of Fact and Right, which may serve to strengthen the cause which he defends. This excellent Treatise well known and esteem'd by the Learned, has been lately translated into our Language, and published by Monsieur *Gerbais*, Doctor of the *Sorbon*, whose Version makes people to read it with as much pleasure as profit. All the Works of *Panormitan* were printed together about the Year 1500. at *Lyons* in 1547. at *Venice* in 1592. and 1617.

Aeneas Sylvius, of the Family of the *Piccolomini*, was born in the Year 1405. at *Pienza* in the Territory of *Siena*, where his Father was in banishment. After he had studied at *Siena*, he went in 1431. with the Cardinal of *Capranica*, to the Council of *Basil*, and was for the space of ten Years one of the most zealous Secretaries to the Council, and afterwards in favour with Pope *Felix*. He was call'd in the Year 1442. to be near the Emperor *Frederick*, and sent some time after to Pope *Eugenius*, whom he acknowledged at last in the name of the German Nation, in the Year 1446. After the death of *Eugenius*, he was made choice of to take care of the Conclave, and having done his duty well in that place, he was made Archbishop of *Siena*. In the Year 1452. he waited upon the Emperor *Frederick* to *Rome*, and was appointed Legate of *Bohemia* and *Austria*. At last, being sent in 1456. by the Emperor into *Italy*, to treat with Pope *Callistus III.* about a War with the Turks, he was then appointed Cardinal, and at length chosen Pope, August the 19th. 1458. under the name of *Pius II.* Immediately after this he made a Bull, wherein he retracted all that he had written formerly in favour of a Council, and forbade any to appeal from the Pope to this Tribunal. During his Pontificate he made great preparations for an expedition against the Turks; but he died at *Ancona*, whither he went to see his army embark, August the 14th. 1464. He wrote before he was made Pope two Books of Memoirs, of the Transactions at the Council of *Basil*, after the suspension of *Eugenius* until the election of *Felix*, printed in the collection of *Gratius*, and a part at *Basil* in 1577. together with a Letter about the Coronation of *Felix*; the History of the Bohemians from the Original until the Year 1458.

Of the Ecclesiastical Writers that flourished in the West in the 15th. Century.

Nicholas Tudeschus Panormitanus.

Aeneas Sylvius, or Pius II.

Of the Ecclesiastical Writers that flourished in the West in the 15th. Century.

1458. printed at *Rome* in 1475. at *Basil* in 1532. and 1575. at *Hannover* in 1602. and in other places: An Abridgment of the Decades of *Blondus Flavius*, printed at *Basil* in 1533. two Books of *Cosmography*, printed at *Paris* in 1534. and 1543. and at *Cologne* in 1573; two Discourses in praise of *Alphonfus* King of *Arragon*, and some Notes upon the History of this Prince written by *Anthony*, a Poet of *Palermo*, printed at *Wittemburg* in 1585. a Poem upon the Passion of our Lord, Tracts of the Education of Children; of Grammar, of Rhetorick, and a Topography of *Germany*, printed at *Rome* in 1584. a Treatise of the Authority of the *Roman* Empire, in the second Tome of the Monarchy of *Goldastus*; two Answers to the Ambassadors of the *French*, in the Assembly of *Mantua*, related in the thirteenth Tome of the Councils; a Treatise of bad Women, printed at *Strasbourg*, in 1507. a collection of 432 Letters, whereof many are Tracts upon different Subjects, and some upon Questions of Theology, or Ecclesiastical Discipline; as the 130th. which is a Dialogue written against the *Taborites* and *Bobemians*, about Communion in one kind; the 188th. of the Duties of the Pope and his Officers; the 369th. which is an Ex-cuse against the Complaints of the *German* Nation; the 396th. of the Faith of the Christians, and the Vanity of the Sect of *Mahomet*; and the 131st. 397th. 398th. and 399th. which are Discourses upon the War against the *Turks*. This collection of Letters was printed at *Nuremberg* in 1481. at *Louvain* in 1483. and at *Lyons* in 1497. The Bull of Retraction which he made when he was Pope, and that about Appeals, are to be found in the Councils. There are also some Constitutions, and some more Letters of his. His Secretary *John Gobelin*, wrote his History in twelve Books, or, according to some, lent his name to this Pope, who compos'd them himself. It was printed at *Rome* in 1584. and 1589. and at *Francfort* in 1614. together with seven Books of Memoirs, written by *James Piccolomini* a Cardinal, who had been Secretary to *Callistus III.* and *Pius II.* who made him Cardinal, which contain the History of the Transactions in *Europe*, from the Voyage of *Pius II.* to *Ancona*, until the death of Cardinal *Carvajal*, i. e. from the Year 1464. to the Year 1469.

John Gobelin.

James Piccolomini.

John Canales.

John Canales, of the Order of Friars Minors, flourished at *Ferrara* about the middle of this Century. He wrote some Books of piety, viz. a Treatise of a heavenly Life, a Treatise of the Nature of the Soul, and its Immortality; a Treatise of Paradise, and the Happiness of the Soul; a Treatise of Hell and its Torments. These Works were printed at *Venice* in 1494.

Gulielmus Vorilongus.

About the same time flourish'd *William Vorilong*, a *Flemish* Regular of the same Order, who was sent for to *Rome* under the Pontificate of *Pius II.* to maintain the dispute of the *Cordeliers* against the *Dominicans*, about the Blood of our Lord. He died there in 1464. He wrote a Commentary upon the four Books of Sentences, printed at *Lyons* in 1584. at *Paris* in 1503. and at *Venice* in 1519. an Abridgment of Theological Questions, intitled, *Vademecum*, printed at *Strasbourg* in 1507.

Nichol. de Orbellis.

Nicholas de Orbellis, a *Franciscan* Regular, of the same Order, flourish'd about the same time at *Ratis*. He wrote also an Abridgment of Theology, according to the Doctrine of *Scotus*, printed at *Hagenau* in 1503. and at *Paris* in 1511, 1517, and 1520. There are also some Sermons of his upon the *Lent*-Epistles, printed at *Lyons* in 1491. and divers Treatises of Philosophy.

James of Clusa.

James of Clusa, who, according to most Writers, is not different from *James of Paradise*; after he had spent some part of his Life in the Order of *Cisterciens*, entred into that of the *Carthusians*, because he would not be made Abbot of his own Order. After this, he spent 20 Years in the *Carthusian* Monastery at *Erford*, and died there aged 80 Years, in 1465. The Treatise of the seven States of the Church, de-

scrib'd in the *Revelations*, is attributed to him, where-in he shews the necessity of reforming the Church in its Head and Members: There he proves that the Pope is peccable and fallible, and subject to a Council; and the necessity there is, that a Council should take care of the Reformation of the Church. This Treatise is in the second Tome of the Monarchy of *Goldastus*; perhaps it was written before he was a *Carthusian*.

Of the Ecclesiastical Writers that flourished in the West in the 15th. Century.

Some confound this Author with *James of Junterbuck*, and there is some probability that he is not different; for he was a *Carthusian* of *Erford*, liv'd at the same time, and the Treatises attributed to him are near a-kin to that whereof we have just now spoken. Howsoever this be, there are many Treatises about Discipline and the Reformation of the Church, and upon divers Points of Morality, which go under the name of *James Junterbuck*, which *Surius* found in Manuscript in the Library of the *Carthusians* at *Cologne*; and whereof he has given us a catalogue, which is to be found in the *Bibliotheque* of *Carthusian* Writers by *Petreius*: Some of them also are printed, viz. the Art of curing Vices, the Complaint of a Sinner, the State and Duty of Ecclesiastical Persons, printed at *Amsterdam* in 1617; a Treatise of Souls separate from the Body, printed at *Basil* in 1475. a Treatise of the Truth in speaking or keeping silence, printed at *Basil*, and a Treatise of the Manners and Errors of Christians, printed at *Lubeck* in 1488.

John de Turrecremata, so call'd in *Latin* from the name of the place in which he was born, call'd in *Spanish*, *Torquemado*, in the Diocess of *Palenza*, entred into the Order of *St. Dominick*, in the Convent of *Valladolid*. He flourish'd at first in the University of *Paris*, where he took the Degree of Doctor, and there he profess'd Theology and the Canon-Law. He returned afterwards into *Spain*, where he stay'd not long, being sent for in the Year 1431. by Pope *Eugenius*, and made Master of the sacred Palace. He was sent to the Council of *Basil*, where he oppos'd the *Hussites*, and strenuously defended the Pope; from thence he was call'd back to the Council of *Florence*, where he was one of those who entred the Lists with *Mark of Ephesus*, for which service he was rewarded with the title of Cardinal-priest of *St. Sixtus*, in the year 1434. and was sent Legate into *France*, where he presided at the Council of *Bourges*: After he had been employed in many Embassies, he was nominated in 1450. to a Bishoprick in *Gallicia*, and after that to be Bishop of *Albana*, which he changed in 1464. for that of *St. Sabina*. He died September the 28th. in 1468. Here follows a catalogue of his Works: A Commentary upon the Decree of *Gratian* in five Tomes, printed at *Lyons* in 1555. and at *Venice* in 1578; a Summary about the Church and its Authority, in four Books, printed at *Lyons* in 1496. and at *Venice* in 1561; a Treatise of the Authority of the Pope and a General Council, against the Orator of the Council of *Basil*, printed at *Venice* in 1563. and in the thirteenth Tome of the Councils; an Exposition of the Epistles of *St. Paul*, printed at *Basil* in 1493; a Commentary upon the *Psalms* of *David*, printed at *Venice* in 1513; a Course of Sermons for the whole Year, and for the Festivals of the Saints, at *Lyons* in 1509; Quodlibetical Questions at *Strasbourg* in 1490; a Treatise of Holy Water, at *Rome* in 1559; a Treatise of the truth of the Conception of the Virgin, divided into thirteen parts, printed at *Rome* in 1547; a Commentary upon the Rule of *St. Benedict*, at *Paris* in 1494, at *Cologne* in 1575; an Exposition of the Rule of *St. Bridget*, at *Cologne* in 1628; and an Apology for the Revelations of this Saint among his Works; the Salvation of the Soul, or the Confirmation of the Catholick Faith, at *London* in 1509; a Treatise against the principal Errors of *Mahomet*, at *Paris* in 1465; a collection of the Questions of *St. Thomas Aquinas* about the Authority of the Pope, printed at *Lyons*, and at *Ausburg* in 1496. and at *Venice* in 1562; the

John de Turrecremata a Cardinal.

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Meditations upon the Tables, which he plac'd in the Church of *Minerva* at *Rome*, printed at *Rome*, in 1467 and 1473; a Dissertation against the Greeks about unleavened Bread in the thirteenth Tome of the Councils. *Trithemius* mentions also Questions upon the Gospels for Sundays, and the Festivals of the Saints. This Author was an able Man in scholastick Learning, and in the new Canon-Law; he understood subtilties very well, and could use them with ease. His Style has nothing sublime in it, and favours of the Barbarism and Dryness of the Schoolmen and Canonists. He maintain'd Pope *Eugenius* stoutly against the Council of *Basil*, and defended the Superiority of the Pope above the Council.

Henry Arnold. *Henry Arnold* a Saxon, having perform'd the Office of Secretary in the Council of *Basil*, entred into the Order of *Carthusians*, and wrote many Treatises of piety, which were never printed, and a Book of the immaculate Conception of the Virgin, printed at *Antwerp* in 1527. He died in the Year 1487.

Alphonfus Spina. *Alphonfus Spina*, a Spanish converted Jew, a Regular of the Order of *St. Francis*, and Rector of the University of *Salamanca*, is the Author of a Treatise, intitl'd *The Fortress of Faith*, against the Jews, *Saracens*, and other Enemies of the Faith, printed at *Nuremberg*, without the name of the Author, in 1494. and published afterwards by *William Totan*, of the Order of Friars Predicant in 1511. printed at *Lyons*: But *John Mariana* attributes it to *Alphonfus Spina*, and the Author observes in the Work it self, that he wrote it at *Valladolid* in 1458. 'Tis a Work that promises more in the title than it performs, for it is not well written; it contains no deep enquiries, and often makes use of proofs, arguments and answers, which are very weak; yet there is some learning in it, and it may be of some use.

Ægidius Carlierius. *Giles Charlier*, born at *Cambray*, studied in the College of *Navarre*: After he had finish'd there with credit the Explication of the Master of the Sentences in 1414. he took the Degree of Doctor in Divinity of the Faculty of *Paris*, and was chosen in 1431. Dean of the Chapter of *Cambray*. He was present at the Council of *Basil*, and was one of the Envoys from the Council to the *Bohemians*. He lived a very long time, and was Dean of the Faculty of Theology at *Paris*, and died not till the 23d. of November in 1472. He compos'd many Works, whereof some have been printed at *Brussels*, in 1478. under the title of the *Sporta*, and *Sportula*, viz. under the first title, a Treatise of the Preservation of the Goods of the Church, a Defence of the Church, a Treatise of the perpetual Virginity of *Mary*, a Piece against the * *Iconomachi*, and a Treatise of the Celibacy of Ecclesiasticks: And under the last title, the following Treatises, of the Election of the Traytor *Judas*, of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, of Revenues for life, of Tythes, of Images, of Confession, of abstaining from Meat among the *Benedictines* and *Carthusians*, against the Calculators of the past Age, about the cloystering of the Monks of the Order of *St. Dominick*. There is at the end of the Acts of the Council of *Basil*, a Discourse against the second Article of the *Bohemians* about the correction of publick Sins. His Commentary upon the Master of the Sentences is in Manuscript, in the Library of *Navarre*, and many other Treatises upon different subjects, as, upon the Communion of the Laity in one kind, upon some Propositions against the Authority of the Church, upon Indulgences, upon the Eucharist, and upon several other questions of practice, or cases of Conscience, with a multitude of Sermons.

Gregory of Heimburg. *Gregory of Heimburg*, Doctor in Law, was one of the most violent Enemies to the Pope which this Age produc'd: He was present at the Council of *Basil*, and was afterwards call'd to *Nuremberg*, where he did the Office of Syndick for the space of 30 Years, and was honoured with the title of Counsellor to *Frederick* of *Austria*. He wrote a Treatise against the temporal Power which the Popes pretend to have over Princes, wherein he does not contain himself within the bounds of the Question, but lashes

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out in Invectives against the Popes. The contest which the Cardinal of *Cusa* had with *Sigismund* Duke of *Austria*, gave occasion to *Gregory* of *Heimburg*, to discharge his Gall against the Popes, and in particular against *Pius* II. who had formerly been one of his Friends. Upon the difference which happened between the Cardinal of *Cusa* and Duke *Sigismund*, about the execution of the Cardinal's Jurisdiction in his Bishoprick of *Brixen*, Pope *Callistus* III. cited this Duke, and forbad him under pain of an Interdict to trouble the Cardinal in the exercise of his Jurisdiction: This Motion did nothing but irritate the Duke, who persecuted this Cardinal. *Pius* II. renew'd the Censures against the Duke, and cited him and his Adherents anew. Then *Sigismund* appeal'd to a Council, and the Act of Appeal was drawn up by *Heimburg*. The Pope excommunicated the Duke and his Adherents, and pronounc'd an Interdict against their Estates, by his Bull publish'd at *Siena*, August the 2d. in 1460: *Sigismund* appeal'd also from this proceeding. The Pope denounc'd him excommunicate again by his Mandates in the Month of January the next Year. He excommunicated also *Gregory* of *Heimburg*, by his Bull dated October the 18th. in the Year 1460. This Civilian made railing Annotations, and an Act of Appeal against this Bull. *Theodore Lælius*, Bishop of *Feltre*, who died after he was chosen Cardinal in the Year 1464. made a Reply which is very well written, to *Heimburg's* Act of Appeal: Against which he wrote an Apology full of reproaches, and he made an Invective yet more passionate against the Cardinal of *Cusa*. All these Pieces have been published by *Goldastus*, in his first and second Tomes of the Monarchy, and printed a-part at *Francfort* in 1608.

Henry Gorcome, or Goricheme, a Hollander, Vice-chancellor of the University of *Cologne*, flourished about the Year 1460; He wrote a Treatise of Festivals, and a Treatise of some superstitious observances and ceremonies, printed at *Cologne* in 1503. and at *Lyons* in 1621: A kind of table of conclusions, or the agreement of the Bible and the Canons; upon the Master of the Sentences, together with the catalogue of the opinions of the Master of the Sentences; which are rejected at *Paris*, and in *England*; printed at *Cologne* in 1502. at *Venice* in 1506. and at *Basil* in 1513; not to mention his Commentaries upon some Books of *Aristotle*.

Thomas, commonly called a *Kempis*, or *de Kempis*, was of *Kempen*, a City in the Diocess of *Cologne*; as he says himself in his Chronicle of the Mount of *St. Agnes*, Chap. 8. & 10. and not of *Kampen* in the Diocess of *Utretcht*, as some have said. He was born at this place about the Year 1380. and was surnamed *Hemerken*, which signifies a Hammer; his Father was called *John* and his Mother *Gertrude*; he had a Brother named *John de Kempis*, Prior of the Monastery of the Canons Regular of the Congregation of *Gerard le Grand*, in the Mount of *St. Agnes* near to *Zwol*. *Thomas* was educated in the Society of the Scholars of *Deventer*, where he learn'd to write, to read the Bible, and to understand Treatises of Piety and Morality: After this he went in 1399. to *Zwol*, to obtain the Indulgences which Pope *Boniface* IX. had granted to the Church of this place, and there he desired to be admitted into the Monastery of the Mount of *St. Agnes*; into which he was received in the Month of October the same Year by his Brother, and made profession the 10th. of June 1406. The Author of the continuation of his Chronicle of the Mount of *St. Agnes*, relates that in the first Year after he entred into this Monastery, he endured great hunger, and tryals, and considerable pains. He was ordained Priest in 1423. One of the chief employments of the Canons Regular of this Congregation, was to write out the Bible, the Writings of the Fathers, and Treatises of piety. *Thomas a Kempis* apply'd himself with vigor to this labour, copied out the whole Bible; a Missal; and a multitude of other Works, and in performing this office;

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office, he practised the advice of one of the Ancients, that in writing Books he did not only seek by the labour of his Hands to gain food for his Body, but also to refresh his Soul with heavenly nourishment: For he so possess'd his Mind with the maxims and truths contain'd in the Books which he copied out, that he prepar'd himself to instruct others by his example, and by his doctrine, by word of mouth and by writing; which he did in his conversation, in his discourses, in the instructions he gave to his Brethren, and in the works of piety which he compos'd. He was humble, meek, ready to give consolation, fervent in his exhortations and prayers, devout, spiritual and contemplative. His Style is plain and has nothing sublime in it; but his thoughts are solid, and full of Union, and withal intelligible and useful to the whole World; having nothing of that lofty and extravagant devotion of some mystical Divines, whose Language is uncommon and very singular. He liv'd 70 Years in his Order, and died not till the Year 1471. on the 24th. of July.

The largest Edition of his Works is that of Cologne, in the Year 1660. which is divided into three Tomes.

The first contains the Discourses of *Thomas a Kempis*, viz. first, 30 Sermons to the Novices, which are conferences that *Thomas a Kempis* had with the Novices of his Order at different times, and which he afterwards collected together and address'd to his Brethren, under the name of a Pilgrim Friar. These Discourses contain wholesome instructions and advices to the young Regulars, founded upon passages of Scripture, and supported by some examples which are related at the end. Secondly, nine Discourses to his Brethren, containing most sublime thoughts upon the principal virtues of Regulars, viz. upon Self-denial, Compunction, Chastity, Silence and Solitude. Thirdly, thirty six Discourses upon the Incarnation, the Birth, the Life, the Death, the Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus Christ, and also upon the Mission of the Holy Ghost, and upon the primitive Church, which are almost wholly compos'd of passages of the Holy Scripture.

The second Tome contains spiritual Treatises at the head of which are the four Books of the Imitation of Jesus Christ: The title of the first is, *Useful Advices for the spiritual Life*; of the second, *Advices or Documents of the interior Life*; Of the third, *Of inward Consolation*; of the fourth, of the *August Sacrament of the Eucharist*; or, *A devout Exhortation to the Holy Communion*. After this Treatise of *Thomas a Kempis*, which is contested, there follow many others which without scruple are attributed to him: The first is the Soliloquy of the Soul, wherein he hath collected many meditations drawn out of the Holy Scripture, containing divers thoughts and motions of Piety, of the Thankfulness and Affection of the Soul towards God: The second is a Work, intitled, *The little Garden of Roses*, containing divers advices for the spiritual Life, which are also in the third, intitled, *The Valley of Lillies*. In the fourth, which bears this title, *Of the three Tabernacles*, he treats of Poverty, of Humility and Patience. The fifth is of the Discipline of those who are in the Cloyster: There he treats of the Duties, Employments, Exercises of those who are in the Cloyster, and of the means they ought to use for performing them well. The sixth is about a faithful Steward, or the Ministry of *Marta*; where he speaks of the external Employments of the Regulars: The seventh is intitled, *The Hospital of the Poor*; or, *Of the Contempt of the things of this World*. It contains divers spiritual Instructions, particularly about Prayer, Temptations and Humility. The eighth is a Dialogue about Novices, wherein he brings in a Novice speaking to an ancient Regular, who instructs him in the chief Duties of Religion. The spiritual Exercises are the ninth Work, whereof the first part is about interior Duties, and the second of external Employments. The tenth is intitled, *The Doctrinal, or the Manual of young People*. There he

recommends the reading of the Holy Scripture, the study of good Books, singing, frequenting Divine Service, Humility, Diligence, Self denial, and Affection to Heavenly Things. The Book of Compunction of Heart is a most fervent Prayer to God, of one who acknowledges himself a Sinner, and lays open his own Misery. The twelfth Book, after that about the Imitation, discovers the usefulness of Solitude and Silence. These are the Treatises contain'd in the first part of the Second Tome; the second contains many other shorter Tracts, the titles whereof are these; of the Acknowledgment of our own Frailty, a short Epitaph, or a Manual of the Monks, the Manual of Little Ones, of the Elevation of the Mind to God, to seek after the Sovereign Good, the little Alphabet of a Monk for the School of Jesus Christ, the Consolation of the Poor and Sick, eleven Prayers, little Pieces of the Mortification of ourselves, of Humility, of a good and peaceable Life, the Life of a good Monk in Rhyme, and some Hymns.

The third Tome contains in the first part, the Life of *Gerard le Grand*, of *Florentius*, and nine of his Disciples, who are *John Grand*, *John Brinkerincke*, *Robert Berner*, *Henry Brune*, *Gerard of Zutphen*, *Emilius of Buren*, *James of Viana*, *John Ketel*, *Arnold of Schoonbove*. In the second it contains the Life of *Lidwine* or *Lidewige* a Virgin, in two parts; in the third, six Letters of Piety, many Prayers and some Hymns.

These are the Works which go under the name of *Thomas a Kempis*, and which have been printed at Nuremberg in 1494. At Paris, of the Impression of *Badius*, in 1520, 1521, and 1523. And of the Impression of *Roginius*, in 1549. At Venice, in 1535, 1568, and 1576. At Antwerp in 1574. and by *Sam-malius* in 1600. and at 1607. At Bilingen in 1576. And at Cologne in 1660. The Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ, which is among these Works, under the name of *Thomas a Kempis*, is found also printed under the name of *Gerson*; and has since been ascrib'd to the Abbot *Gerson*, upon the credit of some Manuscripts, who is pretended to be of the Order of St. *Benedict*, which has occasion'd a very hot Dispute between the Canons Regular and the *Benedictines*; of which we shall give the History in a particular Dissertation at the end of this Volume, where we shall examine the Authorities and Reasons which are alledg'd on both sides.

John Busch, a Canon Regular of *Windefem* at *Zwoll* in *Overysse*, entered into this Convent about the beginning of this Century, where he continued till the Year 1464. that he finish'd his Chronicle of *Windefem* which is divided into two Books; whereof one contains the establishment of the Convent of *Gerard le Grand*, and of the Monasteries that depend upon it; and the other, contains the History and Life of the illustrious Men who have flourish'd in the Monastery of *Windefem* since its establishment. This Work was publish'd by *Rosweyde*, and printed at Antwerp in 1621. with a Letter which *Trithemius* attributes to him about spiritual Exercises, upon the Life and Passion of Jesus Christ, which is the Work of *John Huesden* Prior of *Windefem*, full of spiritual Maxims and Thoughts. *John Busch* died about the Year 1470.

William Houpland, a Native of Bullen in Picardy, Doctor of Paris, Curate of St. Severine, and afterwards Canon of Notre-Dame, and Archdeacon of Brye, died when he was Dean of the Faculty of Theology of Paris, August the 11th. in the Year 1492. He wrote a Book of the Immortality of the Soul, and of its state after death, fill'd with many passages of the Holy Fathers, Philosophers, Poets and Doctors, printed at Paris in 1499.

Denys Rickel, so call'd from the Name of the place where he was born, which is situated in the Diocess of Liege, is known by the name of *Denys the Carthusian*; because he entered in the 21st. Year of his Age into the Order of the *Carthusians*, and there spent the remainder of his Days until the Year 1471. in

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Denys Rickel

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in which he died *March* the 12th., aged 69 Years. There is no Author whom he may not rival for the great number of Works he compos'd, whereof he himself made a Catalogue: In which there are Commentaries upon all the Books of the Old and New Testament, printed at *Cologne* in 1538. a Work intitl'd, *Monopanton*, i. e. all the Epistles of St. Paul rang'd according to the order of their Subject-matter, printed at *Lyons* in 1547. and at *Paris* in 1551. and 1631. a Commentary upon the Books attributed to St. *Denys* the *Areopagite*, printed at *Cologne* in 1536. a Commentary upon the Book of Sentences, printed at *Venice* in 1584. The Marrow of the Sum of St. *Thomas*, and of the Sum of *William Auxerres*; a Treatise upon *Boethius*, of the Consolation of Philosophy; an Explication of the ancient Hymns, printed with the Commentaries upon Scripture: a Commentary upon the Ladder of *John Climacus*, and upon the Works of *Cassian*, printed at *Cologne* in 1605. and 1640. Divers Works of Philosophy, an Abridgment of Theology, two Books of the Christian Theory, printed at *Antwerp* in 1569. and at *Venice* in 1572. and Books of the Catholick Faith against the *Gentiles*, printed at *Venice* in 1568. Four Books against the Perfidiousness of *Mahomet*, printed at *Cologne* in 1533. A Dialogue between a Christian and a *Saracen* upon the same Subject, printed at the same place; a Letter to Catholick Princes, exhorting them to make War against the *Turks*, at the same place; a Treatise against the Art of Magick, and the Errors of the *Vaudois*; a Treatise against Superstitions; divers Treatises of the Essence and Perfections of God; four Books of the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, Hours upon the Mystery of the Trinity, and the Passion of our Lord, Meditations upon the Passion, an Explication of the Passion of our Lord, according to the four Gospels, an Exposition of the Mass, a Dialogue about the Celebration of the Sacrament of the Altar, a Treatise of frequent Communion, printed in many places; six Sermons about the holy Sacrament of the Altar, eight Books of Praises, and of the Dignity of the Virgin *Mary*, of the mutual Knowledge of the Saints in Heaven, of the Veneration of Saints and their Relicks, and of the manner of making Processions for them. These are the Dogmatical Treatises; what follow are concerning Discipline: Of the Cause of the Diversities of Events, of the Disorders and Reformation of the Church; this Treatise, and those which follow upon the same Subject, were printed at *Cologne* in 1559. Of the Authority and Duty of the Pope, of his Power and Jurisdiction, of the Authority of General Councils, of the Life and Administration of Prelates, and Archdeacons, printed at *Antwerp* in 1532. Of the Office of Legates, of the Life and Condition of Canons, Priests and other Ministers of the Church; a Dialogue between an Advocate and a Canon, printed at *Louvain* in 1577. A Treatise of the Life and Administration of Parish-Priests; of the virtuous Conversation of the Clergy; of the Doctrine of the School-men; of the Life of Noble-men; of the Administration of Princes; two Dialogues between Jesus Christ, a Prince and a Princess; of a Military Life; of the Life of Merchants, and of the just Price of things; of Political Administration; of the Life of married Persons; of the Life of Virgins; two Dialogues of Jesus Christ, one with an old Man, the other with a Child, of the Life and Example of the ancient Fathers, an Encomium of the Order of the *Carthusians*, an Explication of the Rule of the third Order of St. *Francis*, of the Reformation of the Regulars, of the Life of *Hermits*, of the Life and end of a *Hermit*, an Encomium of a Solitary Life, of the Life of Recluses: The third Class contains the Works of Morality, four Collections of Sermons, two for Seculars, and two for Regulars; many of which are printed at *Cologne* in 1542. A Summary of Virtues and Vices; some Treatises against the Plurality of Benefices, against Simony, against Covetousness, against Ambition, against the

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Propriety of Monks, against Distractions in repeating the Divine Service, of the manner of Singing devoutly, of the manner and order of Fraternal Correction, of the heinousness and enormity of Sin, of the Conversion of Sinners, of the strait Way of Salvation, and Contempt of the World, the Mirror of the Lovers of this World; these three last Treatises were printed at *Besancon* in 1488. The Institution of Novices, of the Vows and Profession of Regulars, of the means of spending time usefully, two Books of the Purgative Life, a Discourse of quickning Mortification, and of internal Reformation, of the Fountain of Light, and the Path of Life, printed at *Louvain* in 1577. of the Remedies of Temptations, of the Discernment of Spirits, of the Passions of the Soul, of the Purity and Happiness of the Soul; the Cordial printed at *Louvain* in 1577. of keeping the Heart and making spiritual Progress, of spiritual Joy, of internal Peace, of the Elevation of the Mind to God, of Prayer, of Meditation and Contemplation, the Sound of him that appoints a Festival; Incentives to the Love of God, printed at *Cologne* in 1605. Two Dialogues of Charity, a Treatise of the Rules of a Christian Life, a Discourse of a particular Judgment at the death of every Person, a Treatise of the four last things of a Man, printed at *Delf*, in 1487. Wherein he maintains that the Souls which are in Purgatory, are not certain whether they are in a state of Salvation, or Damnation. Two Conferences, one for the General Chapter of the *Carthusians*, and the other for that of the *Friars Minors*; twelve Letters, some Poems, a great number of Discourses, of Conferences, and Decisions of Cases. The *Apocalypse*, or the Revelation which God made to himself. This is the Catalogue which *Denys* the *Carthusian* has given us of his own Works; at the end of which, he reckons up the Authors and Books which he had read for the space of forty six Years, while he was in his Order, and by which his Mind was improv'd. We have added to the Catalogue of his Works their Editions; those to which we have not added any, are either such as have not seen the light, or such as are not to be found. This Author wrote with much ease, but his Style is plain, and has nothing polite or sublime in it; he had read and studied much, and wanted not Learning in common things. His Judgment was very good, and he had a great happiness in applying passages of Scripture; he is sober and wise in his Devotion, and full of wholesome Maxims and Instructions. In fine, there is scarce any Mystical Author, whose Works are read with more profit and pleasure, particularly those which he wrote about reforming the Life of all the several States of the Church.

James of *Gruytrade*, a German, and a *Carthusian*, of the Monastery of the Holy Apostles near *Liege*, is the true Author of the Mirror of the five sorts of States, which is attributed to *Denys* the *Carthusian*, for *Trithemius* has put it among the Works of *Gruytrade*, whereof he has given us a Catalogue. This Author died in *February*, 1472.

James of *Gruytrade*.

Roderic Sance of *Areval*, a Spaniard, Doctor in Law of *Salamanca*, Bishop of *Palantia*, and afterwards of *Calahorra*, flourish'd about the Year 1470. He wrote the History of *Spain*, divided into four Books, from the beginning of that Nation, to the Year 1469. which was printed at *Francfort*, in 1603. and in Spanish illustrated; and also a Work divided into two Books, intitl'd, *The Mirror of Humane Life*, printed at *Rome* in 1468. at *Paris*, in 1475. and at *Besancon* in 1488. In the first Book of this Work he treats of the Conditions of the People of the World; and in the second, of the spiritual State of Life, both Ecclesiastical, and Regular; it is dedicated to *Paul II.* and is rather a moral than spiritual Treatise. *Thomasinus* informs us, that there are at *Padua* three Manuscript Treatises of this Author; one an Appeal from the decision of the Pope, another of General Councils, and a third, of the Remedies of the Church Militant afflicted by the *Turks*.

Rodericus Sancius de Arevalo.

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Henry Harphius.

Henry Harphius, or of Herp, a Fleming, of the Order of Friars *Minor's* of the observance, died in the Year 1478. He excell'd in mystical Divinity, and wrote three Books about it, whereof the 1st. is intitled *Epithalamium*, or the Bridal Song; the 2d. a Golden Directory of the Contemplative; the 3d. *Eden*, or the Terrestrial Paradise of the Contemplative, printed at *Cologne*, in 1538. and 1555. and corrected by Order of the Holy See at *Rome*, in 1585. at *Brescia*, in 1601. and at *Cologne*, in 1611. He wrote also some other Treatises of the same Nature, viz. The Golden Mirror upon the Precepts of the Decalogue, printed at *Nuremberg*, in 1481, at *Basil*, in 1496. and at *Strasburg*, in 1520. The Mirror of Perfection, printed at *Venice*, in 1524. Three Conferences of the Perfection of Life, or an Abridgment of the Directory, printed at *Cologne*, in 1536. Some Sermons printed at *Haguenau*, in 1509 with a Discourse of the three parts of Repentance, and another about the three-fold Advent of Jesus Christ. He wrote all these Books in *Dutch*, but they have been since translated into *Latin*.

Gabriel Barlet.

Gabriel Barlet, a Native of *Apulia*, of the Order of Friars *Predicant*, liv'd until the year 1480. Two Tomes of Sermons are attributed to him, which are full of impertinences and ridiculous things, unworthy of the gravity wherewith the Word of God should be preached. There is an Old Edition of them in the year 1470. and two others printed at *Venice*, in 1571. and 1585. Some pretend that 'tis the Work of one who had a mind to ridicule the Sermons of Barlet, and that he is not at all the Author of them. Leander Albertus says, that he knew in his Youth the Man that forg'd this Work. In the mean time the Writers of the Sixteenth Century attribute it to him as his genuine Work, and *Alamara* Library-Keeper to the *Dominicans* owns them, and endeavours to defend them.

Bartholomew or Baptista Platina.

Bartholomew, or according to others, Baptista Platina, born at *Piadena*, or *Platina*, near *Cremona*, of considerable Parents; after he had for some time followed the profession of a Soldier, applied himself to the Study of Learning, wherein he made a considerable progress. He went to *Rome* under the Pontificate of *Callistus III.* and was there entertain'd by the Cardinal *Bessarion*, who took him into his House. *Pius II.* made him Apostolical Abbreviator, and gave him two Benefices: But *Paul II.* having abolish'd all the Abbreviators, without paying them the Rents that belong'd to their Offices, he, as well as the rest, was robb'd of all; and by his Remonstrances against this Injustice, drew upon himself the indignation of the Pope; and having the boldness to write to him a Letter, wherein he complains of this Treatment, and threatens to have recourse to Christian Princes, and desire of them a Council, the Holy Father clapt him up in Prison, and put Irons upon his Feet, from which he was set at liberty for this time, after he had stay'd there four Months. But three years after, the same Pope suspecting he had conspir'd against his Person, caus'd him to be put in Prison again, and tortur'd; and when he could not by this means extort a Confession from him of the pretended Crime, he accus'd him of Heresie, and of having some bad opinions about the Immortality of the Soul. Nevertheless, upon the request of the Cardinals *Bessarion*, and *Gonzaga*, he granted him at last his Liberty, but he was not restor'd till the Pontificate of *Sixtus IV.* who made him Library-Keeper of the *Vatican*, and gave him a House in the *Quirinal*, where he died, in the year 1481. aged sixty years. He wrote the Lives of the Popes, from our Lord, until the Pontificate of *Sixtus IV.* with freedom enough, and in a tolerable style, but not with all the exactness and discretion that were to be wish'd. They were printed at *Venice*, in 1479. at *Nuremberg*, in 1481. and at *Lyons*, in 1512. together with the continuation of *Onuphrius* at *Louvain*, in 1572. and at *Cologne*, in 1600, and 1610. Besides this, he wrote many Works of Morality; as three

Dialogues of that which is truly and falsely good; another against Amours; a Dialogue of true Nobility, two Dialogues of a good Citizen; a Panegyrick upon Cardinal *Bessarion*, a Discourse to *Paul II.* upon the Peace of *Italy*, and the Declaration of War against the *Turks*. All these Works of *Platina* were printed at *Cologne*, in 1529, and 1574. and at *Louvain*, in 1572. There is a Book of his about the means of preserving Health, the Nature of Things, and the Art of Cookery, dedicated to the Cardinal of *Rovera*, printed at *Bologne*, in 1498. and at *Lyons*, in 1541. upon which *Sannazar* made this excellent Epigram,

Ingenia & mores, vitasq; obitusq; notasse,
Pontificum, argutæ lex fuit Historiæ.
Tu tamen hic lautæ traclas Pulmenta Culinæ,
Hoc Platina est ipsos pascere Pontifices.

There was under the Reign of *Louis XI.* a Divine nam'd *Martin* the Master, a Native of *Tours*, Doctor in Divinity, of the Faculty of *Paris*, and of the House of *Navarre*, and Principal of the College of *St. Barbara*; who tho' he was of a very mean Extraction, as being the Son of a Butcher, yet attain'd the High Offices of Almoner and Confessor to the King. He was famous for the Treatises of Philosophy and Morality which he wrote. There is a Treatise of his about Valour, printed at *Paris*, in 1489. A Treatise of Temperance, printed in the same City, in 1490. A Treatise of the Consequences that follow from the Doctrine of the Nominals, printed at *Paris* without Date; an Explication of the Universals of *Porphyrie*, printed at *Paris*, in 1499. and a Question of Fate, printed at the same place. This Author was admitted Batchelor in 1469. took the Degree of Doctor, in 1473. and died in 1482.

Robert Fleming an English-man, after he had spent some years at *Rome*, under the Pontificate of *Sixtus IV.* return'd into his own Country, where he was made Dean of *Lincoln*. While he was at *Rome*, he wrote in the Year 1477. a Poem in praise of *Sixtus IV.* intitled *Lucubrations Tiburtinæ*, wherein he gives the History and a Panegyrick of this Pope in Heroical Verses, which are a little harsh; this Work was printed at *Rome* at the same time.

Peter Natalis, a Venetian, in the year 1482. finished a History, or a Catalogue of the Martyrs and Saints, which was printed at *Venice* in 1493. at *Strasburg*, in 1501. and at *Lyons*, in 1542.

Alexander of Imola, a Civilian, the Disciple of *John* of Imola, taught Law for the space of thirty years with good credit in the Cities of *Pavia*, *Ferrara*, and *Bologne*, and died in the year 1487. aged 54 years. He wrote Commentaries upon the sixth Book of the Decretals, and upon the *Clementines*, printed at *Venice*, in 1571. and 1597. not to mention his other Works of the Civil Law.

John Wessel, or Wessales, (for 'tis the same) of *Groningen*, Doctor of Divinity, to whom some have given the Epithet of *The Light of the World*, was an able Man in the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin* Tongues, and in prophane Sciences, as well as in Theology. He flourish'd from the year 1470. and died in 1480. being aged more than 70 years. He wrote many Books, wherein he advances a multitude of Propositions, which are too free and bold, which brought upon him the condemnation of the Inquisitors of *Germany*, which was past in the year 1479. wherein many of his Propositions are censur'd, according to the opinion of the Doctors of the Universities of *Heidelberg* and *Cologne*, and by the authority of the Archbishop of *Mayence*, who presided at that Assembly.

James Perez, of *Valence* in *Spain*, was made Bishop of *Chrysopolis*, in 1468. died in 1491. wrote allegorical and anagogical Commentaries upon the *Psalms* of *David*, and upon the *Canticles*, with a Treatise against the *Jews*, printed at *Lyons*, in 1512, and at *Venice*,

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Martinus Magister.

Robert Fleming.

Peter Natalis.

Alexander of Imola.

John Wessel.

James Perez.

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Venice, in 1568. an Exposition upon the *Canticles*, with a Question about the Merits of Jesus Christ, printed at *Paris*, in 1498. and at *Lyons*, in 1513.

John Pick, Prince of *Mirandula* and *Concordia*, was born in 1465. he had from his Infancy a wonderful sharpness of Wit, and a prodigious Memory; at fourteen years of Age he studied Law at *Bologne*. After this he spent seven years in travelling to the most famous Universities of *France* and *Italy*; and after he had convers'd with the most learned Men in those places, he went to *Rome*, where he proposed *Theses* upon all sorts of Sciences, while he was yet but twenty three Years of Age; he published them over all the World, and engaged to maintain them publicly. But Envy stirred him up Enemies, who found something to be blam'd in his *Theses*, and accused some of them of Heresy. The Pope appointed Commissioners to examine them, who found some of them suspected of Heresie. *Picus* made an Apology, wherein he justified himself, and explained in a good sense the Propositions which were blamed, and submitted himself to the Judgment of the Holy See; yet still the Pope forbade the reading of his *Theses*, and when *Picus* retir'd from *Rome*, he caused him to be cited some time after. While these things were thus depending, *Alexander VI.* granted him a Brief of Absolution, June the 18th. in the year 1493. After this, *Picus* applyed himself wholly to the study of the Holy Scripture, undertook to confute the *Jews* and *Mahometans*, and to confound Judicial Astrology; he resign'd also his own Sovereignty, and distributed all his Goods among the Poor. He died at *Florence*, November the 17th. in the year 1494. His *Theses* which contain 900 Questions, were printed at *Rome* in 1486. at *Nuremberg*, in 1532. and at *Cologne* in 1619. and together with his other Works, which are an Apology for his *Theses*; seven Books upon the beginning of *Genesis*, a Treatise of Being and Unity, a Treatise of the Dignity of Man, twelve Rules or Precepts for the Institution of a Christian Life, a Commentary upon the fifteenth *Psalms*, a Treatise of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and of the Vanity of the World, an Exposition of the Lord's Prayer, a Book of Letters, twelve Books upon Astrology, three Books upon *Plato's Banquet*. All these Works were printed together at *Venice* in 1498. and at *Strasburg* in 1504. at *Basil*, in 1573. and 1601. and at *Mirandula* in 1596. He wrote also other Pieces, whereof *John Francis Picus of Mirandula* his Nephew makes mention in his Life, viz. a Book of the Fidelity of the Version of the Bible by *St. Jerome*, against the Calumnies of the *Hebrews*; a Defence of the *Septuagint's* Version upon the *Psalms*; a Treatise of the true Computation of time; a Commentary upon the New Testament; a Treatise against the seven Enemies of the Church, which are the Atheists, the Pagans, the Jews, the *Mahometans*, the Christian Hereticks, the impious Christians who are Catholics in appearance, and the impious and heretical Christians; some Books against all Hereticks, and other Treatises of Philosophy, and Grammar.

The 900 Conclusions of *Picus of Mirandula* are for the most metaphysical and scholastical Questions; many of them are upon the Philosophy of *Aristotle* and *Plato*, upon the Principles of the *Cabala*, and of Magick, and some upon the Questions disputed by the scholastical Divines. Upon this last he was attack'd, and thirteen of them were accus'd of Heresie, Error, or Rashness. The 1st. that Jesus Christ did not really descend into Hell, as to his presence, but only as to his effects: The 2d. that an infinite pain is not due to a mortal Sin of a finite time, but only a pain that is finite; the 3d. that we ought not to adore the Cross, nor any Image, with the adoration of *Latria*, no not in the sense of *St. Thomas*; the 4th. that he was not certain that God could be united hypostatically to every Creature, but only to a rational Creature; the 5th. that there is no Science that renders us more certain of the Doctrine of Jesus Christ, than the knowledge of Magick, and the *Cabala*; the 6th. that supposing the common

opinion that the Word may be hypostatically united to an inanimate Creature; then the Body of Jesus Christ may be really upon the Altar, tho' the Bread be not chang'd into his Body, nor annihilated; which is to be understood of the possibility of the thing, and not in any way as if it were actually so; the 7th. that 'tis more reasonable to believe that *Origen* should be saved, than be damned; the 8th. that as no person is of any opinion, merely because he would be of it; so neither can any person believe, precisely, because he has a mind to believe; the 9th. that he who will maintain that the Accidents cannot subsist, unless they be sustain'd by the Eucharist, may nevertheless maintain the truth of the Sacrament, and believe that the substance of the Bread is not there; the 10th. that the words of Consecration are repeated by the Priest materially, and exactly; and not only by way of signification; the 11th. that the Miracles of Jesus Christ are not an evident proof of his Divinity, upon the account of the operation, but upon the account of the manner in which they were wrought; the 12th. that 'tis more improper to say of God, that he is intelligent, or has Understanding, than to say of an Angel that he is a rational Soul; the 13th. that the Soul does not understand nor conceive distinctly any thing but it self. *Picus of Mirandula* in his Apology, declar'd the Motives which his Adversaries might have to accuse him. He says, that some blam'd his design, and the manner of his philosophizing; others thought it was a rashness in one of his age to attempt such great things; some reprov'd him for the great number of *Theses* he had propos'd; and lastly, some Divines accus'd him of Heresie; that he thought he ought not to be silent upon this accusation, having learn'd from *St. Jerome* and *Rufinus*, that a Man ought to endure all sorts of reproaches, except that of Heresie, but under that he ought not to be patient. Nevertheless he answers the objections which are made against his manner of philosophizing, against the great number of his *Theses*, and particularly as to his discovery of the secret of the Jewish *Cabala*, and lastly, he explains himself, and defends the 13 Propositions. As to the first, he confesses that we ought to believe that the Soul of Jesus Christ descended into Hell; but as to the manner of it there is nothing determin'd; and that the Soul being separate from the Body is no more in a place by its presence, but by its operation; which was the only sense of his Proposition, and cannot be condemn'd of Heresie. But on the contrary, those who condemn it as such, are in an error, because they believe a thing to be of Faith, when it is not. As to the second, that we must distinguish two things in Sin, the aversion from God, and the conversion to the Creature; and that we may also say, pain is due to Sin in a twofold sense; either as it shall be effectually endur'd, or as it is that which is justly deserv'd: That mortal Sin as it is an aversion from God, who is an infinite Good, is objectively infinite, and deserves eternal pains; but that eternal pains will not be inflicted for mortal Sin, except when the Sin is infinite in its duration, viz. in case the Man continue in this Sin, and persevere in it through all Eternity: For if he repents of it before his death, and continue in it only for a finite time, his pain shall not be infinite. As to the third, that the opinion of *St. Thomas* as to the adoration of the Cross, and of Images is this, that they are worshipped as they are Images. That on the contrary, *William Durant*, *Henry de Gondavo*, *Robert Holcot*, and many other Divines maintain that we ought in no ways to adore an Image, nor the Cross, but only to worship that which they represent; that he followed this latter opinion as more probable, and rejected that of *St. Thomas*. As to the fourth, that he does not affirm, as *Henry de Gondavo* does, that absolutely speaking, the Divinity cannot be united to a Creature devoid of reason, but only he suspends his judgment as to the Question. As to the fifth, that it ought to be restrain'd to those Sciences which are not founded upon Revelation;

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and that it is of these only that he meant it. As to the sixth, that it does no ways impeach the real Presence of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist. He debates the Question, *viz.* Whether any other way may be alledg'd for explaining the conversion of the Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, than that of Transubstantiation, and whether to this end they may not pretend the Union of Jesus Christ with the Bread; and after he has produc'd the reasons and authorities on both sides, he answers to those which are brought to shew that another manner of explaining the real Presence may be maintain'd different from Transubstantiation, and proves that his conclusion does no wise favour this opinion. As to the seventh, he confesses, that the Heresies attributed to *Origen* are impious, and have been justly condemned by the Church; but he maintains that he can aver without rashness, that they have been fallily attributed to him; and that in case he had maintain'd them, he might believe that he had repented of them: That the Church has never determin'd that *Origen* is damn'd; and lastly, that tho' it had done so, he would not be oblig'd to hold its judgment in this as a matter of Faith, because it would be no more certain than that of canonizing the Saints, which according to the opinion of *St. Thomas* is not of Faith. As to the eighth Proposition, he maintains it to be true, because no Man can believe any thing, unless he has sufficient Motives which oblige him to believe it; but then it does not follow from thence, that the Act of Faith is not free. As to the ninth, that it may be maintain'd, because we may affirm with *St. Thomas*, that there is a real distinction between the Existence and Essence of the Bread, and that in this case God may preserve the Existence to sustain the Accidents. As to the tenth, that the words of Consecration in the mouth of Jesus Christ are to be understood in a literal sense, because he gave effectually to his Apostles his Body which was to be broken, and his Blood which was to be shed; but in the mouth of a Priest, who does not give his own Body and his own Blood, but the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, which is no more to be broken or shed, they are to be consider'd only as a Narrative. As to the eleventh, that the Miracles of Jesus Christ prove indeed precisely that he did them in the name of God, but that which proves he was God, is that he did them by his own authority. As to the twelfth, he defends himself by the authority of the Books attributed to *St. Dennis the Arcopagite*, who would not have any to say that God is an Intelligence. As to the thirteenth, he observes that this ought not to be extended to all sorts of knowledge, but only to that secret knowledge which the Soul has immediately from it self.

His Treatise upon the Creation of the World, is rather an Essay than a perfect Work. The Treatise of Being and Unity is very metaphysical: That about the Dignity of Man discovers divers Secrets of the Jewish *Cabbala*, of the *Chaldean* and *Persian* Philosophers. His Letters are full of Wit. There is a great deal of Reason and Learning in his Books against Astrology. In fine, all the Works of this Author are written with much Elegance, easiness, and cleanness; and in them he discovers as well the sharpness of his Wit, as the extent of his Knowledge.

His Nephew *John Francis Picus of Mirandula*, has also left us many Works, which are printed with the preceding in the Edition of *Basil*, in 1601. *viz.* A Treatise of the Study of Divine and Human Philosophy, wherein he compares profane Philosophy with the Knowledge of the Scripture; and shews how much more excellent this latter is, and what use we ought to make of the former: A Treatise to prove that we ought to meditate on the Death of Jesus Christ, and our own; a Treatise of Unity and Being, in defence of that written by his Uncle; a Treatise of the Imagination; two Treatises of Physics, one of the first Matter, the other of the Ele-

ments; a Treatise of Imitation, address'd to *Bembus*, together with the Answer of *Bembus*, and the Reply of *Francis of Mirandula*; Theorems of Faith, and of what we are oblig'd to believe; wherein he treats very largely of the Principles of our Faith in 26 Theorems. After he has shewn that the Faith of Christians is well grounded, he proves in the 1st. Theorem, that we cannot be sav'd without Faith in Jesus Christ; but he believes that God will shew that favour to all those who observe the Law of Nature, as to give them Faith. In the 2^d. that the Faith of a Christian is the gift of God. In the 3^d. that all those who have the habit of Faith, give their consent to the truths of Faith, which are propos'd unto them, or at least do not oppose them with obstinacy. In the 4th. that every one is obliged to believe and observe all that the Catholick Church has determined, by an expresse or tacit decision, at least as to what concerns Faith and Manners; for as to other things she may deceive, and be deceiv'd; as in the Canonization of Saints, according to the opinion of *Thomas*, and *Panormitan*. In the 5th. that every one is oblig'd to believe all that is literally express'd in the Old and New Testament. In the 6th. that we are also oblig'd to believe and practise all that the Church has learn'd or receiv'd from the Apostles. In the 7th. that the same is to be said of those truths which follow by necessary consequence from such as are founded upon the preceding Principles. In the 8th. that we ought also to believe the Definitions and Decrees of Popes, when the Church does not oppose them. In the 9th. that the truths which God reveals to private persons are not of Faith, save only for those to whom they are reveal'd. In the 10th. that we ought to obey the Decisions of Bishops in their Dioceses, when they condemn any Doctrines as contrary to Faith or good Manners. In the 11th. that every one is oblig'd to believe and practise what is necessary for attaining happiness. In the 12th. that among Christians the difference of Dignities, States, and Understanding, obliges some to have more knowledge of matters relating to Religion than others. In the 13th. that no person is oblig'd to believe what one or many private persons teach, but only the Doctrine of the Catholick Church is to be embrac'd by every one. In the 14th. that none is oblig'd to follow the opinion of Saints and Doctors, and to give credit to their Miracles and Revelations. In the 15th. that we are not oblig'd to give credit to the words or writings of Men, even in such things as do not relate to Faith and Manners. In the 16th. that in case a Council and the Pope be of contrary opinions, we must adhere to the Decision of a Council; and when the Fathers of a Council are divided, we must follow the majority. In the 17th. that when there are two persons who call themselves Popes, we must endeavour to discover whose election was canonical; and in case it be difficult to know this, that it will be better to follow his party who is thought to have the greatest probability on his side, than to own no Pope at all. In the 18th. that when Divines or Interpreters differ about any opinion, we must follow that which is thought to be most true; but if their opinions happen to be equally probable, we must follow that which is taught by the most famous and holy persons. In the 19th. that in matters of Controversie and Faith, a Man is not at liberty to follow what opinion he pleases, when the thing is once defin'd. In the 20th. that when it is not determin'd, we ought to follow what is most agreeable to the Gospel, and best founded. In the 21st. that in case the opinions appear to be equally reasonable, we ought to shun that against which Anathemas are thundred out. In the 22^d. that in Controversies of Faith, which cannot be explain'd, we ought to suspend our judgment. In the 23^d. that those who have a pure heart, who pray to God without ceasing, that they may know the truth, and have an humble submissive Spirit, cannot err dangerously in matters

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matters of Faith. In the 24th. that those truths which one is not oblig'd to believe explicitly at the beginning, because they were not explain'd and defin'd, become afterwards necessary points of Faith when they are. In the 25th. that every Christian is instructed, spiritually nourish'd and perfected in the Unity of one only Church, and its Head. In the 26th. that 'tis not sufficient to have Faith, but it must be accompanied with good Works, whereof God is the Author; that we must love God, and live in conformity to his Will. After this Treatise follows a Piece upon a passage of St. *Hilarius*, of the manner after which Jesus Christ is in us, reported by *Gratian* in the Decree, *Distinct. 2. de Consecrat.* A Translation of the Exhortation of St. *Justin* to the Greeks; a Poem upon the Mysteries of the Cross; nine Books of the Prescience of things, wherein he treats of the Divine Prescience, and of that Knowledge which some pretend to of things future, by Compacts with evil Spirits, by Astrology, Chiromancy, Geomancy, &c. which he confutes at large in this Treatise; and therein he justifies these Predictions, which Prophets divinely inspired, Angels, and even God himself has given us of things future. The six Books of the Examination of the Vanity of the Doctrine of the Gentiles, and of the Truth of the Christian Religion, oppose the errors of Philosophers, and particularly those of the *Aristoteleans*. There are also four Books of Letters written by this Author, which are almost all upon profane subjects; at the end of which there is a Discourse address'd to *Leo X.* about the Reformation of Manners. There is not so much Wit, Vigor, Subtilty, nor Elegance in the Works of *Francis Picus*, as in those of his Uncle; nor yet so much Learning, but there is in them more Solidity and Evenness. This Prince was unhappy during his Life; for he was driven out of his Dominions by his younger Brother *Louis*, and being restor'd in 1510. after the death of his Brother, he was again forc'd away two years after by the French; but at last he was restor'd a second time, and enjoy'd peaceably his Principality, till the year 1533. when he was cruelly massacred by *Galeote* the Son of *Louis*.

Augustine Patricius.

Augustine Patricius, of the Family of the *Picolomini*, Bishop of *Pienza*, is different from *Augustine Patricius*, Secretary to the Cardinal of *Siena*; he wrote the Life of *Fabian Bencius*, and a Relation of the Reception of the Emperor *Frederick III.* at *Rome*, by *Paul II.* These two Pieces have been publish'd by *F. Mabillon*, in the first Tome of his Cabinet of *Italy*. The same *Patricius* being the Master of the Ceremonies under the Pontificate of *Innocent VIII.* compos'd a Book of the Ceremonies of the Pope, and the Church of *Rome*, which *Christophlus Marcellus* who was chosen Archbishop of *Corfu* did afterwards ascribe to himself, and publish'd under his own name, under the Pontificate of *Leo X.* whereof he is accus'd by *Paris of Grassis*. *F. Mabillon* has publish'd it in the second Tome of the foresaid Collection; the Epistle Dedicatory of this Work by *Patricius* of *Siena*, to *Innocent VIII.* dated the first of *March* in 1488. and the Letter of *Paris of Grassis*, who relates what happened upon occasion of the publication of this Work by the Archbishop of *Corfu*.

P. Schottus

Peter Schottus, born at *Strasburg*, in 1459. a Canon of St. *Peter's* in that City, after he had improved himself in the Sciences at the Universities of *Paris* and *Bologne*, return'd into his own Country, where he died in the year 1491. To him belong the Lives of St. *John Baptist*, St. *John Evangelist*, and St. *John Chrysostome*, which are written in Elegiac Verse; the Encomium of *John Gerson* also in Verse, some Letters, and divers Questions about Cases of Conscience, printed at *Strasburg* in 1498.

Arnoldus Boscius.

Arnold Boscius, or *Boschius*, a German Regular of the Order of *Carmelites*, in the Monastery of *Gant*, where he died in 1499. has left us two Books of illustrious Men of the Order of the *Carthusians*, printed at *Cologne* in 1609. He wrote also a Book of

illustrious Men of his own Order, a Work against *Vincent of Newfort*, or *Chateauneuf*; a Treatise of the four last things of a Man, a Piece of the Patronage of the Virgin, and divers Letters mention'd by *Trithemius*.

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Donatus Bossius.

Donat Bossius, a *Milanese*, born in 1436. flourished till the year 1489. in which he finish'd his Chronicle of the Archbishops of *Milan*: He was also the Author of a Chronicle of the principal Revolutions in the World till his own time. These two Works were printed at *Milan* in 1492.

Boniface Simonet, a *Milanese*, Abbot of the Monastery of St. *Stephen*, of the Order of *Cistercians*, in the Diocess of *Placentia*, dedicated to *Charles VIII.* King of *France*; a Work about the Persecutions of Christians, and the History of the Popes from St. *Peter* to *Innocent VIII.* and writ many Letters divided into six Books. This Work was printed at *Milan* in 1492. and at *Basil* in 1509.

Boniface Simonet.

Nicholas Barjan, of *Placentia*, of the Order of *Hermmites* of St. *Augustine*, flourish'd in the year 1494. and defended the Preheminence of his own Order against that of the *Friars Minors*: He wrote a Work upon this subject, printed at *Cremona*, in the year 1500. a Treatise of the Mounts of Piety, printed at the same place in 1496. a *Quadragesimale*, and 77 quodlibetical Questions, about predicable matters, printed at *Bononia* in 1501.

Nicholas Barjan.

Gabriel Biel, of *Switzerland*, or according to others, of *Spira*, of the Order of *Canons Regular* of *Deventer*, Professor in the University of *Zurick*, which was founded in the year 1477. by *Eberard Duke of Wittemberg*, whither he sent for *Biel*, to teach Philosophy and Divinity, flourish'd there until the year 1494. and within a little time after, he died. He wrote a Commentary which is highly esteem'd, upon the four Books of the Master of the Sentences, printed at *Basil* in 1512. and at *Brescia* in 1574. There is also attributed to him an Exposition of the Mass, which he only copied from *Egeling of Brunswick*, as he acknowledges at the end of that Work, printed at *Lyons* in 1542. at *Venice* in 1576. at *Brescia* in 1580. and at *Bergamo* in 1594. Hewrote also many Sermons for the whole year, and upon different Subjects, printed in 1499. at *Basil* in 1519. and at *Brescia* in 1583. and a Treatise of the use and value of Money, printed at *Nuremberg* in 1542. at *Cologne* in 1574. and at *Lyons* in 1505. besides an abridgment in Manuscript of the Book of *William Ockam*, and a Table to the five Books of Sentences. This Author was one of the best Scholastick Divines of his Time.

Gabriel Biel.

Augustine Patricius, a Canon of *Siena*, Secretary to *Francis Piccolomini*, Cardinal of *Siena*, wrote a Relation of the Transactions at the Assembly of *Ratisbone*, where he was with the Cardinal of *Siena*, whom Pope *Paul II.* sent thither to desire Succours against the *Turks*; and moreover a History of the Councils of *Basil* extracted from the Memoirs which he found at *Basil*: 'Tis exact and faithful, written in very good order, and in a neat and easie method; and is inserted into the thirteenth Tome of the Councils of Father *Labbe*. His History of the Assembly of *Ratisbone* is among the Historians of *Germany*, publish'd by *Freberus*.

Augustine Patricius, a Canon of Siena.

John Baptista Salvis, or of *Salis*, of *Liguria*, of the Order of *Friars Minors*, who flourish'd about the Year 1480. and died after the year 1494. is the Author of a Summary of Cases of Conscience, which is call'd from his own Name, *Baptistiniana*, printed at *Paris* in 1499.

John Baptista Salvis or of Salis, a Friar Minor.

About the same time flourish'd another Casuist of the same Order, call'd *Pacificus*, who wrote also a Summary of Cases of Conscience which go under his name, translated into *Italian* by *Francis of Trevisse*, a *Carmelite*, and printed at *Venice* in 1574. and 1580.

Pacificus, a Friar Minor.

Angelus of Clavasio, of the same Order, and the same Time, (for he died in the year 1495.) is also the Author of a Summary of Cases of Conscience, call'd the *Angelick Sum*, and printed at *Venice* in

Angelus de Clavasio, a Friar Minor.

1490. and in 1569; at *Strasburg* in 1513. at *Nuremberg* in 1498. and in 1588; he wrote also some other Treatises, as a Treatise of Restitutions, a Treatise, intitled, *The Ark of Faith*, and others printed at *Alcala* in 1562.

There is a fourth Author co-temporary with the last, of the same Nature, of the same Country, and of the same Order, call'd, *John Baptista Trovamala*, or *Novamala*, who wrote an Alphabetical Summary of Cases of Conscience, intitled, *The little Rose*, printed at *Venice* in 1499. at *Paris* in 1515. and at *Strasburg* in 1516.

Charles Fernand, of *Bruges*, Regent in the University of *Paris*, lost his sight in his Youth, and yet became a famous Orator, Philosopher, Poet, and even a Preacher. About the end of his Life he was made a *Benedictine* Monk, in the Monastery of *St. Vincent* of *Mans*, and died in the Year 1494. His Works are these which follow, two Books of the Tranquillity of the Soul, two Books of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, four Books of Monastical Conferences, the Mirror of Monastical Discipline, a Discourse upon the Observation of the Rule of *St. Benedict*: These Works were printed at *Paris* by *Badius*, the three first in 1512. the fourth in 1515. and the fifth in 1516. There are also some other Works of his in Manuscript.

There was another Friar nam'd *John Fernand*, who wrote also some Christian Poems, among the rest, Hymns upon *St. John Baptist*, upon the Cross, and upon the compassion of the Virgin, Discourses and some Sermons: He liv'd till the beginning of the next Century.

Marsilius Ficinus, a *Florentine*, Canon of the Cathedral Church of *Florence*, and educated at the Expence of *Laurence de Medicis*, excell'd in the Greek and Latin Tongues, and in the Philosophy of *Plato*, whose Works he translated. In his younger Years he lived like a Philosopher, but being converted by the Preaching of *Saxonarola*, he liv'd Religiously the rest of his days, and died at *Corregio*, near *Florence* in 1499. aged sixty six years. We shall not mention his Works of Philosophy, nor his Translation of Profane Authors, but we cannot be excus'd from observing those which have some reference to Religion, which are these: A Treatise of the Christian Religion and of the Piety of Faith, dedicated to *Laurence de Medicis*, and printed at *Paris* in 1510. and 1559. and at *Breme* in 1617.; eight Books of the Immortality of the Soul, and eternal Happiness; a Commentary upon the Epistle of *St. Paul* to the *Romans*; Six Sermons; a Theological Discourse to God among his Letters; a Dialogue between *Paul* and the Soul, to shew, that we do not go to God without God; a Discourse of Christians to *Sixtus IV.* a Treatise of the Divinity of the Christian Law; a Discourse of Charity; the Translation of the Works attributed to *St. Denys the Areopagite*. All these Works may be seen in the Collection of the Works of *Marsilius Ficinus*, printed at *Venice* in 1516. and at *Basil* in 1561. and 1576.

John de Cincy, of the Order of *Cistercians*, Abbot of the Monastery of *Balerna*, in the County of *Burgundy*, who was chosen General of the Order in 1476. opposed the Commendams vigorously in the Council of *Orleans* in 1477. and in the Council of *Tours* in 1478. and at the Court of Pope *Innocent VIII.* of whom he obtain'd many Privileges for his Order: He resign'd his Office of General, and died in 1503. He wrote an Abridgment of the Saints of his Order, and a Collection of the Privileges that have been granted to it, by Kings, Princes and Popes, printed at *Dijon* in 1491. and the latter at *Antwerp* in 1530. with an exhortation to the Monks of the Order of *Cistercians*.

Wernerus Rolwink of *Laer*, of the Diocess of *Munster*, a *Carthusian* at *Cologne*, flourish'd at the end of this Century, and died in the Year 1502. aged Seventy seven years, after he had spent 55 years in his

Order. He wrote a Chronicle intitled *Fasciculus Temporum*, from the beginning of the World, to the Year 1481. which is to be found among the Historians of *Germany* by *Pistorius*, printed at *Frankfort* in 1584, whereof the first Edition was at *Louvain*, to the Year 1475. and a Work intitled *The Paradise of Conscience*, printed at *Cologne*, in 1475. a Treatise of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and of the benefit of Masses, printed at *Cologne* in 1535. a Sermon upon *St. Benedict*, printed before the Year 1494. He wrote also many other Works which have not been printed; as a Calendary, a Martyrology, a Commentary upon the Epistles of *St. Paul*, seven Books of the Life of *St. Paul*, and some other Pieces, whereof he himself has given us a Catalogue, which is inserted by *Trithemius*, in his Book of the illustrious Writers of *Germany*.

Bernard d' Aquila a Native of *Fossa* in *Abruzzo*, Proctor General of the Order of Friars Minors at *Rome*, flourish'd from the Year 1480. to the Year 1503. in which he died. He wrote some Books of Instruction, as the Funeral, printed at *Venice* in 1572. A Treatise for the instruction of those who have a mind to marry, which is in the Collection of Law-Treatises; some Advertisements about a Spiritual Life, printed in *Italian* at *Venice*, in 1572. There are also in *Italy* some other Works of his in Manuscript; as the Abridgment of the History of the illustrious Men of his Order in *Italy*; many Sermons, the Lives of *St. Bernardin*, and *Philip of Aquila*.

About the same time flourish'd *Anthony de Baloch*, one of the Diocess of *Vercelli*, a Regular of the same Order, who wrote a *Quadragesimale* of the twelve Excellencies of the Faith of Jesus Christ, printed at *Venice*, in 1592. and at *Lyons*, in 1504. a Treatise of Virtues, printed at *Haguenau*, in 1513. and a *Quadragesimale* in Manuscript of the eternal Benefits of the Holy Scripture.

At the same time there flourish'd also *Bernardine of Tome*, surnam'd the Little, a Regular of the same Order who died in 1494. He has left us a small Treatise of the manner of Confession, printed at *Brescia*, in 1542. and some *Italian* Sermons of the Perfection of a Christian Life, printed at *Venice*, in 1532.

At the same time there flourish'd also *Bernardine de Bustis*, a *Milanese*, a Regular of the same Order, Author of an Office about the Conception of the Virgin, a famous Preacher, who died after the Year 1500. He wrote many Sermons about the Virgin upon all her Festivals, and upon the Saturdays of the Year, whereof there is a Collection made, and printed at *Milan*, in 1494. and at *Strasburg*, in 1496. under the name of *Mariale*; a *Quadragesimale* printed at *Strasburg* in the same Year; another Collection of Sermons for the whole Year, and upon different predicable matters, printed at *Haguenau* in 1500. at *Lyons*, in 1507, and 1525. and together with the *Mariale*, at *Brescia*, in 1588. There are also two Treatises in defence of the Monuments of Piety, whereof he was the Founder in *Italy*, dedicated to the Cardinal of *Carvajal*, written in the Year, 1497. and printed at *Milan*, in 1503. He is also the Author of the Office of the Conception of the Virgin, and of the Office of the Name of Jesus, which the *Cordeiers* make use of.

Robert Caracciolus, born at *Lycium* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, of the Order of Friars Minors, and afterwards Bishop of *Aquila*, had the reputation of an excellent Preacher in this Century; he died in 1495. after he had been a Preacher for 50 years. There are several Collections of his Sermons printed at *Venice*, and at *Basil*, about the end of this Century; a Treatise of the Formation of Man, printed at *Nuremberg*, in 1470. and a Mirror of the Christian Faith, printed at *Venice*, in 1555. The greatest part of these Works were collected and printed at *Venice*, in 1490. and at *Lyons*, in 1503.

Michael of *Milan* was also a famous Preacher of the same Order; he has left many Sermons which were

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Robertus Gaguinus.

were printed at *Venice*, about the end of this Century; a Method of Confession, printed at *Venice*, in 1513. a Treatise of the Christian Faith, some Treatises about Sins, and some Sermons printed at *Basil*, under the name of *Michael de Carcano*, in 1479.

Robert Gaguin of *Artois*, of the Order of the Holy Trinity, or of the Redemption of Captives, studied at *Paris* in the Convent of the *Mathurins*, and there took the Degree of Doctor in Law. He was chosen General of his Order in 1473. and employ'd in divers Embassies by King *Charles VIII.* and *Louis XII.* He died in the Year 1501. May 22d. He wrote eleven Books of Annals of the History of *France*, from the Year 300. to the Year 1500. printed at *Paris*, in 1511. and at *Francfort*, in 1520. This is his principal Work, which is written in a passable Style of *Latin*. But there are other Works of his which have more relation to Theological Matters, as a Treatise of the Immaculate Conception against *Vincent of Chateaufort*, or *New-Fort*, printed at *Paris* in 1598. a Discourse in verse upon the same Subject, printed a-part; Poems of the Passion of *St. Richard* the Martyr, the different Orders of Ecclesiasticks, of the Misery of Man, a Dialogue against the Sluggish, printed at *Paris*, in 1598.

Felinus Sandeus.

Felinus Sandeus of *Ferrara*, Doctor in Law, began to teach the Canon Law in 1464. at 20 years of Age, in the University of *Pisa*, and continu'd there till the year 1481. that he was call'd to *Rome* by Pope *Innocent VIII.* to be President of the *Rota*. He was afterwards made Bishop in *Partibus*, and Coadjutor of the Bishoprick of *Lucca*, to which See he succeeded in 1499. a little while after this he was forc'd away by the Cardinal *Julian*, and afterward restor'd in 1501. and died in this Bishoprick in 1503. He wrote many Books of Law, printed at *Basil*, and afterwards at *Venice*, in 1570. among which his Commentary upon the 5 Books of Decretals, printed a-part at *Venice*, in 1498. and at *Lyons*, in 1549. and 1587. is one of the chief.

Stephen Brulefer.

Stephen Brulefer Doctor of *Paris*, of the Order of Friars Minors, taught Theology at *Mayence*, and at *Metz* towards the end of the fifteenth Century, and died in a Convent of *Britany*, his Country, at the beginning of the next Century. There are several of his Treatises of Theology, viz. Commentaries upon the 4 Books of the Sentences of *St. Bonaventure*, printed at *Basil* in 1501. at *Venice*, in 1504. and at *Paris*, in 1507. a Treatise of the Trinity, some Sermons of the Poverty of *Jesus Christ* and the Apostles, printed at *Paris* in 1500. an Apology against a Bishop of the Order of Friars Minors, who blam'd the Friars of the Observance, because they assum'd another name than that which is appointed by the Rule; a Treatise of Servile Fear, and the Gifts of God; a Treatise of Formalities, according to the Opinion of *Scotus*, printed at *Venice*, in 1516. an Explication of the Identities and Distinctions of Things, according to *Scotus*, printed at *Basil*, in 1507. a Discourse of the Value of Masses, spoken in a Synod of *Mayence*. The greatest part of these Works have been printed at *Paris*, in 1499, and 1500.

Vincentius Bandellus.

Vincent of Bandelle, born at *New-Fort*, in the Diocess of *Tortona* in *Lombardy*, of the Order of Friars Predicant, Doctor of *Bononia*, and chosen many times Vicar-General of his Order, and at last General in 1501. died in 1506. at the Age of 70 years. He was famous for his Work of the Conception of the Virgin, which he intitled, *A Treatise of the Singular Purity and peculiar Prerogative of our Saviour Jesus Christ*; wherein upon occasion of a famous Dispute he had at *Ferrara* about the Conception of the Virgin, he alledges many passages of 260 Authors, to shew that the Virgin was conceived in Original Sin. This Work which made a great noise in its time, was printed at *Bononia*, in 1481. and at *Milan*, in 1575. and re-printed a little while after. The Learning of the Author sufficiently appears from the great number of Testimonies which he produces, and this he has collected with so much

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exactness, that those who have written upon his Principles since his time, can scarce find out any which he has not alledg'd; and the fineness and subtlety of his Wit appears in the Method which he observes, and the Answers he gives to the Objections that are propos'd: But his Style is neither elegant, nor polite. He wrote also several Treatises, viz. an Explication of the Constitutions of his own Order, extracted from the Acts of the General Chapters, printed at *Milan* in 1505. an Explication of the Constitutions of the Nuns of the same Order, and some other Tracts which concern the Discipline of his Order, printed at *Lyons*, in 1515.

Of the Ecclesiastical Writers that flourished in the 15th. Century.

John Naucler, or *Vergehaus*, a German, Doctor in Law, Professor and Rector of the University of *Tubinga*, President of the Church of *Stuttgart*, and afterwards of that at *Tubinga*, is the Author of an universal Chronicle from the beginning of the World, to the year 1500. In this Work he shews much greater exactness and judgment than the far greater part of the Authors of this nature. It was printed at *Tubinga*, in 1515. at *Cologne*, in 1544. and with the Addition of *Surius* at *Cologne*, in 1564, and 1579.

J. Nauclerus.

John Poleonydore, who had this Name by turning into Greek the Name of the Place where he was born, which was call'd *Oude-Water*, (i.e. *Old-Waters*) near *Utrecht*, was a Regular of the Order of the *Carmelites*, in the Convent of *Malines*, and flourish'd till the year 1507. He wrote a History of his own Order, which he intitled *Trimereftus Anaphoricus, Pannegyricus, de Origine, Statu & Progressu Ordinis Carmelitani*, printed at *Mayence*, with a Manual for the same Order; and the Buckler of the *Carmelites*, printed at *Venice* in 1570.

J. Poleonydorus, or Veteraquinus.

Oliver Maillard a *Parisian*, of the Order of Friars Minors, a Preacher at the Court of the *French King*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, flourish'd towards the end of this Century, and died in 1502. He himself caus'd his Sermons to be printed at *Lyons*, in 1499. which serv'd only to discover that the way of preaching was not very fine in his time.

Oliver Maillard.

Michael Francis, of the Order of Friars Preachers, a Native of *Isle* in *Flanders*, a Doctor of *Cologne*, Confessor and Preacher to *Philip I.* Arch-Duke of *Austria*, was made Bishop of *Saluzzes* a little before his Death, which happened in 1502. He has left us some Works, which give us no great Idea of his parts and abilities, viz. Discourses upon the 7 Pains of the Virgin, and upon the Fraternity instituted to her honour, printed at *Antwerp*; other Discourses upon the Fraternities of the Holy *Rosary*, printed at *Cologne* in 1476. and at *Paris* in 1518. a Commentary upon the *Salve Regina*, and some others of the same nature.

Michael Francis.

Nicholas Simon of *Harlem*, of the Order of *Carmelites*, flourish'd about the end of this Century, and liv'd until the year 1511. He is the Author of a Commentary upon the 2d. Book of the Decretals, and of a Treatise about the Power of the Pope, of the Emperor, and of a Council, printed at *Milan* in 1505. and 1510. of many Lectures of Disputations, printed at *Venice*, in 1497. of some Sermons printed, and some other Works in Manuscript.

Nicholas Simon.

James Springer, a German, of the Order of *St. Dominick*, who was appointed by *Innocent VIII.* Inquisitor in *Germany*, together with *Henry Inftitor* a Regular of the same Order, wrote a Piece divided into 3 Books, against Women who practise Witchcraft, intitled *Malleus Maleficarum*, printed at *Venice* in 1576. at *Francfort* in 1580. and at *Lyons* in 1620. He compos'd also a Book about the Institution and Approbation of Miracles, and of Indulgences of the *Rosary* of the Virgin, which was never printed. His Colleague, in the Office of the Inquisition, wrote a Treatise about the Power of the Pope, against the Monarchy of *Rosellis*, printed at *Venice*, in 1499.

J. Springer and Henry Inftitor.

John Raulin of *Toul*, after he had finish'd his studies in the College of *Navarre*, took the Degree of Doctor in Divinity in 1479. and succeeded in 1481. to *William* of *Castlesfort*, in the Government of this College,

J. Raulin.

College, and afterwards retired in 1497. into the Order of *Cluny*, which he reform'd in 1501. He died in the Month of *February*, 1514. aged seventy one years. The Works printed under his name are these; Sermons upon the *Advent*, printed at *Paris* in 1518. and 1519. and at *Venice* in 1584. Sermons for *Lent* in two parts, printed at *Paris* in 1523. and at *Venice*, in 1584. Sermons upon the Festivals of the Saints for the whole year, in 2 parts, printed at *Paris* in 1524. The Itinerary of *Paradise*, at *Paris* in the same year, and at *Venice* in 1585. A *Doctrinale* concerning three deaths, viz. of Nature, of Sin, and of Hell, printed at *Paris* in 1520. and at *Venice* in 1585. Fourteen Sermons upon the Eucharist, 55 Letters, a Conference for the Festival of St. *Louis*, another Conference held in the Convent of *Cluny*, about the Perfection of the Order of St. *Benedict*, printed at *Paris* in 1520. A Discourse of the Reformation of the Clergy at his General Chapter at *Basil* in 1478. All these Works were printed at *Antwerp* in 1612. and all the Sermons at *Paris* in 1642. not to mention his Commentary upon the Books of *Aristotle's* Logicks, printed at *Paris* in 1500.

John a Lapide, a German, after he had taken his Degree of Doctor at *Paris*, was one of the first Founders of the Universities of *Basil* and *Tubinga*; he had many Benefices, but he quitted them all to be made Canon and Preacher of the Cathedral Church of the City of *Basil*, and at last entirely renounc'd the World to become a *Carthusian*. He wrote besides many Books of Grammar and Philosophy, a Discourse about the Qualifications requisite in a Priest; a Resolution of Doubts about the Accidents which may happen at Mass; a Summary of the Passion of *Jesus Christ*; some Sermons and Letters. The Resolution of Cases which happen at the Celebration of Mass, was printed at *Venice* in 1516. at *Constance* in 1596. and at *Padua* in 1599. 'Tis observ'd, that he divided the Works of many ancient Authors into Chapters, and added Arguments before them. He was alive still in the year 1494.

John de Deo, a *Carthusian* of *Venice*, wrote many Books of Morality, whereof the chief is a Treatise upon that Saying of one of the Wise Men of *Greece*, *Know thou thy self*; which is divided into 3 Books, and printed at *Venice* in 1480. and at *Heidelberg* in 1489. His other Works mentioned by *Trithemius*, are, a Treatise of Patience and Humility, the Mirror of dying Persons, the Crown of old Men, some Sermons and Letters. He finish'd these Works in 1480. *Trithemius* did not know whether he was then alive, when he was writing in 1494.

John Trithemius, or *Trithemius*, born in the year 1462. in a Village of that name, situate upon the *Moselle*, near *Treves*, of Parents of an indifferent Fortune, having studied in the Universities of *Treves* and *Heidelberg*, became a Monk in the Abby of *Spanheim*, of the Order of St. *Benedict*, at the Age of 22. years, and was chosen Abbot of the same in 1483. He govern'd it for the space of 22 years, but at last he was forc'd to leave it, in 1505. by the Faction of some Monks; and after he had entirely resign'd his Abbot's Place, he was chosen by the Bishop of *Wirtzburg* to be Governor of a Monastery in that City, where he spent the rest of his days in study, and died in 1518. He was a person of vast Learning, a Philosopher, Mathematician, Poet, Historian and Divine; not to mention his knowledge in the *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, wherein he was vers'd, tho' he wrote not elegantly or politely. He wrote a very great number of Books, of History, of Morality, and Philosophy. Those of History are, a Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, printed at *Mayence* in 1494. which is the time when it was finish'd; printed at *Paris* in 1512. at *Cologne* in 1531. and 1546. at *Basil* in 1594. It contains the Lives, and a Catalogue of the Works of 870 Authors, with the general Characters of each Author. The Catalogue of the illustrious Men of *Germany*, an Abridgment of the History of the first Kings of *France*,

from *Marconiz*, until *Pepin*, printed at *Paris* in 1539. a Work full of Fables, (as is also another Work of his, about the Origine of the *French*, printed at *Basil* in 1547. *) A Chronicle of the Dukes of *Bavaria*, and the Counts *Palatine*, printed at *Francfort* in 1544. and 1549. The Chronicle of the Monastery of *Richenaw*, from the year 830. to the year 1370. there are two Editions of it, the one is an Abridgment, printed at *Mayence* in 1559, and the other is very much larger, printed a little while ago in *Germany*. The Chronicle of the Monastery of St. *Martin* in *Spanheim*, from the year 1044. to the year 1511. These historical Works were printed together with two Books of Letters, at *Francfort* in 1601. To these we must add the Chronology of the Monastery of St. *James* of *Wirtzburg*; 4 Books of the illustrious Men of the Order of St. *Benedict*, printed at *Cologne* in 1575. the Lives of St. *Maximin* Archbishop of *Treves*, and of St. *Maximus* Archbishop of *Mayence* in *Surius*, at the 16th. and 18th. of *November*, and the History of the War in *Bavaria*, in 1504. in the Collection of the Historians of *Germany*, by *Freherus*. The Works of Morality and Piety, are his Sermons or Institutions to the Monks, printed at *Strasburg* in 1486, at *Antwerp* in 1574. and at *Florence* in 1577. A Commentary upon the Rule of St. *Benedict*, printed at *Valenciennes* in 1608. an Abridgment of the spiritual Life, 2 Books of the Temptations of Regulars; a Treatise against the Vice of Property in Monks, a Treatise in the praise of those who write Manuals, a Treatise of a Sacerdotal Life, a Discourse of the Vanity and Misery of human Life, a Complaint of the sad Condition and Ruin of the Order of St. *Benedict*, which he attributes to the negligence of that Order in maintaining Holiness, and studying the Holy Scripture. These Works were printed at *Florence* in 1577. The Discourses spoken at the Chapters of his Order, a Treatise of the manner of celebrating the provincial Chapter of *Mayence*; a Treatise of the Visitation of Monks, 5 Books of the Miracles done by the Invocation of the Virgin, at *Dittelbach*, and *Wirtzburg*, were printed at *Mayence* in 1504. A Treatise in the praise of the *Carmelites* was printed at *Florence* in 1593. and at *Lyons* in 1639. An Encomium of St. *Anne*, an Office for the Festivals of St. *Anne*, and St. *Joachim*, were printed at *Mayence* in 1605. and at *Cologne* in 1624. a Treatise of Providence, printed at *Altorf* in 1611. His Works of Philosophy are a mystical Chronology of the Intelligences which move the Heavens, printed at *Cologne* in 1576. 4 Books intitled *Antipalus Maleficiorum*, a Solution of 8 Questions propos'd by the Emperor *Maximilian*, intitled *Royal Curiosity*, were printed at *Oppenheim* in 1515. at *Francfort* in 1550. at *Mayence* in 1605. at *Douay* in 1621. The *Polygraphy* in six Books, wherein he explains the different ways of expressing our thoughts in Writing, printed in 1518. and at *Cologne* in 1571. The *Steganography*, or the Art of writing in Cyphers, printed at *Francfort* in 1606. a Work which gave occasion to suspect him of Magick; a Treatise of Chymistry, printed in 1611. and at *Strasburg* in 1613. He wrote also many other Pieces which were never printed.

Jerome Savonarola, descended of a Family in *Padua*, was born at *Ferrara* the 21st. of *October*, 1452. He entred into the Order of St. *Dominick* in 1474. and made himself famous by his frequent and fervent Sermons; and by the Austerity of his Life and his Preaching he acquired so great reputation in the City of *Florence*, that he govern'd it for the space of 4 years as if he had been its Sovereign; until his Enemies took him by force out of his Monastery, in 1498. clapt him up in Prison, and condemn'd him to be burnt; which punishment he suffer'd May the 23d. of the same year, with all possible constancy, and with exemplary piety. He wrote a prodigious number of moral, spiritual, and ascetick Books, whereof here follows a Catalogue: The Triumph of the Cross, or of the Truth of Religion, divided into 4 Books;

Of the Ecclesiastical Writers that flourished in the West in the 15th. Century.

Of the Ecclesiastical Writers that flourished in the West in the 15th. Century.

* He wrote also two Volumes, wherein he continues the History of the French, from *Pepin*, to the year of *Maximilian* Caesar, and 1514th. of *Christ*, Whart. App. ad Hist. Lit. p. 169.

John a Lapide.

John de Deo.

John Trithemius.

Jerome Savonarola.

Books; 5 Books of the Simplicity of a Christian Life; 3 Books against Judicial Astrology; Explications of the Lord's Prayer, and the Angelical Salutation; Treatises of Humility, of the Love of Jesus Christ, and of the Life of Widows; a Lamentation of the Spouse of Jesus Christ against false Apostles, or an Exhortation to the Faithful to pray unto God for the Renovation of the Church; and a Prediction upon this subject; 7 Dialogues between the Soul and the Spirit, and 3 between Reason and Sense; two Books of Prayer, Rules about Prayer, and a Christian Life; an Explication of the Decalogue; a Treatise of the Sacrifice of the Mass, and its Mysteries; a Letter of frequent Communion, the Benefits granted to Christians by the Mystery, and by the Sign of the Cross; a Discourse of the manner of living well; and tending towards God; a Letter to his Father upon his taking the Habit in the Order of St. *Dominick*; of the Perfection of the State of Regulars; Rules for living with discretion, and according to order in Religious Houses; many Letters to the Friars of his Congregation, of spiritual reading to Sisters of the third Order of St. *Dominick*; a Discourse which he made at receiving the Holy Sacrament after his Condemnation; a Treatise of the Degrees whereby we ascend to the Perfection of a spiritual Life; 7 Rules which ought to be observ'd by all Regulars; a Prayer or Meditation upon the *Psalms*, *Diligam te Domine*; a Treatise of the Mystery of the Cross; Meditations upon the *Psalms*, 30, 50, 79, and many others; the Manual and Instruction for Confessors; 30 Sermons for the *Sundays* of the year, and upon the Festivals of Saints; a *Quadragesimal* compos'd of 48 Sermons; Homilies upon the Books of *Exodus*, *Ruth*, *Esther* and *Job*; upon the *Psalms* and *Canticles*, upon the Prophets, *Ezekiel*, *Micah*, *Haggai*, *Amos*, and *Zachary*; upon the Lamentations of *Jeremiah*, and the first Epistle of St. *John*; and many Sermons upon different subjects; a Course of Sermons for *Advent*, and another for *Lent*; some apologetical Letters, and one in particular, to shew the Nullity and Injustice of the Excommunication pass'd against him by *Alexander VI.* of which he discourses boldly; 3 apologetical Letters to this Pope; an apologetical Discourse upon this Text in *Psalms* 7th. O Lord my God, I have hop'd in thee; an Apology for the Congregation of St. *Mark*, of his own Order, which was founded at *Florence*; 9 Dialogues of the prophetic Truth, an Abridgment of Revelations, and many other spiritual and ascetick Letters. All these Works, being for the most part written in *Italian*, were printed at *Florence*, and in other Places. He wrote also Commentaries upon many Books of Scripture; a Treatise of the Government of the Republick of *Florence*; Treatises of moral Divinity, about Usury, Simony, the Defence of our

Neighbour, and Theft; and when he was in Prison, he wrote a Commentary upon the 7 penitential *Psalms*. The Works of this Author are full of spiritual Thoughts and Maxims of Piety; in them he speaks freely against Vices, and teaches a most pure and sublime Morality.

Elus Antony de Lebrixa, who turn'd his Name into *Nebriffensis* in *Latin*, a *Spaniard*, was not inferior to any person of his time, for beauty of thought, and learning of all kinds. He was born in 1444. in the Village of *Lebrixa*, situate upon the *Guadalquivir*. After he had studied Mathematicks and Philosophy at *Salamanca*, he went into *Italy*, where he perfected himself in the Languages, and Divinity. In the year 1473. being recall'd by *Alphonfus Fonseca*, Archbishop of *Sevil*, he restored the study of polite learning, and the sciences in *Spain*, by his public lectures. After the death of this Archbishop he left *Sevil*, and went to *Salamanca*, where he was honour'd with 2 Chairs, one of Grammar, and the other of Poetry; in which he labour'd to banish away that Barbarism which had reign'd in *Spain* till his time. He set himself to oppose the Schoolmen; who accus'd him of favouring Novelties; and in the year 1488. he retir'd to the House of *John Stunica*, Grand Master of the Order of *Alcantara*; but he was quickly recall'd to fill the first Chair of the University at *Salamanca*, which happened to become vacant. King *Ferdinand* knowing his worth, sent for him to his Court in 1504. that he might write the History of his own Life, and Cardinal *Ximenes* employ'd him in publishing the Edition of the *Polyglot-Bible*. In the year 1513. he quite forsook the University of *Salamanca*, and addicted himself entirely to the Service of Cardinal *Ximenes*, who gave him the Government of his own University of *Complutum*, or *Alcala d' Enarez*, where *Nebriffensis* died, the 11th. of July, in 1522. aged 77 years. He wrote an infinite number of Books about Grammar, whereof we shall say nothing here; 2 Decades of the History of King *Ferdinand*, and of Queen *Elizabeth*, from the year 1509. and 2 Books of the War of that Prince against the King of *Navarre*, in the year 1512. his principal Work of Divinity is a Treatise of Criticism for explaining 50 difficult places of Scripture, intitled *Quinquagena*, printed by it self at *Paris* in 1520. at *Basil*, in 1543. at *Antwerp* in 1600. and in the great Criticks of *England*; there is much learning and profound judgment in this Work. There are also some Notes of his upon the Lessons taken out of the Epistles of St. *Paul*, and the Prophets, which are read in the Service of the Church, upon the Prayers and Hymns of Divine Service, upon the Hymns and *Psychomachia* of *Prudentius*; a Paraphrase upon *Sedulius's* Poem about the Miracles of Jesus Christ, and some other Works.

Of the Ecclesiastical Writers that flourished in the 15th. Century.

Elus Antony de Lebrixa.

I shall now present you with an Account of some Authors whose Works are lost, which we have from *Trithemius*, who has preserved the Names of the Authors, and the Titles of their Books.

JOHAN of *Duren*, of the Order of Friars Minors, who wrote some Sermons and Treatises upon conceal'd Vices, and Confession.

Tilman of *Hachenberg*, of the same Order, the Author also of some Sermons.

Hugo of *Sletstat*, a German Doctor, who wrote some Treatises of School-Divinity.

Paul of *Venice*, of the Order of Hermites of St. *Austine*, the Author of a Treatise against the Jews, of some Sermons, and many Books of Philosophy.

James of *Theffalonica*, of the Order of F. F. Preachers, the Author of some Sermons.

Thomas of *Hasselbach* a German Doctor, and Reader of Divinity in the University of *Vienna*, who spent 21 years in commenting upon the first Chapter of *Isaiah*, and was the Author of a Commentary

upon the Books of Sentences, of many Sermons, of a Treatise about the Decalogue, and of a Treatise about the five Senses of a Man.

Thomasinus, of the Order of F. F. Preachers, the Author of many Sermons.

Nicholas a Monk, of the Monastery of the Holy Cross, of the Order of *Cisterciens* in *Austria*, who wrote 3 Books in honour of the Virgin, and some Sermons.

Francis Bachon, and *Michael Herbrant* of *Duren*, of the Order of Carmelites, the Authors of some Sermons, and Works about their own Order.

Peter of *Spira*, of the Order of the Hermites of St. *Austine*, the Author of some Sermons, and philosophical Works.

Writers of the 15th. Century, whose Works are lost.

Reinard of Frontbovin, the Author of some Sermons.

Henry of Coeffelde, a Carthusian, who wrote Commentaries upon *Exodus*, and the Epistle to the *Romans*, and compos'd Treatises about the monastick Vows, against the Property of Monks, about the Institution of Novices; of the 3 monastick Observances, of the Sacrament of the Altar, of the mystical Circumcision; a Panegyrick upon *St. Paul* the Hermite, some Sermons, and Letters. He died the 19th. of July, in the year 1410. in the Carthusian Monastery at *Bruges*.

Henry of Hachemburg, of the Order of Friars Preachers, the Author of some Sermons.

Fourdain, of the Order of the Hermites of *St. Augustine*, the Author of a Commentary upon the Revelations of *St. John*, of an Apology for his own Order, and many Sermons.

Peter Bishop of *Citta-Nuova* in *Italy*, who wrote a Dictionary of the History of the Bible, a Commentary upon the Books of Sentences, and upon the whole Bible almost.

Vincent Gruner a Professor in the University of *Leipsick*, who wrote three Books upon the Mass, and divers Questions.

John of Aurbach, a Priest of *Bamberg*, who wrote a Treatise of the Sacraments of the Church.

John Dominici a *Florentine*, of the Order of Friars Preachers, was made Cardinal by *Gregory* the fourth, commonly called Cardinal of *Ragusa*, and was sent by this Pope to the Council of *Constance*, died while it was sitting. He wrote many considerable Books, viz. Commentaries upon *Ecclesiastes*, upon the *Canticles*, the Gospel of *St. Matthew*, the *Magnificat*, and the Epistle to the *Romans*; a Piece intitled *The Lamp of the Night*, and another, *The Itinerary of Devotion*, and a third, of the Love of Charity; many Sermons, and some other Works.

John Bishop of *Lombes*, a Native of *Basil*, wrote upon the Sentences, and compos'd many Sermons.

John Zachary of *Erford*, wrote upon the Sentences, 4 Commentaries upon the *Pentateuch*, and the Epistles of *St. Paul*, and some Sermons.

Gabriel of *Spoletto*, of the Order of F.F. Hermites of *St. Augustine*, wrote against the Hereticks, and the *Fratricelli*.

Peter Maurocenus a *Venetian*, and Cardinal, wrote upon the Decretals.

John of Dendermonde a Carthusian, the Author of many Treatises of Piety, viz. Of the Knowledge of God, of the Restoration of fall'n Man, of the Joy of Man, of the Faith of Christians, of the Conception of the Virgin *Mary*, of the Nature and Fall of Man, of the Love of God, the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Honour of God.

Anthony of *Genes* an *Augustine*, the Author of a Treatise about the Figures of Morality.

Anthony of *Parma*, General of the Order of *Carmalduli*, the Author of some Sermons.

All these Authors flourish'd from the beginning of this Century, till about the year 1420.

John Plaeth a Professor of the University of *Heidelberg*, wrote upon the first Book of the Decretals, and the first Book of the Sentences; and compos'd a Treatise against the *Bohemians*, and many Sermons.

John Dieppourg surnam'd of *Francfort*, a Doctor of the same University, wrote against the *Hussites*, a Treatise of Predestination, some Discourses, and Sermons.

Henry Gulpen, an Abbot of the Monastery of *St. Giles* of *Nuremberg*, of the Order of *St. Benedict*, wrote a Treatise of Penance, one of Consecration, and another of the Passion of *Jesus Christ*.

Rodolphus of *Brussels*, in the Bishoprick of *Spira*, a Professor in the University of *Heidelberg*, wrote Questions upon the Sentences, some Sermons and Discourses to the Fathers of the Council of *Basil*.

Henry of *Gande*, a Professor in the same University, wrote a Book of Questions upon the Sentences,

a Treatise of Celebration, divers Questions and Discourses.

Nicholas of *Susat*, a German Doctor, wrote upon the Sentences, some Sermons, and Questions.

John Gritsch, of the Order of Friars Minors, the Author of some Sermons.

John Noblet of *Paris*, of the Order of Carmelites, wrote a Commentary upon the four Books of Sentences, seven Books upon the canonical Epistles, and a Centiloquy of *Enigma's*.

Eimeric du Ghamp, Vice-Chancellor to the University of *Cologne*, and deputed by this University to the Council of *Basil*, wrote a Piece about the Authority of Councils, a Commentary upon the 4 Books of Sentences, an Abridgment of Theology, divers Questions, and Sermons.

Nicholas Lackman, of the Order of Friars Minors, wrote upon the Sentences, and some Sermons.

Peter of *Colle*, of the same Order, wrote a Treatise of the Authority of a Council, Commentaries upon the Sentences, and some Sermons.

Herman, a Monk of the Order of *Cistercians*, of the Diocels of *Munster*, wrote also of the Power of the Pope, and a Council; a Treatise of Schism, and another of Neutrality.

John Garwer, a Carmelite, of *Mayence*, wrote a Treatise upon the 4 Books of Sentences, a Commentary upon *Exodus*, a Harmony of the Gospels, 3 Courses of Lent Sermons, and many others.

All these Authors flourish'd from the time of the Council of *Basil*, until the year 1440.

Gerard of *Stredam* a *Hollander*, and a Carthusian, who died in 1443. wrote the following Treatises, of pastoral Care, of the 7 Sacraments, of Virtues and Vices, of the Precepts of the Decalogue, some Sermons, and a Mirror of the Regulars.

John Ernest, a Doctor of *Heidelberg*, is the Author of 2 Books of Questions, of a Treatise about the Authority of a Council, of many Sermons, and some Discourses.

Bartholomew a Carthusian, of the Monastery of *Ruremonde*, wrote many Treatises of Morality, whereof some are to be met with in Manuscript in the Monastery of the Carthusians of *Cologne*, where he died, in the Month of July, in 1446. and among others, the Treatises of the Passions, of the Virtues, of Prayer, Humility, fraternal Correction, of the Praise of the Regulars, of Abstinence from Meat in the Order of *Cistercians*, and a dogmatical Treatise of the Authority of the Council above the Pope.

Henry of *Werlis*, of the Order of Friars Minors, of the Province of *Cologne*, wrote upon the Sentences, and a Treatise of Ecclesiastical Power, and some Sermons.

Andrew of *Utrecht*, a Monk of the Abby of *Spanheim*, the Author of many Treatises of Piety.

John of *Rode* of *Treves*, after he had taken his Degrees in the University of *Heidelberg*, and possess'd several Benefices, became a Carthusian in the Monastery of *Treves*, and was afterwards removed from thence by the Archbishop, to be made Abbot of the Monastery of *St. Matthias*, in that City, of the Order of *St. Benedict*, and to reform it; who died there in 1439. He wrote a Book of Constitutions, and of the Qualifications of an Abbot.

John Canneman a German, of the Order of Friars Minors, created himself much trouble, by asserting some bold Propositions about Ecclesiastical Power; he was the Author of an Apology in his own defence, of many Sermons, and some Questions.

John of *Malines*, a Doctor in Divinity, of the University of *Cologne*, wrote upon the Sentences and *Psalms*, many Questions and Sermons. These 2 last Authors flourish'd about 1460.

John Abbot of *Nivelle*, wrote a Concordance of the Bible, and some Sermons.

James Zenus, a Patrician of *Venice*, who died in 1477. wrote the Lives of the Popes.

William Forleon, of the Order of Friars Minors, a Doctor of *Paris*, Master to *Stephen Brulifer*, wrote upon the Sentences.

Writers of the 15th. Century, whose Works are lost.

Ambrose Coriolan, General of the *Augustines*, was the Author of the Commentaries upon the Rule of St. *Austine*, of his Life, and a Panegyrick upon this Saint, and some Discourses.

Benedict Stendel of *Halles* a German, Doctor of the University of *Erford*, the Author of a Commentary upon the *Pentateuch*, and some Sermons.

Siffroy, of the Order of Friars Preachers, a Titular Bishop of *Cyrene*, and Vicar of the Archbishop of *Mayence*, wrote a Treatise of Usury, and another of Taxes and Redemption, some Sermons, Conferences, and Questions.

Godeschalchus of *Meschede*, a German of *Westphalia*, Doctor of the University of *Erford*, wrote upon the Sentences, some Sermons, Conferences, and Questions.

Henry of *Piro*, a Doctor of *Cologne*, and afterwards a Carthusian, wrote some Observations upon the Statutes of his Order, a Treatise to the Novices, and some Sermons.

John Tinctor, a Doctor of *Cologne*, wrote a Piece about the Differences between *Scotus*, and St. *Thomas*, and some Questions upon the Sentences.

John Beetz, of the Order of Carmelites, wrote a Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Romans*; some Treatises about the Law of God, about the Sacraments of the Altar, and some Sermons.

Gerard of *Elten*, a Doctor of *Cologne*, and Inquisitor, wrote some Questions upon the Sentences, some other Questions, some Sermons, and Conferences.

John Soret, General of the Carmelites, wrote upon the Sentences, some Commentaries upon the Rule of his Order, and some Constitutions.

John of *Lutrie*, a Doctor of *Erford*, wrote upon the Sentences, some Sermons and Questions.

Alanus de la Roche, of the Order of Friars Preachers, being very devout towards the Virgin, wrote an Abridgment of the Virgin's *Psalter*, a Treatise of the Miracles of the *Rosary*, and some Sermons.

Conrad of *Zaberne*, a German, wrote some Treatises about Singing, and some Sermons.

Laurentius Calcanus, of *Bresse*, a Knight, and Doctor of Law, wrote a Piece recommending hard Study, and about the Conception of the Virgin *Mary*, and of the 7 Mortal Sins.

John of *Dorsten*, a German, of the Order of the *Hermites* of St. *Austine*, wrote some Sermons.

Angelus le Saxon, of *Brunswick*, a Doctor of *Erford*, and Preacher at *Mayence*, wrote a Treatise upon the Canon of the Mass, some Questions, and Sermons.

Theodoric of *Herxen*, a German, of the Order of Friars of the common Life, wrote many Treatises of Piety, among the rest, some considerations upon the *Psalms*, upon the *Lord's-Prayer*, upon the *Ave-Maria*, the Passion of our Lord, and the desire of Death.

Dominic de Dominicis, a Venetian, Bishop of *Torcello*, and afterwards of *Bresse*, was the Author of some Treatises, and Sermons.

Lodovic Donat, a Venetian Bishop of *Bergamo*, wrote upon the Sentences, and some Discourses.

Conrad of *Rodemburg*, Abbot of the Monastery of St. *John* of *Richenaw*, of the Order of St. *Benedict*, wrote in honour of the Virgin a thick Volume, intitled, *The Vine of the Lord of Hosts*; because in praising her, he made use of the similitude of a Cluster of Grapes. He wrote also the Exercise of Novices, a Preparation to the Mass, a Discourse about the Ruine of his Order; another about the Causes of the Ruine, and a 3d. about Pastoral Care, and many Conferences held in the Chapter of his Order. This Author died in the year 1486. on the 25th. of December.

Stephen of *Caiete*, a Neapolitan, dedicated to *John* of *Bentevole*, Counsellor to *Ferdinand* King

V o L. III.

of *Sicily*, a Treatise of the Sacraments, divided into 7 Books.

George Molitoris, of *Nuremberg*, Professor of Divinity at *Erford*, wrote upon the Sentences and some Sermons, and Questions.

Nicholas of *Wachenheim*, Professor in the University of *Heidelberg*, wrote some Questions upon the Sentences, some Sermons, and Conferences.

Michael of *Milan*, of the Order of Friars Minors, was the Author of many Sermons upon several Subjects.

John Cousin, a Portuguese, of the Order of the Carmelites, refuted the Heresies of his time by Word of Mouth, and by Writing, and wrote a great Volume about Contracts and Exchanges, intitled, *Of Commutative Justice*, divided into 4 Books, and also many Sermons.

Henry Prudent, a Prior of the Carthusian Monastery at *Bruges*, died in the year 1484. He was the Author of a Tetralogue of Devotion, divided into 3 Parts; wherein he brings in as Speakers, an Angel, and a Monk, Jesus the Heavenly Father, and the Virgin.

Francis Diede, a Venetian, the Author of the Life of St. *Roch*, some Discourses, and Letters.

Tilman a Canon Regular of St. *Austine*, in the Monastery of St. *Christophlus*, of *Ravensburg*, in the Diocese of *Mayence*, wrote some pieces of Devotion, as of the Spiritual Vine, of the Instruction of Novices, and some other little Exercises.

Nicholas of *Creutznach* profess'd Divinity at *Vienna*, in *Austria*, towards the end of this Century, has left us 4 Books of Questions upon the Sentences, a Collection of Conferences and Discourses, many Sermons, and a Treatise of the Conception of the Virgin. He died in the year 1491.

Nicasius, of *Voerde*, of *Malines*, tho' he became blind at 3 years of Age, yet this did not hinder him from acquiring great Knowledge in the Liberal Arts; for he was Professor of Law at *Cologne*, was admitted Licentiate in Divinity at *Louvain*, was ordain'd Priest by a Dispensation from the Holy See. He was a Preacher, Confessor, and could say Mass by heart; he was admitted Doctor of Law at *Cologne*, and has left a Commentary upon the 4 Books of Sentences, many Sermons, divers Questions and Letters address'd to *Trithemius*, who is a Credible Witness of the Truth of a Fact so extraordinary as this. He died in 1492.

Benedict Capra, a Lawyer of *Prussia*, wrote upon the Decretals, and also *John Andrew* Bishop of *Aleria*, in the Isle of *Corfu*.

The greater part of the preceding Writers flourish'd after the year 1470. and died about the year 1490. those which follow, liv'd to the year 1494. wherein *Trithemius* finish'd his Treatise of Ecclesiastical Writers.

Dominic Bolan, a Venetian, the Author of a Treatise about the Conception of the Virgin.

James of *Straelen*, a Divine of *Cologne*, wrote upon the Revelations.

John Pheffer, of *Widemburg*, the Founder of the College of *Fribourg*, wrote a Commentary upon the Epistles of St. *Paul*, and a Sacerdotal Directory.

Baptista de Ferrara, of the Order of Carmelites, wrote a History from the beginning of the World, intitled *Florida*; a Treatise of the Decay of the Roman Empire, a Chronicle of *Ferrara*, a Chronicle of his own Order, a Treatise of *Mount-Sinai*, 3 Books of the Life of St. *Mathilda*, and several Sermons.

Peter Brutus, Bishop of *Catara*, a great Enemy to the Jews, has left us a considerable Work against them.

William, of *Aix la Chapelle*, a Preacher at *Basil*, and Reader at *Erford*, wrote upon the Gospel of St. *John*, upon the Passion of our Lord, an Itinerary of the Holy-Land, some Questions, and some Sermons.

Writers of the 15th. Century, whose Works are lost. Laurence Burel of Dijon, of the Order of Carmelites, wrote an *Heliad*, and a Treatise of the illustrious Men of his own Order.

Hubert Leonard, of the same Order, a Doctor of Paris, an Inquisitor of the Faith in the Country of Liege, was made Bishop of *Daria*: He has left some considerable Works, as a Commentary upon the Gospel of St. Luke, a Treatise of Ecclesiastical Immunities, a Book against the Hereticks of *Nivelle*, a Course of Sermons for *Lent*, and many other Sermons; not to mention his Genealogy of the Noblemen of *France*, and an account of their Actions.

John of Milbach, a Divine of *Erford*, wrote upon the Epistles of St. Paul, and an Encomium of St. Jerome, and some Sermon, and Questions.

John of Roseau, a German, of the Order of Carmelites, left the Commentaries upon the Book of Wisdom, upon the Psalm *Beati Immaculati*, upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, and some Sermons.

John Bertram, of *Newburg*, taught at *Erford*, and *Mayence*, and left a Prologue to the Bible, some Conferences and a Treatise of the price of the Mass.

John of Keyserberg, a German, and a Preacher at *Strasburg*, wrote many Sermons, and to him we owe the first Edition of *Gerson's Works*.

Sebastian Ticion, or Brant of *Strasburg*, the Author of many Christian Poems.

James Wimpelinge, a Priest of the Church of *Spire*, wrote a Poem, which is dedicated to *Bertholdus* Archbishop of *Mayence*, intitled *Of a Threefold Candor*; a Piece in praise of the Virgin Mary,

Writers of the 15th. Century, whose Works are lost. the Office of the Compassion of the Virgin, an Encomium of the Church of *Spire*, a Discourse about the Holy Spirit, some other Discourses, and Letters.

Josse Besselius, a German, wrote divers Pieces of Profane Learning, and some Ecclesiastical, as that of the Ambition of a Christian, and some Tracts upon the Rosary.

Giles Nettelet, Dean of the Church of *Cambrai*, wrote a Collection of Morals, taken out of the Epistles of St. Jerome.

Theodoric of *Osebruck*, a German, of the Order of Friars Minors, and Preacher at *Cologne*, wrote a Treatise of the Passion of our Lord, a Manual of Simples, and a Discourse of interior Exercise, which he read to *Trithemius*.

Jerome of *Padua*, and Dominic Manchini, Italians, wrote each of them a Poem upon the Passion of our Lord.

We have omitted a Writer who is considerable for his numerous Works, whereof there is only one in print, and that is John of Hagen, or de Indagine, a Carthusian, who was admitted into the Carthusian Monastery of *Erford*, about the year 1440. and liv'd till about the year 1475. *Trithemius* has given us a Catalogue of a great number of this Author's Spiritual Treatises, and *Petreus* has added to them a great many more, in his Carthusian Library, which make up a Catalogue of many Pages, containing 433 Titles of divers Treatises, Moral, Spiritual, or Affectick. The two Books of the Perfection and Exercises of the Order of the Carthusians, were printed at *Cologne*, in the year 1608.

CHAP. V.

The History of the Greek Writers in the Fifteenth Century, and of their Works.

Of the Greek Writers in the 15th. Century. **T**HO' the Greek Empire was now in its Declension, yet it still afforded a great many Inquisitive Men, who applied themselves to the Study of Eloquence, Philosophy, and Divinity, even till it was utterly ruin'd. The Disputes they had with the *Latins* oblig'd them to study the subjects about which they contested, and to read their ancient Writers; but at the same time these Disputations made them negligent of other matters, accusom'd their Minds to excessive subtlety, and inspir'd them with such a Spirit of cavilling and contention, as they could not easily shake off afterwards. Those who liv'd in the Age whereof we are now speaking, had still some remainder of good Learning; but those who came after them, did continually degenerate, and at last sunk into that Ignorance, not to say Stupidity, in which we see them at this present. And therefore the Writers whereof we shall now give an account, may be look'd upon as the last good Authors among the Greeks.

Simeon of Thessalonica. Simeon, Archbishop of *Thessalonica*, flourish'd at the beginning of this Century, and render'd himself equally famous for his Virtue, and his Learning. His principal Work is a Treatise of the Liturgy; wherein he explains what belongs to Churches, Ministers, Sacerdotal Habits, the Celebration of the Mass, and the other Ceremonies of the Church, which was publish'd by Father Goart in his Collection of the Greek Rituals: He wrote also a Book against Heresies, by way of Dialogue, wherein he has collected the passages of Scripture, and the Fathers about Matters of Faith, and the Sacraments of the Church, which is to be found in Manuscript in the Libraries of the *Vatican*, and the Emperor, and out of which Father Morin has given us an Extract about the Sacrament of Penance, at the end of his Book about Penance. There are also many other Treatises in

Of the Greek Writers in the 15th. Century. Manuscript of this Author in the *Vatican Library*, of which *Allatius* has publish'd the following Titles; viz. 85 Answers to the Questions of *Gabriel* of *Pentapolis*; a Treatise of the Priesthood, dedicated to a Monk; an Explication of the Creed; another Exposition of the Creed, wherein he shews whence the Articles were taken, and against whom they were drawn up; twelve Articles which contain the whole Faith of Christians, a Treatise against the Innovations of the *Latins*. Simeon died in 1429.

Joseph Briennius. Joseph Briennius, a Monk of *Constantinople*, flourish'd under the Empire of *Manuel Paleologus*, in the time of the Patriarch Joseph, and discharg'd the Office of a Preacher. He has left us 18 Discourses about the Trinity, against the Doctrine of the *Latins*, concerning the Procession of the Holy Spirit, which are to be found in Manuscript in the *Vatican Library*, where *Allatius* who quotes them, saw them. He quotes also 2 Sermons of the same Author about a future Judgment, and eternal Happiness. He observes in one of these Discourses, that he spoke it in the year 1420. after the Birth of our Lord.

Macarius Macres. Macarius Macres, a Monk of Mount *Athos*, flourish'd about the same time: He was sent by the Emperor John Paleologus, with Mark Jagre into Italy, to Pope Martin V. where he died, January 7th. in 1431. He wrote a Treatise about the Procession of the Holy Spirit, against the *Latins*.

Demetrius Chrysoloras. Demetrius Chrysoloras flourish'd under the Empire of *Manuel Paleologus*, who had a great respect for him. He wrote against the *Latins* a Synoptical Discourse taken out of the Works of Nil of *Thessalonica*; a Dialogue to shew that the Orthodox ought not to accuse others who are Orthodox; and lastly, a Dialogue against a Piece which Demetrius Cydonius wrote against Nil Cabasilas.

At the same time liv'd Macarius Archbishop of *Ancyra*, of *Ancyra*.

Ancyra, who wrote a Treatise against the *Latins*, at the end whereof he has added also *Barlaam*, *Acindynus*, and their Followers.

At the same time also, *Nicholas Sclegia* published against the *Latins* a Collection of Authorities out of the Fathers, about the Procession of the Holy Spirit, which falling into the hands of a Monk of *Cyprus*, call'd *Esaias*; this Monk wrote a Letter to confute it, address'd to Pope *Nicholas*, wherein he undertakes to shew that *Sclegia* did mis-understand the passages of the Fathers which he alledges; whereupon the latter wrote a very sower Answer to the Letter of *Esaias*. *Allatius* who saw these Works in Manuscript, relates a part of *Esaias's* Letter.

The Conferences of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, at the Council of *Florence*, discover'd the Judgment and Eloquence of the most able Men among the *Greeks*, and gave occasion to many Books; but some among them sincerely embrac'd the Union with the *Latins*, and wrote afterwards in defence of it; whereas on the contrary, others remain'd in their former Sentiments, and continued still to write against the *Latins*. Among the latter, the most considerable is * *Marcus Eugenius*, who having for a long time profess'd to teach Eloquence, was appointed Archbishop of *Ephesus*, and made choice of to speak in behalf of the *Greeks*, at the Conferences they were to have in the West with the *Latins*. There he maintain'd their Cause with all the subtlety and vigour which they could desire, and was almost the only Person who would not sign the Decree of Union; and in fine, the 1st, who stood up and wrote against it, after the *Greeks* who had been at *Florence* were return'd to *Constantinople*. There are in the 13th. Tome of the Councils 2 Circular Letters of his address'd to all Christians; against the Council of *Florence*. He wrote a Profession of Faith, which is to be found in Manuscript in the *Vatican* Library, as also a Treatise about the Procession of the Holy Spirit against the *Latins*; a Letter to the Emperor *John Paleologus*, and another Letter to *George Scholarius*, against the Rites and Sacrifice of the Church of *Rome*. There is also a Treatise to shew that Consecration is made not only by the Words of our Lord, but also by the Prayer and Blessing of the Priest, which is printed among the Liturgies. There is in the Acts of the Council of *Florence*, and in the History of *Sguropulus*, a part of the Discourses which he spoke in this Council, and there are in the King's Library some other Manuscript Works of the same Author; as 2 Discourses of Purgatory, spoken at *Ferrara*; Answers to the Questions of the Cardinals, and about the Consecration of the Body of Jesus Christ: the Solution of two Questions propos'd by the Emperor, and some Letters against the *Latins*.

Mark Eugenius had a Brother nam'd *John*, who came with him to the Council of *Florence*, and there adher'd to the same Party, who also wrote a Piece against the Council of *Florence*, out of which *Allatius* relates some Fragments, in his Book of Purgatory.

George Gemistius Plethon, a celebrated *Platonick* Philosopher, did no less oppose the Union than *Mark of Ephesus*; he set himself against the Proposal which was made of beginning a Conference with the *Latins*; he gave Advices contrary to the Union in the Council of *Florence*; he derided it when it was made, and stood up against it after he was return'd to *Constantinople*; he liv'd a long time, and wrote against the *Latins*. *Allatius* mentions two Treatises which he wrote about the Procession of the Holy Spirit, which are in Manuscript, in the *Vatican* Library. *Bessarion* who had been his Scholar, writing to his Children after his death, gives a fine Encomium of him. There are many Historical or Philosophical Works of this Author in print.

To *Gemistius* we must join another Philosopher, nam'd *Amirutzes* of *Trebizonde*, who was present also at the Council of *Florence*, disallow'd the Union,

and wrote against it after he return'd to *Constantinople*; his end was unhappy, for he apostatiz'd, and became a *Mahometan*.

We must not forget to place among the rest *Silvester Sguropulus*, or *Scyropulus*, Grand Ecclesiarch of the Church of *Constantinople*; who came with the Patriarch to the Council of *Florence*, was present there; was always against the Union, and yet sign'd it, but he was no sooner return'd to *Constantinople*, but he declar'd openly against it, and wrote the History of the Council of *Florence* after such a manner as was little to the advantage of that Council. This has been translated and published by *Robert Creighton*, a Doctor of the Religion in *England*, and afterwards Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*; and printed at the *Hague*, in 1660. It is written by way of Memoirs but with much fineness and purity; the Translation of it is not faithful in some places; * and the Translator speaking of the Ceremonies of the Church, does often make use of contemptuous and reproachful terms, which do not at all agree with those which are in the Original.

We must place in the number of those who were Enemies to the *Latins*, *George Scholarius* a Monk, who is different from the *George Scholarius* who wrote for the *Latins* in the Council of *Florence*; for this, of whom we speak, was a Scholar and Friend to *Mark of Ephesus*, and is the Author of a Treatise against the Council of *Florence*, printed in *Greek* at *London*, without the date of the year. He wrote many Letters which *Allatius* saw, and quoted.

Lastly, we must add to these Authors *Manuel* or *Michael Apostolius*, a learned Man, but poor, whom Cardinal *Bessarion* maintain'd a long time; but he being mov'd by Envy against those learned Men who deserv'd praise and commendation from him; set himself to write against them, and so drew upon his Head the rebukes of *Bessarion*, who abandon'd him; insomuch that he was forc'd to retire about the end of this Century into the Isle of *Crete*, where he got a livelihood by writing Books, and teaching Children. Then it was that he wrote a Treatise against the Doctrine of the *Latin* Church, contain'd in the Decree of Union made by the Council of *Florence*; which is publish'd by Monsieur *Le Moine*, in his Collection of Pieces. He wrote also a Treatise of the Procession of the Holy Spirit against *Plethon*, wherein he reprimands that Philosopher, because he did not found his Doctrine upon Principles of Divinity, but upon Arguments of Philosophy, whereof *Allatius* makes mention.

Among the *Greeks* who sincerely embrac'd the Union and maintain'd it to the last, there was none more illustrious than *Bessarion*, who from being a Monk of the Order of *St. Basil*, was advanc'd to be Archbishop of *Nice*, that he might assist and speak in behalf of the *Greeks*, at the Conferences with the *Latins*. He behav'd himself worthily in this Employment, and spoke with a great deal of Eloquence in the Council of *Florence*. After he had disputed earnestly for the *Greeks*, he came to a temper, and was the chief Promoter of the Union: By this means he became odious to the *Greeks*, who were displeased with it, and therefore he stay'd in *Italy*, and was honour'd with the dignity of a Cardinal, or rather he honour'd the Purple which he wore, by his learning wisdom and piety. He deserv'd to have been Pope, and should have been so, if he would have made some advances to obtain that supreme dignity, but he prefer'd retirement, study and repose before the Pontifical Dignity, and thought that he could not in conscience seek after it. He died in 1472. aged 77 years, after his return from his Embassy into *France*, whither he had been sent by the Pope.

The Works of *Bessarion* which now remain are these which follow; a Treatise of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and of the Words of Consecration, wherein he proves that the Bread and Wine are chang'd into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, by vertue of the Words of our Lord, and not by Prayer;

Of the Greek Writers in the 15th. Century
Nicholas Sclegia.
Esaias.

Of the Greek Writers in the 15th. Century
Silvester Sguropulus.

* Marcus Eugenius, Archbishop of Ephesus.

* Here Dupin should have mention'd the Places.

George Scholarius,

Manuel, or Michael.

Bessarion.

John Eugenius.

George Gemistius Plethon.

Amirutzes.

Of the
Greek
Writers in
the 15th
Century.

er; and answers the objections of the *Greeks*, by explaining their Liturgy according to the Doctrine of the *Greek Fathers*; a dogmatical Discourse about the causes of Schism, and another about Union, in the Acts of the Council of *Florence*; a Treatise address'd to *Alexis Lascaris*, concerning the Procession of the Holy Spirit, and in defence of the Definition of the Council of *Florence*, related in the 13th. Tome of the Councils, p. 1228. A Letter of the Procession of the Holy Spirit, an Apology for *Veccus*, together with a confutation of the Treatise of *Palamas*; a Letter to those of the Patriarchate of *Constantinople*, and an Answer to 4 Arguments of *Planudes* about the Procession of the Holy Spirit; which Works were publish'd by *Arcadius*, and printed at *Rome*, in 1630. These are all the theological Works of *Bessarion*, not to mention those of Philosophy, which discover that he was as great a Philosopher as Divine. He defends the Philosophy of *Plato* in 4 Books, against *George of Trebizonde* who attack'd it; he wrote about that Philosopher's Books of Laws, and a Treatise of Nature and Art, address'd to *George of Trebizonde*; he translated the Metaphysics of *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*, which Works were printed at *Venice* in 1503. and 1516. He wrote a Letter to the Governor of the Children of Prince *Thomas Paleologus*, about their Education, which is publish'd by *Pontanus*, in his Notes upon the History of *Phranza*, printed at *Ingolstadt* in 1504. and by *Meursius* at *Leyden* in 1613. There was also printed at *Islebon* in 1603. an Exhortation to Christian Princes to make War against the *Turks*; and *Bzovius* has inserted into his History a Discourse which *Bessarion* made upon the death of the Emperor *Manuel Paleologus*. There are also some Letters of his in Print and in Manuscript.

George
Scholarius.

There is no *Greek* Author of this time, who has left us more Works in favour of the *Latins*, than *George Scholarius*, who was Professor at *Constantinople*, who being consulted at first by *John Paleologus*, about the Project of Union, answer'd him very freely, came afterwards with him into the West, and was present at the Council of *Florence*, where he declar'd for the Union. He wrote upon this subject a Letter address'd to the *Greek Bishops*, and 3 Discourses to the Council about Peace; and after the Council was ended, he defended stoutly the 5 Articles of its Decree, about the Procession of the Holy Spirit, unleavened Bread, Purgatory, the Happiness of Souls after death, and about the Primacy of the Pope, in an excellent Apology printed in *Latin* at *Dillingen* in 1581. in *Greek* at *Rome* in 1577. and in *Greek* and *Latin* in 1628. He wrote also a Treatise about the Procession of the Holy Spirit, against *Mark of Ephesus*, which remains imperfect, and was never yet printed. But besides these Books of Controversy with the *Greeks*, he wrote also other Treatises about Religion, viz. a Dialogue about the Mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation, between a Christian and a Mahometan, printed at *Francfort* in 1583. an Abridgment of the *Dogmata* of Religion, printed at *Basil* in 1556. and at *Helmstadt* in 1611. A Treatise of Predestination, address'd to *Joseph* a Monk of *Thessalonica*, printed at *Ausburg* in 1593. and at the end of *St. Basil's* Works of the Edition in 1618. A Discourse about the Trinity, printed at *Venice* in 1501. all which Works are in *Latin*, in the last Bibliothecque of the Fathers. He wrote also many other Treatises which are in Manuscript, or lost. This Author wrote with ease, abounds in words, is noble in his expressions, and solid in his reasonings.

Joseph.

Joseph, Bishop of *Metona*, maintain'd also the Union made at the Council of *Florence*, and wrote upon this Subject an Answer to the Treatise of *Mark of Ephesus*, against the Council of *Florence*, related at the end of the Acts of this Council.

Gregory.

Gregory, surnamed *Mamas* the *Protosyncelle*, Confessor to the Emperor, and afterwards Patriarch of *Constantinople*, after he had done much towards the Union which was made in the Council of *Florence*,

maintain'd it also against *Mark of Ephesus*, by refuting the Letter which this Author wrote against the Decree of Union, and justifying all the Articles which it contains, in an excellent Apology which is at the end of the Acts of this Council. There is also a long Letter of this Author about the Procession of the Holy Spirit, address'd to *Alexis Comnenus*, the Emperor of *Trebizonde*, wherein he justifies the Doctrine of the *Latins*, and the Addition made to the Creed. It was publish'd by *Allatius*, in the first Tome of *Orthodox Greece*.

Of the
Greek
Writers in
the 15th
Century.

To these Authors we must joyn *John Plusiadenus*, *John Plusiadenus*, under which Name we find in the same Book of *Allatius*, an Apology for the Council, written by way of Dialogue; but 'tis very probable, as *Allatius* has shewn, that this Book is *Joseph's* of *Metona*, of whom there is a Letter found against *Mark of Ephesus*, in some Manuscripts under the same Name.

Andrew Archbishop of *Rhodes*, who was sent by Pope *Eugenius* to the Council of *Basil*, where he spoke a Discourse, defended in the Council of *Florence* the cause of the *Latins*; and *Isidore* Archbishop of *Kiovia* in *Russia*, who was also one that acted for the *Latins* in this Council, ought rather to be consider'd as one for the *Latins* than for the *Greeks*, since he always adher'd to the *Latin Church*.

We may also place in this rank the Monk *Hilarion*, who wrote a Tract of unleavened Bread in the Eucharist, according to the Doctrine of the *Latins*, published by *Allatius* in the first Tome of the *Orthodox Faith*.

As to *George of Trebizonde*, and *John Argyropulus*, who retir'd into *Italy*, the former before the taking of *Constantinople*, they may be look'd upon rather as learned Men than as Divines: Nevertheless the former wrote a Letter to *John Paleologus*, exhorting him to come to *Florence*, rather than to *Basil*; two Treatises of the Procession of the Holy Spirit, against the Sentiment of the *Greeks*, which are publish'd by *Allatius* in the first Tome of *Orthodox Greece*. He treats also in the last, of the Unity of the Catholick Church, and of the Primacy of the Church of *Rome*, and alledges that the five patriarchal Churches have a kind of subordination one to another, according to their rank and degree; that during the Vacancy of the Church of *Rome*, the Government of the Universal Church belongs to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*. This Author wrote also a Discourse upon these Words of Jesus Christ, about St. *John* the Evangelist, *If I will that he tarry*, &c. wherein he alledges that St. *John* never died; which was printed at *Basil* in 1543. and the Martyrdom of St. *Andrew* of *Chio*, who was martyr'd by the *Turks*, which is related by *Surius*, at the 22d. of May. He translated many Works of the Fathers, viz. the Commentaries of St. *Cyril* upon the Gospel of St. *John*, and his 14 Treatises about the Trinity, many Homilies of St. *Chrysostome*, the Treatise of St. *Gregory Nyssen*, of the Life of *Moses*, the Books of St. *Basil* against *Eunomius*, and *Eusebius's* Treatise of Evangelical Preparation. As to *John Argyropulus*, the only theological Treatise which we have of his, is a Work of the Procession of the Holy Spirit, in defence of the Decree of the Council of *Florence*, which is publish'd by *Allatius* in the first Tome of *Orthodox Greece*.

There are also some other *Greek* Authors of this Century, whose Works are purely historical, as *George Phranza* an Officer of the Emperor's Court, who wrote the *Byzantine History*, from the year 1260. to the year 1476. which is published by *Pontanus*, and printed at *Ingolstadt* in 1604.

Matthew Camariote, who wrote a Letter about the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Turks*, made Commentaries upon *Synesius*, and a Treatise of the Light of *Thabor*, against the *Barlaamites*.

Ducas wrote the *Byzantine History* from the year 1341. to the year 1462. which was printed at *Paris* in 1649.

Ducas.

George

George Codinus Curolopatu, was the Author of divers Pieces about the State, the Empire and City of *Constantinople*, which are printed at *Paris* in 1655. *Laonicus Chalchondylus* wrote the History of the *Turks*, from the year 1300. to the year 1463, which is printed in *Latin* at *Paris*, in 1550. and at *Basil* in

1556. and 1562. in *Greek* and *Latin* at *Geneva* in 1615. and at *Paris* in 1650. *Nicholas Secundinus*, who serv'd as an Interpreter to the Council of *Florence*, wrote an Abridgment of the History of the *Turks*, until the taking of *Constantinople*, which is printed at *Louvain* in 1553.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Councils that were held in the Fifteenth Century.

THERE were very few Provincial or National Councils held in the fifteenth Century, the Church being then divided by Schisms,

and busied in attending upon General Councils. Here follow some which are most remarkable.

The Council of Oxford, in the Year 1408.

THE Council held at *Oxford*, in 1408. by *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, made 13 Regulations, to put a stop to the Progress of *Wicklef's* Errors.

The 1st. is, that no Ecclesiastick, Secular or Regular, shall be admitted to preach the Word of God, until he has been examin'd and approv'd by the Bishop of the Diocess.

The 2^d. that no person shall be permitted to preach in the Church, or in the Church-yard, unless he be approv'd.

The 3^d. that the Preachers shall preach after a manner suitable to their Auditory, without inveighing against the disorders of the Clergy.

The 4th. that nothing shall be taught about the Sacraments, or the Faith, but what is agreeable to the Doctrine of the Church.

The 5th. that Masters of Arts shall not treat of Divinity, nor suffer their Scholars to treat of it.

The 6th. that no Books shall be published, which are not approv'd by the Universities of *Oxford*, or *Cambridge*, or by twelve Doctors chosen by the University, with the consent of the Bishops.

The 7th. that no Translation shall be made of the Scripture into the Vulgar Tongue, which is not approv'd by the Ordinary.

The 8th. that no Proposition shall be advanced which has a bad sense, under pretence that 'tis capable of a good sense.

The 9th. that the Points of Doctrine decided by the Church shall not be disputed, and the Authority of the Decretals and synodal Constitutions shall not be oppos'd.

The 10th. that a Priest shall not be admitted to celebrate Divine Service out of his own Diocess, without a Testimonial from his Bishop.

The 11th. that the Heads of Colleges shall take care to inform themselves of the Life and Manners of their Scholars, and to punish those who are convicted of Heresie.

The 12th. that those who do not observe these Constitutions shall be thrust out of their Benefices.

The 13th. that the Process shall be drawn up summarily and extraordinarily in matters of Heresie, as in cases of High-treason.

The Council of Saltzburg, in 1420.

Eberhard Archbishop of *Saltzburg*, Legate to the Holy See, held in the year 1420. in his Metropolitan City a Council, wherein he publish'd 34 Decrees.

In the 1st. he declares that 'tis an error to teach that a Curate or Priest who is in a state of mortal Sin cannot absolve or consecrate; and that 'tis not true that a Bishop or Curate cannot absolve a Priest from the crime of Fornication.

The 2^d. is, that provincial and diocesan Synods shall be held as is ordain'd by the Holy Canons.

The 3^d. abrogates the customs that are establish'd contrary to the liberty of Churches.

The 4th. ordains, that no person shall be admitted to Holy Orders, who has not first confess'd.

The 6th. excludes Bastards from the Order of the Clergy.

The 7th. forbids inferior Judges to hinder an Appeal to a Superior.

The 8th. orders Parish-Priests to give an honourable Revenue to their Curates.

The 9th. forbids to pronounce a Sentence of Interdict lightly, or impertinently.

The 10th. explains the duty of Prelates, and to whom they ought to have a regard in their Visitations.

The 11th. forbids the Chaplains of private Chapels to celebrate Divine Service there, without making their submission to the Bishop or Archdeacon, and enjoyns them to come to Synods.

The 12th. deprives those who extort Absolutions by violence, of the benefit of them.

The 13th. ordains that no person shall be excus'd for neglecting to execute the order of his Superior, under pretence of loss of Goods, or corporal damage, unless the thing be prov'd, and that as to negative commands, no excuse shall be admitted.

The 14th. that Resignations of a Right shall be made in the presence of the Bishop, or the Official, after the parties shall have taken an Oath that they are serious.

The 15th. regulates the manner of citing those whom the Curates dare not cite, because they fear them.

The 16th. forbids to traduce the Clergy before a Laical Tribunal.

The 17th. renews the Canons concerning the modesty of the Apparel of Ecclesiasticks, and forbids Regulars who are made Bishops, to quit their Religious Habit.

The 18th. deprives concubinary Clergymen of their Benefices, and declares them incapable of possessing them.

The 19th. decrees, that Clergymen who have a Benefice, before they take possession of it, shall make Oath before the Bishop or the Archdeacon, that they have not committed Simony to obtain it.

The 20th. forbids Patrons, or Collators of Benefices, to detain any thing, upon any pretence whatsoever.

The 21st. excommunicates those who have stol'n any thing, unless they restore it within a Month.

The 22^d. declares, that he who mortgages any Demain, upon the account of which he has a Right of Patronage, does not mortgage that Right.

Of Salz- burg. The 23^d. leaves Clergymen and others at liberty to make a Testament.

The 24th. ordains that Divine Service shall be said for an Archbishop or Bishop when they are dead; for the former, in all the Bishopricks of the Province, and for the second, in all the Parishes of his Diocess.

The 25th. forbids a Curate to hear Confession from, or administer the Sacraments to any person who is not of his own Parish, unless he has desir'd and obtain'd leave of the proper Parish-Priest.

The 26th. deprives of the Right of Patronage, those who rob the Churches whereof they are Patrons, after the death of the present Possessor.

The 27th. forbids Priests to give a Treat upon the day of their first Mass.

The 28th. enjoins Parish-Priests to teach their Parishioners the Form of Baptism.

The 29th. forbids the Processions which are made about Churches.

The 30th. ordains that the Constitutions of the Council of *Constance* against Simoniacks, shall be published 3 times in a year in the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches.

The 31st. excommunicates those who bury the Dead in a Church-yard during an Interdict.

The 32^d. is against the *Hussites*.

The 33^d. orders the Men that are Jews to wear a corner'd Cap, and the Jewish Women a little Bell, to distinguish them from others.

The 34th. is against Luxury, and the Ornaments of Women.

The Council of Cologne, in 1423.

Of Cologne. This provincial Council held under *Theodoric* Archbishop of *Cologne* made eleven Regulations.

The 1st. is against concubinary Clergymen.

The 2^d. is against the Lords who forbid their Subjects to have any commerce with Ecclesiasticks.

The 3^d. enjoins the Officials to observe the Common-Law in cases of Appeal.

The 4th. forbids under pain of Excommunication to abolish the customs introduc'd by the piety of the Faithful.

The 5th. forbids to appoint any but Priests to be Preachers of Indulgences.

The 6th. forbids Canons and other Clergymen

to prattle during the time of Divine Service, under the penalty of being depriv'd for 8 days of the Distributions.

The 7th. forbids Parish-priests to take Mendicant Monks for Vicars, when they can have others.

The 8th. concerns publick Concubinaries.

The 9th. is concerning the destruction of the *Hussites* and *Wicklefites*.

The 10th. ordains, that a Bell shall be rung every Friday at Noon, and every day at Sun-rising, and that Indulgences be granted to those who say certain Prayers when it rings.

The 11th. ordains the celebration of the Feast of the Compassion of the Virgin *Mary*.

The Council of Paris, in 1429.

Of Paris. *John* of *Nanton*, Archbishop of *Sens*, held in the Month of *April*, in 1429. a Council of the Bishops of his Province at *Paris*, where he drew up 40 Articles of Regulations concerning the

duty and behaviour of Ecclesiasticks, Monks and Canons Regular, the observation of *Sunday*, the Licenses dispensing with the Banns of Matrimony, which he forbid to grant easily.

The Council of Tortose, in 1429.

Of Tortose. IN the same year *Peter* Cardinal of *Fois*, Legate of the Holy See, held a Council in the Province of *Tarragona*, at *Tortose*, wherein he published twenty Decrees about Divine Service, the Orna-

ments of Churches, the Instruction of Youth, the Qualifications of benefic'd Men, the Rights of Bishops and Churches, &c.

The Council of Angers in 1448.

Of Angers. *John Bernard*, Archbishop of *Tours*, held a Council of his own Province at *Angers*, in 1448. wherein he made 17 Regulations.

The 1st. concerning Rescripts.

The 2^d. about the time of Ordination.

The 3^d. of the Life and Manners of Clergymen.

The 4th. of benefic'd Men who do not reside.

The 5th. of observing Silence in the Quire.

The 6th. of Plays, and Feasts that are forbidden.

The 7th. which forbids to preach out of Churches, and ordains that none shall use in preaching excessive Clamours, or extraordinary Gestures.

The 8th. forbids Abbots to detain the Goods of vacant Priories.

The 9th. regulates the Rights of Visitation.

The 10th. is against Concubinaries, and about the Forms which are to be observ'd in pronouncing an Excommunication.

The 12th. forbids clandestine Marriages, and night Revels.

The 13th. is for the Immunity of Churches.

The 14th. forbids to carry about the Relicks of the Saints for gain.

The 15th. orders that Indulgences granted by the Holy See, shall be published by persons who are knowing, and known, and of a good Life.

The 16th. concerns the publication of the Decrees of this Council.

The 17th. gives the diocesan Bishop a power to absolve from the Censures enacted by Synods.

The Council of Soissons, in 1456.

Of Soissons. *John Juvenal* of *Ursins*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, held in 1456. a Council of his Province at *Soissons*, wherein he resid'd, publish'd and or-

dain'd the execution of the Regulations made by the Council of *Basil*, which were confirm'd in the Assembly of *Bourges*.

The Council of Toledo, in 1473.

THis Council was call'd together by *Alphonfus* of *Carilla*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, in the Burrough of *Aranda*, where he publish'd 29 Regulations about Ecclesiastical Discipline.

The 1st. for the celebration of diocesan and provincial Synods.

The 2^d. enjoyns Parish-priests to take care that they instruct the people in the chief Articles of Religion.

The 3^d. forbids the promotion of those to Holy Orders, who understand not *Latin*.

The 4th. forbids to receive the Clergy of another Diocese, without a Letter from their Bishop.

The 5th. and 6th. are about the Habit of Bishops and Clergymen whereby they are forbidden to wear Garments of Silk, or such as are short, under pain of a Fine.

The 7th. is about the observation of *Sunday*, and the Festivals.

The 8th. forbids Ecclesiasticks to wear Mourning.

The 10th. forbids to admit those Ecclesiasticks who do not understand *Latin*, to Parish-cures, or Prebends.

The 11th. forbids Clergymen to play at Dice.

The 12th. enjoins Priests to celebrate Mass at least 4 times in a year, and Prelates 3 times, under pain of being fin'd.

The 13th. forbids Preachers to preach, without the Bishop's leave.

The 14th. is against inferior Clerks, who do not use the clerical Habit, and the Tonsure.

The 15th. forbids Clergymen to provide Soldiers to temporal Lords, except to the King.

The 16th. forbids to celebrate Marriage at any other time than what is permitted by the Laws of the Church, and condemns those Clergymen to be fin'd, who give the nuptial Blessing at the times forbidden.

The 17th. is against clandestine Marriages.

The 18th. excommunicates those who buy or sell the Revenues of vacant Benefices.

The 19th. forbids to act Comedies, or other Plays, to make Masquerades, to repeat Songs, or hold profane discourses in Churches.

The 20th. deprives of Christian Burial those who dye of the Wounds they have receiv'd in a Duel, even tho' they should have receiv'd the Sacrament of Penance before their death.

The 21st. ordains the same penalty against Ravers.

The 22^d. excommunicates those who prejudice the Immunities of Ecclesiasticks.

The 23^d. ordains that the Excommunication which is past in one Diocese, shall be observed in all others.

The 24th. lays an Interdict upon that place, which drives away a Clergyman by violence.

The 25th. forbids to exact or receive any thing for Ordination, either before or after it, nor so much as for the Seal, or the Wax.

The 26th. declares that the penalties enacted against benefic'd Men, shall extend to all sorts of Prelates.

The 27th. grants the Bishops power to absolve from the Censures that are past in a Synod.

The 28th, and 29th. ordain the publication of these Decrees in the diocesan and cathedral Synods.

The Council of Sens, in 1485.

This Council was assembled in 1485. a Synod at *Sens*, wherein he confirms the Constitutions made in another Synod, held 25 years before by *Louis* of *Melun*, Archbishop of *Sens*, upon 4 Heads.

The 1st. about the celebration of Divine Service.

The 2^d. about the reformation of the Clergy, the duty of Prelates, the habits and behaviour of Ecclesiasticks.

The 3^d. about the reformation of Regulars.

The 4th. about the duty of Laymen towards the Church, viz. the celebration of Festivals, the payment of Tythes, Marriages, Ecclesiastical Immunities, &c. These Regulations were drawn out of the Councils of *Basil*, of *Lateran*, from the *Pragmatick Sanction*, the Decretals and other provincial Councils.

The Council of Roan, in 1445.

WE have also 40 Articles of Constitutions, from a Council held at *Roan* in 1445. by *Raoul Ruffel*, Archbishop of that City, and the Bishops his Suffragans, which contain many good Regulations about the Discipline of the Church. There is one against the Superstition of

those who give particular Names to the Images of the Virgin, as, *Our Lady of Recovery*, of *Pity*, of *Consolation*, of *Grace*, &c. because this gives occasion to believe that there is more Vertue in one Image than another.

CHAP. VII.

An History of the Wicklefites and Hussites, of John Wicklef, John Hufs, and Jerome of Prague, of their Errors and their Condemnation.

JOHAN Wicklef, an English Doctor, and Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, and Rector of *Lutterworth* in the Diocese of *Lincoln*, flourish'd with good reputation in that University, until the Diffensions happen'd at Oxford between the Monks and the Seculars, by which he was oppress'd and engag'd to declare against the Interest of the Pope and the Church. He had been chosen by the Seculars

Head of a College, founded at Oxford for the Scholars of *Canterbury*; but the Monks being newly admitted into that College, had a mind to prefer a Regular to that Place; whereupon Wicklef and his Seculars drove them out of the College. These being expell'd had recourse to *Simon Langham*, Cardinal and Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who took them into his Protection, and order'd Wicklef to resign up

that Place to a Monk nam'd *Henry Wodebull*; but *Wicklef* refus'd to obey, whereupon the Archbishop sequestred the Revenues of the College. The Affair was carried to Pope *Urban V.* by *Wicklef* and his Associates, and he appointed a Cardinal to hear the Cause, who decided it in favour of the Monks, and order'd that *Wicklef* and his Associates should leave the College after they had made satisfaction to the Monks. The Pope confirm'd this Sentence by his Bull, publish'd in 1370. Thus *Wicklef* was obliged to resign; but this Disgrace disgusted him against the Court of *Rome*, and put him upon seeking out some way of Revenge. The belief of the Authority of the Pope and Church in Temporals was then sufficiently established in *England*, and the Jurisdiction of Bishops there was of a very large Extent. *Wicklef* set himself to oppose both the one and the other, in which Contest he found many Accomplices and Protectors, because the Doctrine which he espous'd was favourable to the King, whose Power was weakened and diminished by that of the Pope and the Bishops, to the great Lords who were in Possession of the Revenues of the Church, and had a mind to shake off the Yoke of Ecclesiastical Centures; and to the People to whom the Tax of *Peter-pence* and the other Impositions of the Church of *Rome* were burdensome. The Books of *Marfilius* of *Padua*, and *John* of *Jande*, and some other Authors, who had written of Ecclesiastical and Temporal Power according to the Interest of Princes, against the Pretensions of Popes, furnish'd him with matter enough upon this subject; and he did not only blindly follow the Extravagances into which these Authors had fall'n, but carried the matter higher, and set himself to preach and teach publickly against the Jurisdiction of the Pope and the Bishops. When this Doctrine begun to spread and make a Noise, *Simon Sudbury*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, assembled in the Month of *February*, 1377. a Council at *London*, to which he caus'd *Wicklef* to be cited, to give there an account of his Doctrine. *Wicklef* came thither accompanied with the Duke of *Lancaster*, who had then the principal share in the Government of the Kingdom (*Edward III.* drawing near his end, and being weak in Body and Mind) and with many other Lords; and there he defended himself, and was dismiss'd without any Condemnation. But Pope *Gregory XI.* being advertis'd of the Doctrine which was spread by *Wicklef* in *England*, and of the Protection he met with to save him from Condemnation, wrote to the Bishops of *England*, to cause him to be apprehended, or if they could not compass that, to cite him to *Rome*, and at the same time sent them 19 Propositions advanc'd by *Wicklef*, which he condemns as heretical and erroneous. The Doctrine contain'd in these Propositions may be referr'd to 4 Heads: The 1st. is, that God hath not given his Church Temporal Revenues to possess them always, and that Temporal Princes may take from it the Possession of them for just Reasons; the 2^d. That the Church cannot make use of Excommunication and other Censures to exact Temporal Revenues, and that Excommunication has no effect at all but only in so far as it is agreeable to the Law of God; the 3^d. That every Priest lawfully ordain'd has sufficient Power to administer the Sacraments, and consequently to absolve all contrite persons from any Sin whatsoever; the 4th. that all sort of Ecclesiasticks, even the Pope of *Rome* himself, may be reprov'd and accus'd by their Inferiors, altho' they be Laymen. These Letters of *Gregory* being brought into *England*, and delivered to the Prelates of the Kingdom after the death of King *Edward*, they held a Council at *Lambeth* about the end of this year, where *Wicklef* appear'd and now a 2^d. time avoided Condemnation by the Protection of the Lords and the People, who declar'd so stoutly for him, that the Bishops durst not do any thing but command him to be silent, after he had explain'd the Propositions in a sense wherein they may be maintain'd.

The Minority of *Richard II.* who succeeded his

Father *Edward* at twelve years of Age, gave occasion to great Insurrections of the common People against the Nobility, to the great disturbance of the Kingdom. The Seditious shook off the Yoke of the Lords, and the Magistrates refus'd to pay them their customary Dues, robb'd them of their Estates, massacred the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, made themselves Masters of *London*, kill'd the King's principal Officers; and committed an infinite number of Outrages throughout the whole Kingdom. *Wicklef* had no hand in these Seditions, altho' his Doctrine may have given occasion to them; but he continued still to spread his new Doctrines, and added to them some new Errors more dangerous than the former, and drew after him a great number of Disciples who taught the same Doctrine.

William Courtnay, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, having a mind to put a stop to this Disorder, call'd together at *London*, in *May*, 1382. a Council consisting of 8 Bishops, and many Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity and Law, wherein he condemned 24 Propositions of *Wicklef* or his Disciples viz. 10 as heretical, and 14 as erroneous, and contrary to the Definition of the Church. The 10 first are as follow, 1st. That the Substance of material Bread and Wine remains in the Sacrament after Consecration; 2^d. That the Accidents do not remain without a Subject in this Sacrament; 3^d. That Jesus Christ is not there identically, truly and really, according to his proper Corporal Presence; 4th. That a Priest who lives in Mortal Sin, does not at all ordain, consecrate or baptize; 5. That when a Man is contrite as he ought to be, his external Confession is useless; 6th. That there is no Foundation in the Gospel, to believe that Jesus Christ established the Mass; 7th. That God is obliged to obey the Devil; 8th. That if the Pope is a reprobate and a wicked Man, and consequently a Member of the Devil, he has no Power over the Faithful, except perhaps by the Emperor; 9th. That we ought not to acknowledge any Pope since *Urban VI.* and that every Nation ought to live as the *Greeks* do, according to their peculiar Laws; 10th. That it is contrary to the Holy Scripture, that Ecclesiasticks should have Temporal Revenues. The Propositions erroneous are these, 1st. That a Prelate ought not to excommunicate any Person whom he does not know to be excommunicated by God; 2^d. That he who excommunicates otherwise is a Heretick, and excommunicates himself; 3^d. That a Prelate who excommunicates a Clergyman, that appeals to the King or his Council, is a Traytor to the King and Kingdom; 4th. That those who abstain from Preaching or Hearing the Word of God, upon the Account of Excommunication from Men, are indeed excommunicated, and shall be treated as Traytors at the Tribunal of God; 5th. That a Priest or Deacon has Authority to preach the Word of God, tho' they have no Power from the Holy See, or a Bishop; 6th. That those who are in Mortal Sin are no longer Bishops or Prelates, nor so much as Temporal Lords; 7th. That Temporal Lords may take away the Temporal Revenues from Ecclesiasticks, who live in a custom of Sin, and that private Persons may correct their Superiors when they commit a Sin; 8th. That Tythes are pure Alms; that the Parishioners may detain them upon the Account of the Sins of their Pastors, and not pay them but when they please; 9th. That private Prayers applied to a Person by the Ecclesiasticks or Regulars, are no more to the Advantage of that Person than general Prayers; 10th. That those who enter into a particular Monastery, render themselves more incapable of observing the Commands of God; 11th. That the Saints who instituted Regulars, whether they be Mendicants or such as are endow'd, did sin in making such a Foundation; 12th. That the Regulars who live in private Houses, are not at all of the Christian Religion; 13th. That the Regulars are obliged to get their Livelihood by the Labour of their hands, and not by begging; 14th. That those who give Alms to the Regulars who preach, and who admit them are excommunicated. That

These Propositions being censur'd in the Assembly held June 21st. Mr. Nicholas Herford, and Philip Rappington, a Canon-Regular, Professors of Divinity, were summon'd to appear to give their Opinion about them. After they had made a General Protestation, that they would submit to the Decisions of the Church, and obey the Archbishop of Canterbury, they acknowledg'd that these Propositions were heretical and erroneous, at least in some sense, which they determin'd in their Declarations. These Restrictions did not please the Archbishop of Canterbury, who requir'd of them a pure and simple Condemnation, and caus'd tell them by the Doctors there present at the Assembly, that the Answers of these two Divines were insufficient, heretical, deceitful, erroneous and malicious.

In pursuance of this Declaration, he summon'd the Accus'd to answer purely and simply, and they being unwilling to do it off hand, he gave them time till the 27th. of the same Month. The like Admonition he gave to John Aisthon, Master of Arts in Oxford, who was also cited; but he answered more insolently than the two former. The Acts of the Council do not inform us what these Divines did afterwards; but there are some Historians who relate that Herford and Aisthon persisted in their Errors, and that Rappington renounc'd them, and that Wicklef himself, when he came to this Council, made a Confession of Faith wherein he retracted his Errors, and own'd the Real Presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist. Howsoever this be, the Council condemn'd the Errors of Wicklef and his Disciples, and obtained of King Richard, a Declaration against those who should teach or preach this Doctrine, wherein he permits the Archbishops and Bishops to cause them to be apprehended. In pursuance of this Proclamation, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other Prelates, caus'd those among the Wicklefites to be seiz'd who publish'd new Doctrines, or wrote for them with greater Warmth. In the mean time, Wicklef died a little while after at Lutterworth, Dec. 31st. in 1384. and left many Books behind him for the establishing of his Doctrine. The chief of them is his Treatise, intituled, *A Trialogue*, wrote in Form of Dialogue between Alethia, (i. e. Truth) Pseudis, (i. e. a Lye) and Phronese, (i. e. Wisdom) which is divided into 4 Books.

In the 1st. he treats of God; in the 2^d. of Men and Angels; in the 3^d. of Virtues and Sins, of Grace, Liberty and the Incarnation of Jesus Christ; and in the last of Signs or Sacraments, and of the four Ends of Man. The principal Errors contain'd in these Books, are as follow, that God cannot but do what he does; that every thing which happens comes to pass by Necessity; that God could not hinder the Sin of the first Man, nor pardon it without the Satisfaction of Jesus Christ, and that it was impossible but the Son of God must be incarnate, make Satisfaction and die; that God acts by Necessity, that he cannot hinder Sin, that he can save none but those who are actually sav'd, that he wills Sin to bring good out of it. As to the Sacraments he admits the number of seven, but he does not think that this Names agrees to them universally, i. e. according to the same Idea; he denies Transubstantiation, and the Real Presence of the Body of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, and maintains, that the Substance is really Bread, and the Body of Jesus Christ sacramentally and figuratively; he believes that Infants may be saved without the Baptism of Water, and those that are damned suffer the Pain of Sense. The Sacrament of Order is not univocally so with the other Sacraments, 'tis a Power and not a Sacrament. He says, that in the time of St. Paul and the Primitive Church, there were but two Orders; he condemns the Riches and secular Power of the Ecclesiasticks, and the Foundations which are made for Perpetuity. He admits the Sacrament of Marriage to come under the General Idea of a Sacrament, but he pretends that it is only made by the internal consent of the Parties, and that it were as good, nay

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better to express it by Words *de futuro*, than by Words *de presenti*. He believes that external Penance and the Confession which is made to a Priest, are not necessary, and that they may be left off; he observes that Extreme Unction has not much foundation in Holy Scripture. After this he declaims against the Institution of the Orders of Friars Mendicants, against Mendicity, Fraternities and Indulgences. The Style of this Work is dry and scholastical, there is but little Solidity, and much Heat and Passion in his Arguments.

This is almost the only Work of Wicklef which has been printed. There appeared a Book in German in 1525. written in English with this Title, *The little Gate of Wicklef*, compos'd against Transubstantiation, and printed at Nuremberg in 1546. and at Oxford in 1612. It is a Work of some of his Disciples, since it was not written till 1395. There were also two Books of Wicklef in English publish'd by James, and printed at Oxford in 1608. viz. a Request to Richard II. and all the Orders of the Kingdom, that they would reduce the Friars Mendicants to their duty, and a Memorial containing 50 Articles of Errors or Crimes whereof he accuses them. There are also in Historians and Acts of Councils, some Propositions and Declarations of Wicklef. He translated the Bible into English, and his Version is to be found in Manuscript in some of the Libraries of England, as also, a Commentary upon the Psalms and the Canticles, upon the Epistles and Gospels, upon some select passages of Scripture, an Harmony of the Evangelists, Sermons for the whole year, and many other Treatises of Doctrine or Morality.

While the Works of Wicklef were spreading after his death, and his Disciples continued still to publish their Errors, Thomas Arundel, who succeeded William Courtnay in the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, held a provincial Council at London in 1396. wherein he condemns 18 Articles drawn out of the Trialogue of Wicklef: Whereof the first is, that the Substance of Bread continues upon the Altar after Consecration, and that it does not cease to be Bread; the 2^d. that as John was Elias by a Figure and not personally, so the Bread is figuratively the Body of Jesus Christ, and that without doubt these Words, *This is my Body*, are a figurative way of speaking, like that, *John is Elias*; the 3^d. that in the Chapter, *Ego Berengarius*, it was determin'd that the Eucharist is naturally true Bread; the 4th. that those who determine, that the Children of the Faithful who die without Baptism are not sav'd, are presumptuous and foolish; the 5th. that the conferring of the Sacrament of Confirmation is not reserv'd peculiarly to the Bishop; the 6th. that in the time of St. Paul and the Apostles, there were but two Orders in the Church, that of Priests and that of Deacons, and that there is no difference between the Pope, the Patriarchs and the Bishops; that it would be sufficient if there were only Priests and Deacons, and that it was Pride which invented the other Degrees; the 7th. that Marriages made between ancient persons, whose end is not to have Children, are not true Marriages; the 8th. that the causes of Divorce upon the account of Consanguinity or Affinity, are humane Constitutions and groundless; the 9th. that it would be better to use in the celebration of Marriage these Words, *I will take you for my Wife*, than these, *I take you for my Wife*, and that when a Man is tied to one Woman by the former, and afterwards to another by the latter, the former Marriage is to be held good; the 10th. that the Pope, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Officials, Deans, Monks, Canons, Mendicants, Beggars, are the 12 Fore-runners and Disciples of Antichrist; the 11th. that the Precept given to the Priests under the Law, and to the Levites, that they ought to have no share in the Rents of Lands, but to live upon Tythes and Oblations, is a negative Precept, and obliges for ever; the 12th. that there is not a greater Heretick than a Priest who teaches, that 'tis lawful for Priests and Levites, under the Gospel, to possess temporal Revenues; the 13th. that temporal Lords not only may, but are even obliged to

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An History of Wicklef, &c. to take away all temporal Revenues from the Church that is habitually disorderly; the 14th. that Jesus Christ, and the Apostles would have appointed corporal Unction if it had been a Sacrament; the 15th. that he who is last in the Church is the greatest in the sight of God, and the Vicar of Jesus Christ; the 16th. that in order to the possessing of a true temporal domain, 'tis necessary that a Man be in a state of Righteousness, and that those who live in mortal Sin are not Masters of any thing; the 17th. that every thing which happens comes to pass necessarily; the 18th. that we ought not to believe or practise every thing which the Pope and Cardinals enjoyn, but only what follows clearly from Scripture, and that all other things ought to be rejected and despised as heretical. *Widford* was employ'd to defend the condemnation which was decreed in this Council, which he did in a Book written on purpose, which is printed in the collection of *Orthunus Gratus*, wherein he opposes the Errors of *Wicklef*, not by scholastical Arguments, but by Authorities drawn from the Holy Scripture, the Fathers and the Canon-Law: His Treatise is solid and learned for that time, tho' it is not well written.

Another Condemnation of Wicklef.

At last *Thomas Arundel* utterly banish'd the Heresie of *Wicklef*, by the Constitutions which he made in a Synod held at *Oxford* in 1408. wherein he ordains, 1st. that no Ecclesiastick, whether Secular or Regular, shall be suffer'd to preach, unless he be authoriz'd and approv'd by the Bishop; 2dly. that those who shall preach any Doctrine contrary to that of the Church, shall be punish'd severely; 3. that the Professors shall teach no new Doctrine, nor suffer their Scholars to learn any; 4. that no Book of *Wicklef*, or any others, shall be read unless it be approv'd by the University of *Oxford*, or by 12 Doctors whom these Universities shall appoint; 5. that no Version of the Scripture into the Vulgar Tongue shall be read, unless it be approv'd by the diocesan Bishop, or a provincial Council; 6. that none of the Propositions which are condemn'd shall be maintain'd, and that no person shall oppose the Doctrines and Practices receiv'd by the Church, as to the Worship of the Cross, of Images, and of the Relicks of Saints; 7. that no Priest shall be admitted to the celebration of Mass in another Diocese, unless he has a Letter recommendatory from his Bishop, or some others in the Dioceses where he has liv'd; 8. that the Principals and Heads of Colleges shall take care to examine every Month the Morals and Doctrine of the Scholars, and to punish those who shall advance any errors; lastly, that all those who are accus'd by common Fame, or suspected of Heresy, shall be condemn'd after a simple Citation, if they do not appear. These Constitutions were publish'd at *London* the next year, and confirm'd by the King's Authority.

In the year 1413. Pope *John XXIII.* condemn'd in a Council at *Rome*, the Books of *Wicklef*; yet he granted to all those who had a mind to defend his Memory, the term of 9 Months to appear before the Holy See, and to alledge what they might think convenient in his defence. In the same year *John Oldcastle* was convicted and condemned of Heresy at *London*, and sav'd his Life for this time, by escaping out of the Tower of *London*, where he was Prisoner; but being retaken in 1416, and convicted of Rebellion, he was burnt: Many other *Wicklefites* suffer'd after the same manner. At last the Prelates of *England* being supported by the Royal Authority, us'd their utmost endeavours to exterminate this Heresy utterly out of the Kingdom, and hindred it from receiving any publick settlement there.

The Books of Wicklef carried into Bohemia and condemn'd. The Books of *Wicklef* being carried into *Bohemia* by *Peter Payne*, an *Englishman*, one of his Disciples, spread there so far in a little time, that the greatest part of the Masters and Scholars of the University of *Prague* had got them into their hands. *Sbynko*, Archbishop of that City being inform'd of it, and foreseeing the mischief they would produce, made

2 Orders in 1408. one address'd to all the Members of the University of *Prague*, wherein he enjoyns them to bring him the Books of *Wicklef*, that those in which any errors were found might be burnt; and the other address'd to all the Parish-priests and Preachers, wherein he ordains them to teach the people, that after the Pronunciation of the Words of the Holy Sacrament, there remain'd nothing but the Body of Jesus Christ under the Species of Bread, and the Blood of Jesus Christ in the Cup. There was then in the University of *Prague* a Master of Arts and Batchelor of Divinity, named *John Huss*, or of *Hussenitz*, the place of his birth, who had taught Grammar and Philosophy, and having afterwards applied himself to the study of the Holy Scripture, and the *Latin* Fathers, was become an able Preacher, and Chaplain in the Church of the Holy Innocents, call'd *Bethlehem*, at *Prague*. He was one of those who were most respected in the University of that City, because he had obtain'd of *Wenceslaus* the King, the Revocation of the Privileges of other Nations, in favour of the *Bohemians*; for the University of *Prague* being founded by *Charles IV.* after the example of that at *Paris*, it was compos'd of four Nations, *Bohemia*, *Bavaria*, *Saxony* and *Poland*. Those of the three latter Nations being almost all *Germans*, and having three Voices against one, were become absolute Masters of the greatest of the Professors Chairs and Places, and Governors of all the Affairs of the University, Disposers of the chief Benefices in the City, to the utter exclusion of the *Bohemians*, who depended entirely upon them, until that *John Huss* obtain'd of King *Wenceslaus* the Revocation of the Privileges of these other Nations, and the Restoration of the *Bohemians* to the principal Places of the University. The Professors of other Nations being offended at this treatment, retired to *Misnia*, and carried away with them more than 2000 Scholars. *John Huss* having by this means acquir'd a great deal of credit and authority in the University, easily persuaded many of its Members that the first Order of the Archbishop was an Infringement of the Privileges and Liberties of the University, which the Members ought to enjoy, whereby they were allow'd to read all sorts of Books; and that the second contain'd an intolerable error, in that it seem'd to affirm that there was nothing but the Body of Jesus Christ under the species of Bread, and nothing but his Blood in the Cup. Upon this ground they appeal'd from these Orders to Pope *Gregory XII.* who was own'd for Pope in *Germany*. Their Appeal was receiv'd, and the Archbishop of *Prague* was cited to *Rome* by the Pope. But this Archbishop having inform'd *Alexander V.* that these Errors of *Wicklef* began to take root in *Bohemia*, by the means of their Sermons who had read his Books, obtain'd from him a Bull, whereby the Pope commissions him to hinder the publishing of these Errors in his Province.

An History of Wicklef, &c.

John Huss defends the Book of Wicklef.

In vertue of this Bull, he condemn'd by a definitive Sentence the Writings of *John Wicklef*, proceeded against 4 Doctors who had not brought to him the copies which they had of them, and by another Sentence forbad them to preach in any Chapels, whatever Privilege they might have. *John Huss*, and some other Members of the University of *Prague*, and the Patron of the Chappel of *Bethlehem*, made their protestations against the proceeding of the Archbishop of *Prague*; and on the 25th of June, in 1410. entred a new Appeal from his Sentences. The affair being carried before *John XXIII.* he order'd that *John Huss*, who was accus'd of preaching many Errors and Heresies, should appear in person at the Court of *Rome*, and granted a Commission to Cardinal *Colonna* to cite him. *John Huss* excus'd himself, and so order'd the matter, that *Wenceslaus* King of *Bohemia*, the Queen, the Barons, and the University, sent to the Pope to pray him that he would dispense with *John Huss*'s personal presence; that he would not suffer the Kingdom of *Bohemia*

John Huss condemn'd at Rome.

to be defam'd by accusing them of Heresy, that he would give leave to preach the Word of God freely in their Chappels, and that he would send Legates to sit upon the place, at the expence of the *Bohemians*, for correcting Abuses, if any such there were. *John Huss* sent 3 Proctors, who appear'd for him before Cardinal *Colonna*, and alledg'd Excuses for his absence; protesting that they were ready to answer on his behalf; but the Cardinal shew'd no regard to them, declar'd him contumacious, and as such, excommunicated him. These Proctors having appeal'd to the Pope, he appointed the Cardinals of *Aquileia*, *Branca*, *Venice*, and *Zabarella*, to draw up the Process of this affair. These Commissioners confirm'd the judgment given by Cardinal *Colonna*, and carried the matter higher, by extending the Excommunication which was pass'd against *John Huss*, against his Disciples, and his Friends; they declar'd him a Ringleader of Heresy, and pronounc'd an Interdict against him. But notwithstanding this Decision, from which he appeal'd to a future Council, he continu'd still to preach and publish his new Doctrines by word of mouth, and by writing, tho' he was driven away from the Church of *Bethlehem*, and had retir'd to the place of his Nativity. At this time he wrote many Letters, and compos'd his Treatise of reading the Books of Hereticks; wherein he maintains, that it cannot be absolutely forbidden; but he particularly justifies *Wicklef's* Book of the Trinity, answers a Treatise written against *Wicklef*, by one *Stokes* an *Englishman*, and another nameless Author, who had written against him, and accus'd him of Disobedience.

After this, he sets himself to declaim against the Clergy, the Pope, and the Cardinals: At the same time he wrote a Discourse to prove that the Vices and Faults of Ecclesiasticks ought to be reprov'd in Sermons. He handles also other Questions, whereof one respects the Blood of Jesus Christ, of which many pretend to have a Relick, and in what sense Jesus Christ may be called Bread. As to the first, he determines, that Jesus Christ being glorified, did take up with him, all his own Blood, and that there is no Remains of it on Earth; and that the greatest part of the Miracles which are reported about the Apparition of the Blood of Jesus Christ, are the Frauds and Impostures of covetous Men. In the second, he maintains that Jesus Christ may be call'd Bread; but neither in the one nor the other does he depart from the Doctrine of the Church, about the Transubstantiation of the Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.

At the same time *Peter* of *Dresden* being driven out of his own Country, came to *Prague*, and persuaded *Jacobelle* of *Mishia*, a Priest of the Chappel of St. *Michael*, to preach up the Re-establishment of the Communion under the species of Wine. The *Hussites* embrac'd this Opinion, and began to preach that the use of the Cup was necessary to the Laity, and that the Sacrament should be administred under both kinds. *Sbinko* seeing this Disorder, implor'd the help of *Wenceslaus*; but when this Prince did not afford any cure to these Novelties, the Archbishop had recourse to *Sigismund* King of *Hungary*, who promis'd him that he would come quickly into *Bohemia*, to set in order the affairs of the Church in that Kingdom; but before he could make this Journey *Sbinko* died in *Hungary*. *Wenceslaus* advanced to his Place an ignorant Man, covetous and negligent, named *Albicus*, who never troubled himself about his Church, nor took any care to oppose the *Hussites*, but suffered them to continue their Sermons.

The Bulls of *John XXIII.* publish'd at *Prague*, in 1412. against *Laodislaus* King of *Naples*, by which the Pope order'd a Croisade for making War with this Prince, and granted Indulgences to all those who should go to this War, furnish'd ample matter to *John Huss*, who was now return'd to *Prague*, who declaim'd against the Indulgences, the Croisades, and confuted these Bulls. The Populace being

animated by his Discourses, began to publish that *John XXIII.* was Antichrist; the Magistrates having caused some of the most seditious to be apprehended, the Common-people put themselves in Arms to deliver them, and the Magistrates had much ado to pacify them, by promising that no hurt should be done to the Prisoners. But they were so far from keeping their word, that they order'd them to be secretly executed in the Judgment-Hall; and the Blood which ran out from the place of execution, discovering the Massacre of these Men to the Common-people, they took Arms again, carried off by force the Bodies of those who were put to death, interr'd them honourably in the Church of *Bethlehem*, and look'd upon them as Martyrs.

The Magistrates having a mind to publish their Reasons why they oppos'd the Doctrine of the *Hussites*, call'd together many Doctors of Divinity at *Prague*, who drew up a Censure of 45 Propositions of *Wicklef*, and put a Preface before it; wherein they assert the Authority of the Pope, the Cardinals, and the Church of *Rome*, and accuse the *Hussites* of Faction. It was about this time that *John Huss* wrote a great many Books and Discourses against the Censure of these Doctors, whom he calls *Prætorians*. He maintains some of the Articles which they had condemn'd, viz. those which concern'd the Liberty of preaching, the Power of secular Princes over the Revenues of Ecclesiasticks, the voluntary Payment of Tythes, and the Forfeiture which spiritual and temporal Lords make of their Power, when they live in mortal Sin.

He wrote a great Treatise about the Church, to confute the Preface of that Censure, wherein he maintains that the Church consists only of those who are predestinate; that Jesus Christ is the Head and Foundation of it; that the Pope and Cardinals are only Members of it, and that the other Prelates are Successors to the Apostles as well as they; that none is oblig'd to obey them, but when they command what is agreeable to the Law of God, and not in things that are evil, or indifferent; that an Excommunication which is groundless does not bind at all. He answers also particularly the Writings of *Stephen Paletz*, of *Stanislaus Znoima*, and of 8 other Doctors, who had written against him in defence of the Censure, and caus'd a Writing to be fix'd up upon the Church of *Bethlehem*, wherein he accuses the Clergy of six Errors. First, of believing that the Priest by saying Mass becomes the Creator of his Creator. Second, of saying that we ought to believe in the Virgin, in a Pope, and in the Saints. Third, that the Priests can when they will, and when it pleases them, remit the pain and guilt of Sin. Fourth, that every one must obey his Superiors, whether they command what is just or unjust. Fifth, that every Excommunication, just, or unjust, binds the Excommunicate. Sixth, about Simony. He wrote 2 particular Pieces against the second of these pretended Errors, wherein he confesses that we must believe the Church and the Saints; but maintains, that it cannot be said that we must believe in the Church, as 'tis said that we must believe in God, which was never affirm'd by any Catholick. He insinuates in one of these two Pieces, that Confession to a Priest is not necessary. He wrote also at the same time three thick Volumes against the Clergy; the 1st. intitled, *The Anatomy of the Members of Antichrist*; the 2^d. *Of the Kingdom, of the People, and the Life and Manners of Antichrist*; the 3^d. *Of the Abomination of Priests, and carnal Monks in the Church of Jesus Christ*, and some other Tracts against Traditions, about the Unity of the Church, Evangelical Perfection, the Mystery of Iniquity, and the Discovery of Antichrist. His Heat and Passion transport him against the Clergy in all these Pieces, and the same Principles and Errors are found in them.

The Council of *Constance* being now appointed, the Pope and Emperor invited *John Huss* to come thither, and give an account of his Doctrine; and that

John Huss
persists in
his Opini-
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of *Wicklef*,
&c.

John Huss
goes to the
Council of
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that he might do it with all Freedom, the Emperor granted him a safe Conduct, whereby he gave him leave to come freely to the Council, and return from it again. *John Huss*, before his Departure out of *Prague*, caus'd some Placarts to be fix'd upon the Gates of the Churches in that City, wherein he declares that he went to the Council to answer all the Accusations that were made against him, and that he was ready to appear at the Court of *Conrad* Archbishop of *Prague*, to hear all those who had any thing to say against him, and to justify his Innocence. He demanded also of the Bishop of *Nazareth* the Inquisitor, whether he had any thing to propose against him, from whom he received a favourable Testimony; but when he presented himself at the Court of the Archbishop, who had called an Assembly against him, he was denied Admission. After this he departed from *Prague*, accompanied with the Lord *Wences* of *Dunbar*, and *John* of *Chlum*, to go to *Constance*; and thro' all the Cities as he went, he made publick Declarations that he was going to the Council to justify himself, and to answer the Accusations that should be made against him; and exhorted all those who had any thing to say against him, to be there present. He arriv'd at *Constance*, November the 3d. in the year 1414. His Adversary *Stephen Palecz* came thither a little time after, and having joyn'd with *Michael* of *Causis*, who had formerly been a Parish-priest at *Prague*, but went from thence to stay at the Court of *Rome*, they declared themselves to be his Accusers, and drew up a Memorial of his Errors, which they presented to the Pope, and Prelates of the Council.

The Process of *John Huss* drawn up in the Council of *Constance*.

John Huss was order'd 26 days after his Arrival, to appear before the Pope, and Cardinals; thither he went, accompanied with the Lord *John* of *Chlum*, and declar'd to them that he was ready to submit to their correction, in case he should be convicted of having taught any Error. The Cardinals afterwards retir'd to consult what they should do with *John Huss*, and left him in the mean time under a strong Guard. The Result of their consultation was, that he should be put in safe custody; whereupon they told *John* of *Chlum* that he might withdraw, but as to *John Huss*, he was conducted to the Chantry-house of the Church of *Constance*, where he was kept for eight days, and from thence remov'd to the Prison of the Convent of Friars Preachers, where he fell sick. His Accusers presented a Petition to the Pope, containing the Heads of the Accusation which they had to propose against him, and desir'd that Commissioners might be nam'd to draw up his Process. The Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and two Bishops were the persons commission'd, who heard many Witnesses against *John Huss*, and order'd his Books to be examin'd. While this Process was drawing up, Pope *John XXIII.* retir'd from *Constance*, as we have already said, and his Officers who had the charge of keeping *John Huss* follow'd him, and left the Keys of the Prison to the Emperor *Sigismund*, and the Cardinals, who delivered *John Huss* into the hands of the Bishop of *Constance*, by whose order he was shut up in a Castle beyond the *Rhine*, near to *Constance*. The Council at this time in Session 5. April the 6th. in 1415. appointed the Cardinals of *Cambray* and *St. Mark*, the Bishop of *Dol*, and the Abbot of the *Cistercians*, to finish the Process of *John Huss*, and renew the Condemnations which were pass'd against the Doctrine of *Wickles*, especially that of the 45 Articles censur'd by the Universities of *Paris*, and *Prague*; and in the next Session, held the 17th. of the same Month, the Council joyn'd to these Commissioners a Bishop for each Nation, and granted a Commission to cite *Jerome* of *Prague*, the companion and friend of *John Huss*, who was next to him, one of the principal Preachers of this new Doctrine. He had travell'd very much, and was admitted Master of Arts not only in the University of *Prague*, but also in those of *Paris*, *Cologne*, and *Heidelberg*, where he was accused of making distur-

bances. He had travelled into *England*, where he had copied out the Books of *Wickles*, and returned into *Prague*, leavened with his Doctrine, he combin'd with *John Huss*, to propagate it. He arrived the 4th. of April at *Constance*, and understanding how *John Huss* had been treated, and that he also would be seized, he retired the next day to *Iberlingen*, an Imperial City near *Constance*, and wrote from thence to the Emperor and Council to desire a safe Conduct; one was presented to him, which gave him leave to come, but not to return. He caused a Protestation to be fixed up, wherein he declares that he would appear before the Council to justify himself, if a safe Conduct were granted him, and demands of the Lords of *Bohemia* an Act of his Declaration. After this he began his Journey to return into *Bohemia*; but he was stopp'd at *Hirsau*, by the Officers of *John* the Son of Prince *Clement*, Count Palatine, who had the Government of *Sultzbach*, and afterwards carried away to *Constance*, by *Louis*, the Son of the same Prince.

The Council before they proceeded against the Persons of *John Huss*, and *Jerome* of *Prague*, in the 18th. Session, held May 4th. condemn'd the 45 Articles of the Doctrine of *Wickles*, which were censur'd by the Universities of *Paris*, and *Prague*: The first 24 are the Propositions censur'd by *Simon Court-nay*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. The 25th. that all those who are obliged to pray for such who intangle themselves with Temporal Affairs are *Simoniacks*. The 26th. that the prayer of a Reprobate is of no value. The 27th. that all things happen by an absolute Necessity. The 28th. that Confirmation, Ordination, and the Consecration of Churches are reserv'd to the Pope and Bishops from no other Motive but Covetousness and Ambition. The 29th. that Universities, Studies, Colleges, and Degrees were introduc'd only by a vain Superstition, and do as much mischief to the Church as the Devil. The 30th. that we ought not to fear the Excommunication of the Pope, because it is the Censure of Antichrist. The 31st. that those who found Cloysters commit a Sin, and those who enter into them are Diabolical Men. The 32d. that to enrich the Church is to act contrary to the Law of Jesus Christ. The 33d. that *St. Sylvester* and *Constantine* fail'd in endowing the Church. The 34th. that all the Regulars of the Order of Mendicants are Hereticks, and all those who give them alms are excommunicate. The 35th. that those who enter into Religious Houses, put themselves out of a capacity of working out their own Salvation, and that they shall never be sav'd, unless they apostatize. The 36th. that the Pope and all the Clergy who have Revenues are Hereticks, as also all those who approve them. The 37th. that the Church of *Rome* is the Synagogue of Satan, and the Pope is not the immediate Vicar of Jesus Christ and the Apostles. The 38th. that the Decretal Epistles are Apocryphal, that they pervert Men from the Faith of Jesus Christ, and that the Clergy who study them are Fools. The 39th. that the Emperor, and Secular Princes were seduc'd by the Devil, when they endow'd the Church with Temporal Revenues. The 40th. that the Election of a Pope by the Cardinals, was introduc'd by the Devil. The 41st. that it is not necessary to Salvation, to believe that the Church of *Rome* is Supreme over all other Churches. This Article may be explain'd after the following manner; it is an Error if by the *Roman* Church be understood the Universal Church, or a General Council, and in as much as it denies the Primacy of the Pope over other particular Churches. The 42d. that 'tis a folly to give credit to the Indulgences of the Pope, and the Bishops. The 43d. That the Oaths which are made for the confirming of Civil Contracts, and Matters of Commerce, are unlawful. The 44th. that *Austine*, *Benedict*, and *Bernard* are damn'd, if they did not repent of receiving Revenues, and instituting Religious Orders; and that all from the Pope down to the meanest of the Regulars

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The Condemnation of the Articles of Wickles by the Council of Constance

An History of Wicklef, &c. lars are Hereticks. The 45th. that it was the Devil who introduc'd all Religious Houses. The Council condemn'd together with these 45 Propositions, the Books of *Wicklef*, and forbad the reading of 'em, declar'd him a notorious and obstinate Heretick, who died in Herefie, anathematiz'd, and condemn'd his Memory, ordain'd that his Body and Bones should be dug up, if they could be distinguish'd, and thrown out of Holy Ground.

The Continuation of the Process against John Hufs. On the fourteenth of the same Month, the Lords of *Bohemia* and *Poland* presented a Petition to the Emperor and Council, wherein they desired *John Hufs* to be set at liberty, who had been seiz'd and imprison'd contrary to the safe conduct of his Imperial Majesty, and complain'd of a report which was spread about, that in *Bohemia* the Blood of Jesus Christ was carried in Vessels unconsecrated, and that Coblers heard the Confessions of the Faithful, and administred the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

The Bishop of *Litomissel*, perceiving that this Accusation concern'd him, desir'd that he might have leave to answer for himself. The Council put off this Affair till the 17th. of May, on which day a Bishop answer'd in the name of the Council, that *John Hufs* had no safe conduct when he was first summon'd, that he had it not till after he had been cited to *Rome*, and excommunicated by *Alexander V.* That he was a Ring-leader of Herefie, and that he had preach'd his wicked Doctrine even since his arrival at *Constance*, and therefore it was just to seize him. The Bishop of *Litomissel* said that it was certain the new Sectaries gave the Communion in *Bohemia* to the Laity in both kinds, and affirm'd that 'twas necessary to communicate after this manner; and that if the Clergy oppos'd it, they ought to be look'd upon as sacrilegious; that he knew also that the Blood of Jesus Christ was carried to the Sick in unconsecrated Vessels, and that he had heard from persons worthy of credit, that a certain Woman of that Sect had taken the Communion by herself, and had said that the Absolution of a good Layman was of more value than that of a wicked Priest; moreover that he had never said that the Coblers did take Confessions, or administer the Sacraments; but that it was to be fear'd this might come to pass, unless the Council provided a remedy against it. Two days after, the Lords of *Bohemia* presented a Memorial to the Council, in Reply to the Answer which had been made to them on behalf of the Council; wherein they maintain'd that *John Hufs* had a safe conduct from the Emperor, from the 25th. of July, of the preceding year; that it was none of his fault that he had not appear'd at *Rome*, which he could not do without danger of his Life; and that it was not at all true that he had preach'd at *Constance*, for he never went for one moment out of the Hospital where he was lodged. They produc'd at the same time a Declaration which *John Hufs* made the first of September, 1411. wherein he protests that he was falsly accused of teaching that the Substance of material Bread remain'd in the Eucharist; that the Body of Jesus Christ is in the Host when it is elevated, and it is not in it afterwards; that a Priest who lives in mortal Sin does not consecrate; that the Lords may take away the Temporal Revenues of Churches, and refuse to pay them Tythes; that Indulgences are of no use; that Clergymen may lawfully be kill'd, and some other Errors. The Council not making any Answer to the *Bohemians*, they presented to it a new Libel on the last day of May, wherein they declare that *John Hufs* had many times protested that he would not depart from the Truth, nor teach any Error: They maintain that the Propositions which his Enemies had drawn out of his Books were mutilated and falsified, on purpose to put him to death; they prayed the Council to set him at liberty, that he might be heard for himself, and offer'd to give Bond for him: To this Libel they joyn'd the Certificate of the Bishop of *Nazareth*. The Patriarch of *Antioch* answer'd in the name of the Coun-

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An History of Wicklef, &c. cil, that they could not set *John Hufs* at liberty; but that on the 5th. of June they would send for him to the Council, and permit him to speak for himself, and give him a favourable hearing. The Lords of *Bohemia* meeting with a refusal from the Council, address'd to *Sigismund*, but they could obtain nothing more from him.

In the Congregation which was held June the 5th. it was resolv'd, that before they sent for *John Hufs*, the Articles drawn out of his Books should be examined, and that they should be condemned even without hearing him; but the Emperor upon the request of the Lords of *Bohemia*, caus'd to tell the Prelates that they must hear him, before they condemn'd him. Whereupon he was sent for, and was order'd to own his Books; and then the first of the Articles whereof he was accus'd was read unto him. He had a mind to defend himself, but he could not be heard that day. On the 7th. of June the Emperor came to the Congregation of the Prelates, and *John Hufs* being brought thither was accus'd of teaching that the Substance of material Bread remained in the Eucharist after Consecration, which he constantly denied. 'Twas objected to him, that he had followed the Errors of *Wicklef*; to which he answered, that he had taught no Error, and that he knew not whether *Wicklef* had taught any in *England*; but that he did not oppose the condemnation of the Books of *Wicklef* by the Archbishop of *Prague*, upon any other Account, but because he had condemn'd some Articles which he thought maintainable, viz. That Pope *Sylvester* and *Constantine* had done ill in granting Revenues to the Church; and that as to the Article which affirms, that a Priest being in mortal Sin doth not consecrate, nor baptize; he had limited it by saying, that he does consecrate and baptize, but unworthily, because being in mortal Sin, he is an unworthy Minister of the Sacraments of Jesus Christ. He maintained also, that Tythes were Alms, tho' Men were obliged to give them. Lastly, he declar'd, that he had never obstinately maintained any of *Wicklef's* Propositions; but that he did not approve of condemning them without bringing Reasons for the condemnation taken out of the Holy Scripture. Afterwards he related the difference which he had with his Archbishop, and how having appealed from his Sentence to *Rome*, and not being able to obtain Justice there, he had afterwards appealed to Jesus Christ. He confess'd, that he had sometimes said, that he had some hopes that *John Wicklef* was saved, and that he could wish his Soul were where his was; but he deny'd that he had stirr'd up the Common-people to take up Arms, or was the cause of the commotions in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*; and also that it was by any fault of his that the German Nation had quitted the University of *Prague*. The Cardinal of *Chambre* and the Emperor, when they sent him back again to Prison, exhorted him to submit to the Decision of the Council, and not to persist obstinately in his Errors: He answer'd that he took God to witness, he was come to *Constance* upon no other design, but only to change his Opinion, if any one should make it appear to him that he was in an Error. The next day he was brought again before the Assembly, and after they had read to him 89 Articles which were said to be drawn out of his Books, they exhorted him to submit to the Council, and abjure his Errors; he made Answer, that there were many of these Propositions which he had never maintain'd, and that as to others, he was ready to explain his Opinion, and inform the Council of his thoughts about them. After many disputes he was sent back to Prison, and then a Resolution was taken to put him to death by burning, if he did not retract.

The Condemnation of John Hufs. On the 7th. of July, *John Hufs* was conducted to the Place where the 15th. Session of the Council was held, and after the Bishop of *Lody* had made a Discourse about the destruction of Herefies, the Proctor of the Council demanded that the Process

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against *John Hus* should be finished. The Errors of *Wicklef's* Doctrine were read, viz. about the real Prefence and Transubstantiation, about the Salvation of Infants dying without Baptism, about Confirmation and Confession made to Priests, about Marriage, about the Primacy of the Pope, about the Forfeiture of those who are in mortal Sin, of their Power and Rights; about the Unprofitableness of Religious Orders, the Liberty of paying Tythes or not, the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, of the Revenues of Churches, the absolute Necessity of Events, and about some other Questions more metaphysical. These Errors being condemn'd in the Council, 30 Propositions were read, drawn out of the Books of *John Hus*, which may be reduc'd to the following Dogmes, viz. That the Church does consist only of those who are predestinate, that the Pope is not the Head of the *Roman* Church, that Ministers who are not righteous and predestinate are no true Ministers, that Hereticks ought not to be delivered up to the Secular Power, that Ecclesiastical Obedience is an Invention of Man, that all Priests have the Power to preach, and that Excommunication ought not to debar them from it. *John Hus* explain'd some of these Propositions, and defended many of 'em. Many other Articles of Accusation were also read, which were prov'd by Witnesses against him, and afterwards upon the demand of the Proctor of the Council, his Books were condemn'd, and he was declared a manifest Heretick, convicted of having taught many Heresies and pernicious Errors; of having despised the Keys of the Church and Ecclesiastical Censures, of having seduc'd and given scandal to the Faithful by his obstinacy, and of having rashly appealed to the Tribunal of our Lord Jesus Christ; and thus the Council, having censured him for being obstinate and incorrigible, ordain'd that he should be deposed, degraded and delivered over to the Secular Power; which was presently put in Execution. The Bishops appointed by the Council stript him of his Priestly Garments, degraded him, and having put upon his Head a Mitre of Paper, on which there were Devils painted with this Inscription, *A Ring-leader of Heresie*, they delivered him up to the Emperor, who put him in the hands of the Duke of *Bavaria*. His Books were burnt at the Gate of the Church, and he was led to the Suburbs, was tied to a Stake and burnt alive, persisting even until death in his Errors. His Athes were gathered together, and thrown into the *Rhine*.

He wrote while he was in Prison some Treatises about the Commands of God, of the Lord's Prayer, of mortal Sin, of Marriage, of the Knowledge and Love of God, of the three Enemies of Man, and the seven mortal Sins, of Repentance, and the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord; and some days after he arriv'd at *Constance*, he drew up a little Piece about the Communion in both kinds. He wrote also in Prison an Answer to the Propositions drawn out of his Books, which had been communicated to him, and prepar'd three Discourses; one about the Sufficiency of the Law of Jesus Christ, the other to explain his Faith about the last Articles of the Creed, and the third about Peace, and some Letters to his Disciples in *Bohemia*. All these Treatises of *John Hus*, and other Acts which we have hitherto mentioned, are to be found in the first Tome of his Works, printed at *Nuremberg*, in 1558. The second contains a Harmony of the four Evangelists with moral Notes, many Sermons, a Commentary upon the seven first Chapters of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, Commentaries upon the seven Canonical Epistles, and upon the 109 *Psalms*, and those which follow to the 119; a Piece against that Proposition, that a Priest is a Creator of the Creator, wherein he does nevertheless maintain Transubstantiation, as in all his other Works: But he pretends that it cannot be said, that the Priest is the Creator of the Body of Jesus Christ, because the Body of Jesus Christ exists before the Bread is chang'd into it.

A Treatise of the Adoration of Images, wherein he maintains, that the Humanity of Jesus Christ ought not to be ador'd with the Worship of *Latria*, but only with the Worship of *Hyperdoulia*; and that the Images of Jesus Christ ought not at all to be ador'd, not only with the Worship of *Latria*, but even with an internal Worship, altho' we may bow the Knee, pray, set Wax Candles before the Images, and use before them any external signs of Adoration, which belong to the thing which they represent.

After *John Hus* was executed, *Jerome* of *Prague* being in Prison, was urg'd to abjure his Errors, which he consented to do; and being brought to the Council, he read in the 19th. Session, held September 23d. his Retraction wherein he anathematiz'd the Errors of *Wicklef* and *John Hus*, and protested, that he was in every thing of the same sentiments with the *Roman* Church, the Holy Apostolick See, and the Holy Council; and profess'd that he would follow their Doctrine above all things, chiefly about the Keys, the Sacraments, the Orders, the Offices, and the Censures of the Church; about Indulgences, Relicks of Saints, Ecclesiastical Liberty, the Ceremonies, and every thing which concerned the Religion of Jesus Christ; and lastly, that he approved the Condemnation of the Articles which the Council prescribed, and acknowledged that they were faithfully drawn out of the Books of *John Hus*, and that he was justly condemned. He explain'd also his Opinion about the Reality of Universals, and the Faith of the Blessed, and at last swore upon the Holy Gospels, that he would for ever adhere to the Faith of the Church, that he would for ever anathematize those who oppos'd it, and that he submitted to all the severity of the canonical Penalties, and eternal Damnation, if he had or should teach a contrary Doctrine. But notwithstanding this Retraction, he was carried back to his Prison, and was presently accus'd of being insincere in making this Retraction, and of teaching still the same Errors: New Articles of Accusation were also brought against him, and it was proved, that it would be dangerous to let him go; insomuch that his Commissioners could not set him at liberty, as they wish'd. He quickly repented also of his Abjuration, and of condemning *John Hus*; and having desired Audience of the Council, he was twice heard in the General Congregations held in the Month of May, 1416. in which one hundred and seven Heads of Accusation were proposed against him, to which he endeavoured to give an Answer; and lastly made a Discourse, wherein he declared, that he repented of this Retraction, and of having approved the Condemnation of *John Hus* and *Wicklef*. The Fathers of the Council being fully satisfied by his own Confession of his Relapse, sent for him to come the 21st. Session, held May the 30th. wherein after the Bishop of *Lody* had made a Discourse, *Jerome* of *Prague* declared, that he still persisted in his last Retraction, but yet he profess'd to hold Transubstantiation; whereupon he was condemned as a Heretick relapsed, delivered over to the secular Power, and led away to death, which he endured with great constancy.

The News of the Death of *John Hus* was no sooner carried to *Prague*, but it stirred up the *Hussites* to Sedition; who robb'd the Palace of the Archbishop, and the Houses of the Ecclesiasticks, and massacred many Persons. The Nobility of *Bohemia* and *Moravia* being incensed by the breach of Promise made to them, made a League among themselves, that they would never receive the Decrees of the Council, spoke aloud in defence of the Memory of *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, and wrote Letters very fiercely upon that subject to the Council; who wrote also back to them in their own justification, and persuaded them, that *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague* had been justly condemned: The Council also ordered a very great number to be cited of those who defended the Person and Doctrine of *John Hus*, against whom it pronounced the Sentence

tence of Condemnation. Then it was, that the Sect of the *Hussites* began to be divided into two parties; whereof one was call'd *Calixtines*, because the principal Point wherein they differ'd from the Church, was about the use of the Cup, whereas the other part denied Transubstantiation, and the Real Presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, and had many other Errors about the Sacraments, which last party were call'd *Thaborites*. It was not long before they declared War against the Catholics; for having gathered together near 30000, they began to rob and destroy the Churches, and to commit many outrages. The City of *Prague* was not exempt from them; for they made themselves Masters of it, and massacred some of the Magistrates. In the mean time, King *Wenceslaus* died in 1418. and tho' after his death the Kingdom of right belong'd to the Emperor *Sigismund*, yet the *Hussites* set up against him the famous *Zisca*, who having gathered together some Troops, and built him a strong place, which he named *Thabor*, obtained many Victories over the Emperor *Sigismund*, and made himself Master of all *Bohemia*. *Zisca* dying in 1424. the Sect was again divided into two parties, whereof one still retain'd the name of *Thaborites*, and the other took that of *Orphelines*; but however they were divided among themselves, they were both united in the hatred which they bore to the *Roman Church*, and joyn'd together when they consulted about fighting against the *Roman Catholics*, whose Armies they defeated also twice, when they were under the conduct of Cardinal *Julian*.

The Pope and Emperor perceiving that it was not possible to reduce them by force, resolv'd to try if they could bring 'em back into the Bosom of the Church, and to their duty, by inviting them to the Council of *Basil*: The Emperor wrote to them about it, and the Council sent Deputies to invite them to come thither, with Promises of all kinds of safety and liberty. These advices when they arrived found them divided among themselves; for the *Orphelines* and the common-people would have no person sent thither; alledging the example of *John Huss* and *Jerome* of *Prague*; but the Nobility thought it would be more expedient to send Deputies thither, that they might find out some means of allaying the commotions in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and of restoring peace there. The Council granted them a very ample safe conduct, and they sent a solemn Deputation of 300 persons, at the Head whereof were the famous Captain *Procopius*, *John Rockana*, a Priest and Disciple of *Jacobel*, *Nicholas Galecus*, a *Thaborite*, and *Peter Pain* an *Englishman*. The *Bohemians* reduc'd their pretensions into four Heads: First, that the Eucharist should be administred to the Laity in both kinds. Second, that the Word of God might be freely preach'd by those to whom it belong'd, i. e. by the Priests. Third, that the Ecclesiasticks should have no more Revenues; nor temporal Demesnes. Fourth, that publick crimes should be punish'd by the Magistrates. They declared in a publick Letter, that they maintain'd no other Articles but these four; that they were ready to defend them; and charged the Deputies to the Council not to depart from them. When they arrived there, the Cardinal *Julian* made a fine Discourse to them about the benefits of peace, and exhorted them to submit to the judgment of the Church: They answered, that they desired nothing more than peace; that they had never despised the Church nor the Councils, but they had been unjustly condemned, and without being heard by the Council of *Constance*; that they maintain'd nothing but what was founded upon the Gospel; that they were come to give an account of their Doctrine; that they desired to be heard publickly, and that the Laymen might have leave to speak as well as the Ecclesiasticks; they proposed afterwards four Articles, which they insisted upon; and chose four persons to defend them. *John Rockana* spoke upon the first Article about the Commu-

nion in both kinds, and *John* of *Ragusa*, a Dominican was made choice of by the Council to answer him; which he did in a Discourse that lasted eight hours. *Nicholas Galecus*, a *Thaborite*, made a Discourse upon the Article of punishing publick crimes, wherein he maintain'd that the crimes of Ecclesiasticks, and even their disorders in matters of Religion, ought to be punish'd by the secular Magistrates; *Giles Charlier*, Dean of *Chambre*, answer'd him in a Discourse four hours long. *Ulric*, a Priest among the *Orphelines*, maintain'd the Article about the liberty of preaching; *Henry Kalteisen*, a Dominican of *Cologne*, refuted him in a Discourse, wherein he enlarged about the Hierarchy. At last, *Peter Pain* an *Englishman*, undertook to prove, that it was unlawful for the Clergy to have Demains and temporal Revenues; *John Polemar*, Archdeacon of *Bayeux*, and Auditor of the *Rota*, made a Discourse to the contrary. These four Discourses of the catholic Doctors, are inserted into the 12th. Tome of the Councils; the Discourses of the *Bohemians* are to be met with in Manuscript. These disputes began in the Month of *January* 1433. and lasted fifty days without any success, for the Deputies of the *Bohemians* persisting in their opinions returned back into *Bohemia*.

The Council sent Deputies to them, to see if they could be brought to any accommodation, who dealt with the Nobility, which thereby became suspected to the *Thaborites* and *Orphelines*. The Nobility on their part resolved to shake off the Yoke of *Procopius* and the *Thaborites*, against whom they made War, and chose for their General *Alfcon de Risenburgh*; the *Thaborites* and *Orphelines* were defeated in a great Battle, where *Procopius* was kill'd. After this defeat the Emperor *Sigismund* was acknowledged for King of *Bohemia*, and the Deputies of the Council made a Treaty with the *Bohemians*; whereby it was agreed, that the *Bohemians* and the *Moravians* should be re-united to the Church, and should conform in every thing to its Rites, except as to Communion in both kinds, as to which Rite it was allow'd, that those who had a custom of communicating after this manner, might still preserve it: It was also agreed, that the Council should decide whether this practice was according to a Divine Precept, and should regulate the matter by a general Law, as they should think most convenient for the Benefit and Salvation of the Faithful; that if the *Bohemians* persisted afterwards in desiring to communicate in both kinds, they should send an Embassy to the Council, which should leave the Priests of *Bohemia* and *Moravia* at liberty, to communicate in both kinds, such persons as were come to the age of discretion, who desired it, provided they gave a publick advertisement to the common-people; that the Flesh of Jesus Christ is not alone under the species of Bread, nor the Blood alone under the species of Wine, but that Jesus Christ is whole and entire under each species. The Emperor agreed also to leave the Revenues of the Church, by way of Mortgage, in the hands of those who were possess'd of them, until they were redeemed for a valuable consideration. The *Bohemians* granted leave to the Monks and other exil'd persons to return into their own Country; upon condition nevertheless, that the Monasteries which had been demolished should never be rebuilt. The Archbishoprick of *Prague* was promised to *Rockana*; and the disposal of the Churches of *Bohemia* was left to the Pope, and six years were allowed to the *Orphelines* and *Thaborites*, to come in and accept of this Treaty, which was confirmed at *Ratisbone*, and perfectly concluded at *Iglaw*. *Rockana* with four other Priests promised, in the name of all the Clergy, who were of his party, to obey the Pope, and received Absolution from the Legates of the Council; but the same day he gave the Communion publickly in both kinds to a Layman, which was pretended to be an Infraction of the Treaty, because he was in a strange Church; yet this contest was hush'd, for fear lest it should break the peace.

The Emperor *Sigismund* made his publick Entry into *Prague*, in the Month of *September* 1436. *Philbert*, Bishop of *Constance*, and some other Prelates sent from *Basil*, restor'd the usages and ceremonies of the *Roman* Church in the Churches of *Prague*. *Rockfana* being frustrated of the hope that was given him, that he should be made Archbishop of *Prague*, quickly renew'd the troubles; but he was forc'd to fly, and the Rebels were executed or dispersed. The Emperor *Sigismund* dying in 1437. *Albert* of *Austria*, who had espoused his Daughter, was declared King of *Bohemia* in spite of the Intrigues of the Emperors *Douairiere*, and some of the Lords of *Bohemia*.

The Decree about the Communion in both kinds.

While these things were transacted in *Bohemia*, the Council of *Basil* in the 30th. Session, held the 22d. of *December* 1437. made a Decree concerning the Communion in both kinds; wherein it declares, that the Faithful, whether Laymen or Clergymen, who receive the Communion and do not consecrate, are not obliged by a Divine Command to receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist in both kinds; that it belongs to the Church which is govern'd by the Holy Spirit, and with which Jesus Christ will continue unto the end of the World, to regulate after what manner it ought to be administred to those who do not consecrate, as it shall judge most expedient, with respect to the Sacrifice and Salvation of the Faithful; that whether we communicate in one kind or in two, the Communion is useful to those who receive it; that we must not at all doubt but Jesus Christ is whole and entire in each kind; and lastly, that the custom of giving the Communion to the Laity in one kind, was justly introduced by the Church, and by the Holy Fathers, has been observ'd for a long time, and approved by Divines and Canonists, which ought therefore to be esteem'd a Law; and that it is not lawful for any person to condemn it, or change it without the Authority of the Church.

The state of Bohemia under the successors of Sigismund.

Albert of *Austria* liv'd but two years after his Election, and when he died he left his Wife big with Child of *Laodislaus*. After his death, the *Bohemians* chose for King *Albert* Duke of *Bavaria*, who refused to accept of a Kingdom that did not belong to him, and exhorted them to acknowledge *Laodislaus*: Whereupon they address'd themselves to the Emperor *Frederick*, and offer'd him the Government either

in his own name; or as a Tutor to the young Prince. The Emperor advis'd them to chuse Governors until *Laodislaus* came to be of age; and they chose *Tascon* and *Mainard*, whereof the former favoured *Rockfana*, and the latter was entirely a Catholic. The death of the former was the cause of the ruin of the latter, for the Accomplices of *Rockfana* not being able to endure him, chose *George Pogebrac* for their Captain, who made himself Master of *Prague*, shut up *Mainard* in the Citadel, where he died, and remained sole Governor of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, even after *Laodislaus* had taken possession of it, and he succeeded this Prince, who died in 1458. at the age of nineteen years. He banish'd the *Thaborites*, to whom *Rockfana* was no less an Enemy than the Catholics themselves; but he maintain'd the usage of communicating in both kinds, which became common in the greatest part of the Churches of *Bohemia*, tho' that precaution was not observ'd of advertizing the people, that there was no necessity of this usage. The Cardinals *Carvajal* and *Aeneas Sylvius*, Legates in *Bohemia*, used all their efforts to abolish this practice, but in vain; for *Pogebrac* and *Rockfana* maintain'd it, which gave occasion to Pope *Paul II.* to proceed against *Pogebrac*, declare him a Heretick, and to give away his Kingdom to *Matthias* King of *Hungary*; who after he had made War for some time against him, made peace with him, and left him in peaceable possession of his Kingdom in spite of the Emperor and the Pope. Altho' *Pogebrac* and *Rockfana* had totally ruin'd the *Thaborites*, yet there remain'd many persons who were tinctur'd with their Principles, that separated from the *Calixtines*, and made a new Sect under the name of *The Brethren of Bohemia*. When they declar'd themselves openly, they had for their Captain a Cordwainer named *Kelesisky*, who drew up for them a Form of Faith; and for their Pastor, one named *Matthias Corvaldus*; they re-baptized all those who were admitted into their Sect, they explained themselves darkly about the Real Presence, refused to adore Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, and were mortal Enemies to the Clergy and the *Roman* Church; insomuch, that they made no great scruple of joyning with the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, as we shall hereafter declare.

C H A P. VIII.

An History of the Errors published and condemn'd in the Fifteenth Century, chiefly by the Faculty of Theology at Paris; all whose Censures are here related.

An History of the Errors condemn'd in the 15th. Century.

WE shall now give you an historical account of the Errors that were censur'd in the Fifteenth Century, by the Sentence given against *John Monteson* a Dominican, and against those of his Order, by the Faculty of Theology of *Paris*. For tho' this affair was begun in the preceding Century, yet it was not ended till the beginning of this, whereof here follows the Relation.

A Censure of the Errors of J. Monteson a Friar Preacher.

* i. e. A Parcel of Paper consisting of 3 or 4 Sheets.

John Monteson, a *Catalonian*, of the Order of *Friars Preachers*, Doctor of Divinity of the Faculty at *Paris*, advanc'd in 1387. many erroneous Propositions in his Acts *De Vesperis*, and *De Resumpta*, and in his publick Lectures. The Faculty of Theology being certainly inform'd of this, appointed three Deputies who were Seculars, and three who were Regulars, to examine the * *Cahire* from whence they were extracted, but these being unwilling to make their report, unless there were a greater number of Deputies, the Faculty appointed six more who gave their opinion in Writing; whereupon the Faculty being assembled *July* the 6th. of the same year, condemn'd the 14 following Propositions, and declar'd that this Regular ought to retract them. First, that the

hypostatical Union in Jesus Christ is greater than the Union of the three Persons in the Essence of God. Second, that it was possible he should be a mere creature, who could merit for himself and all others after the same manner as the Soul of Jesus Christ did, by the assistance of habitual Grace; tho' it was not at all possible that he could redeem and save Man with the same convenience and sufficiency as Jesus Christ. Third, that a pure rational creature cannot really see the Essence of God as the Blessed do. Fourth, that 'tis possible there should be a meer creature more perfect than the Soul of Jesus Christ as to Merit, such as was the Grace of the Soul of Jesus Christ. Fifth, that such a creature if he were in the World, would be above all kinds of creatures. Sixth, that it is not a Doctrine contrary to the Faith, to suppose it absolutely necessary that any creature should exist. Seventh, that a thing may exist necessarily, and yet be produc'd by a cause. Eighth, that 'tis more agreeable to the Faith to say, that some other thing is absolutely necessary, besides the first Being, than to say without exception that he is the only necessary Being. Ninth, that 'tis a Heresy to affirm that

An History of the Errors condemn'd in the 15th. Century.

An History of the Errors condemn'd in the 15th. Century. that a Proposition contrary to Scripture may be true; (this Proposition is not condemn'd, but only as far as it is meant universally of all Propositions which are contrary to the Scripture, tho' this contrariety be not evident.) Tenthly, that it is expressly contrary to Faith, to say that every Man except Jesus Christ did not contract the guilt of original Sin. The Faculty ordain'd that this Proposition should be retracted as false, scandalous, offensive to pious Ears, and presumptuously advanc'd, notwithstanding the probability of the affirmative in that Question, viz. whether the Blessed Virgin was conceiv'd in original Sin? Eleventh, that 'tis expressly contrary to Faith, to say that the Blessed Virgin Mary Mother of God did not contract the guilt of original Sin. Twelfth, that it was as much contrary to Scripture to say that one person was exempt from original Sin, as Jesus Christ was, as to except ten. Thirteenth, that 'tis more expressly contrary to Scripture, to say that the Blessed Virgin was not conceiv'd in original Sin, than to affirm that she was blessed and victorious in the Instant of her Conception and Sanctification. Fourteenth, that in the explication of the Holy Scripture, whether the Church define a Matter, or the Doctors explain it, or some exception be deduc'd about, we must not draw any decision, declaration, or exception, but only from the Scripture it self. The Faculty declar'd that this Proposition ought to be retracted as false and erroneous, if the meaning of it be, that the exposition or exception ought to be found expressly, or explicitly in Scripture; and that there are many general Propositions in Scripture which have exceptions that are not expressly set down therein, whereof they give for an example the following Propositions: Every thing which enters into the Mouth is cast forth; all Men from the highest to the lowest are addicted to Covetousness; no Man hath ascended into Heaven, but the Son of God who came down from it; if we say that we have no Sin, we deceive our selves, and the truth is not in us. The Faculty observes afterwards, that this is prejudicial to the decisions and usages of the Catholick Church, because in the Primitive Church there were many explications of Scripture by Revelation, or by the Inspiration of God, and by the Information of the Apostles. *John Montefon* was acquainted with this Censure by the Dean of the Faculty, and charitably admonish'd to retract these Propositions; but instead of doing it, as he had promised, he protested that he would defend them till death. Then the Faculty of Theology accused him to the University, which approv'd the Sentence of the Faculty, and presented it to the Bishop of *Paris* (*Peter Orgemont*) who being the ordinary Judge in such Matters, order'd *John Montefon* to be cited, who not appearing, he published a Sentence on the 23d. of *August*, wherein he forbids under pain of Excommunication, *ipso facto*, to maintain or teach the Propositions which had been condemn'd, and ordains that *John Montefon* should be taken up, arrested, and clapt up in Prison, with the assistance of the secular Power, if it were necessary.

Montefon appeal'd from this Sentence, and from the Decision of the Faculty, to Pope *Clement VII.* who resided at *Avignon*, and went to that City to maintain his Appeal. The University sent thither on their behalf for Deputies, *Peter of Ailly*, *Giles of Champs*, and *John of Neuville*, Doctors of Divinity, together with *Peter of Alinville* Doctor of the Canon-law. After this affair had been debated in many Consistories, in presence of the Pope and the Cardinals, (in one of which *Peter Ailly* made a Discourse which was very acceptable to the Pope, in defence of the cause of the University) the Cardinal of *Embrun* in the name of the Pope, forbade *Montefon* to absent from the Court of *Rome* until his affair was determin'd by the decision of the Holy See; but notwithstanding this prohibition, *Montefon* foreseeing that the event would not be favourable to him, and this prohibition was made for no other end but

An History of the Errors condemn'd in the 15th. Century. to seize him, and send him back to *Paris* to make his Retraction there, as the Deputies of the University shall require of him, he retir'd secretly from *Avignon*, and went into *Arragon*, where he embrac'd the Obedience of *Urban VI.* and wrote in his favour against *Clement*. After his departure, this Pope appointed *Guy* the Cardinal of *Palestrina*, the Cardinal of *St. Sixtus*, and *Amelius* Cardinal by the Title of *St. Eusebe*, to judge of this affair, and ordered them to make a Process against *Montefon*. They caus'd to search for him in the place where he Lodg'd at *Avignon*, and having learnt by the Search which was made, that he went from thence *August* the 3d. in 1388. they caus'd him to be summon'd by publick Placarts, sentenced him as contumacious, and declared him excommunicate; they ordained also that this Excommunication should be solemnly published and excommunicated those who should hold any Correspondence with him. The Sentence of these Cardinals is dated *January* 27. in 1389. and was thunder'd out against him at *Paris* the 17th. of *March* following.

While these things were transacted at *Avignon*, the University of *Paris* being highly offended with the Behaviour of *John Montefon*, and his Superiors who protected him, and of other Dominicans who publickly approved his Opinion, oblig'd many amongst them to retract the Propositions which they had advanced against the Belief of the Immaculate Conception, and in defence of the Doctrine of *John Montefon*. We have many of these Retractions in the Registers of the Faculty of Divinity at *Paris*. The most remarkable is that which was made by *William Valon* Bishop of *Evreux*, and Confessor to the King, in the presence of his Majesty, the Deputies of the University, and the Chancellor of the Church of *Paris*, on the 21st of *February*, in 1338. wherein he retracted what he had said in favour of the Doctrine of *John Montefon*. After this follow the Retraction of *John* of *St. Thomas*, on the 21st. of *March* in the same year; of *Friar Adam* of *Soissons*, on the 16th. of *May*, in 1389. of *Richard Mury* in the same year; of *John Adam* in the Month of *August*; *Peter* of *Chancey*, in the Month of *October*; and of *John Nicholas* in the Month of *September* of the same year. All these Friars-Preachers were obliged to retract the Propositions they had advanced or other publick Discourses against the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, and against the Feast of the Conception.

The common People were no less scandaliz'd at the Doctrine of the Dominicans than the Divines, and conceiv'd so great a hatred against them, that they durst hardly appear in publick. At last, when the Confirmation of Condemnation of *Montefon* was obtain'd from the Pope, the University made a Decree, wherein they exclude from their Society all those who would not swear to maintain the Condemnation of the Errors of *Montefon*, and ordained that for the future those who would take any Degrees, should take the same Oath.

The Dominicans being perswaded that this Censure impeacht the Doctrine of *St. Thomas*, would not take this Oath, and therefore were excluded from the Faculty, which render'd them so odious, that after this they were not admitted to preach, nor to take any Confessions, nor to any other Office; and the common People did not only refuse to give them their usual Alms, but also abused and persecuted them. The Dominicans to allay this Storm, had recourse to the Pope, and in their general Chapter held in the Province of *Toulouse*, in 1389. they appointed ten Doctors of their Order to go and maintain the Cause of *St. Thomas* at the Pope's Court against the University of *Paris*, who should be maintained at the expence of the Regulars of their Order, who should all contribute towards it; viz. the Doctors 20 Sous, and the other Regulars 10 Sous, as is to be seen in the Original Instrument, which is in the hands of Monsieur *Balazius*.

An History of the Errors condemn'd in the 15th. Century. The University at this time caus'd a Treatise to be written in its own defence, which is at the end of the Master of the Sentences; wherein they undertake to prove, 1st. That the Faculty of Theology, and the Bishop of *Paris*, have not exceeded their Power in Condemning the Propositions of *John Montefon*. 2^{dly}. that these Propositions are justly condemn'd. 3^d. that the Doctrine of *St. Thomas* was not approv'd by the Church after such a manner; that the Approbation could hinder the Execution of the Sentence given by the Bishop of *Paris*.

As to the first Point, the Faculty distinguishes two sorts of Approbations or Condemnations of Error; the one Doctrinal and Scholastical, and the other Authoritative and Judicial; and divides this latter into Sovereign and Inferior. This distinction being supposed, it lays down the following Conclusions. 1st. That it belongs to the Holy Apostolick See to define Matters which concern the Faith, by a Supream Judicial Authority. 2^d. That it belongs to the Bishops to decide them by the same Authority, but which is Inferior and Subordinate. 3^d. That it belongs to Divines to give a Doctrinal Judgment upon these Matters, since it is their Duty to teach the Holy Scripture, and to make use of it for rejecting Heretical Opinions, and approving Catholick Truths. 4th. That the Bishop and the Faculty of Theology may joyntly or severally condemn Heretical and Erroneous Propositions, after the manner which has been now explained. 5th. That the Condemnation which is pass'd by the Faculty, may be even judicial with respect to its Member. 6th. That the Superior Judge ought not to hinder the Bishop nor the Faculty to proceed to some condemnation, unless it be in a cause very favourable, nor to delay till the appeal is made before him, without mature deliberation. From these Conclusions they draw the following Inferences. First, that the Faculty of Theology may condemn the errors of *Montefon* Doctrinally. Secondly, that this Faculty being joyn'd to the other 3 Faculties, may pronounce this Sentence before the Bishop of *Paris* the ordinary Judge. Thirdly, that the Faculty of Theology may forbid these Propositions to be maintain'd and taught in their Schools, and the Bishop of *Paris* may order the same prohibition in his Diocess. Afterwards they answer an Objection which the Dominicans made, that some of the Propositions of *Montefon* were taken out of *St. Thomas*, whose Doctrine had been formerly condemn'd by a Faculty of Divinity at *Paris*, but was maintain'd by *Stephen* Bishop of *Paris*, and approv'd by *Urban V.* in his Bull to the University of *Tholouse*, wherein he ordains that the Doctrine of *St. Thomas* shall be followed by all Divines. They add, that it belongs only to the Holy See to decide, condemn, and approve in Matters of Faith. To this the Faculty answers, that they always protested their Intention never was to condemn the Doctrine of *St. Thomas*, which was very different from the Propositions of *Montefon*, tho' it could not be concluded from the Bull of *Urban V.* that it was approv'd in all things, and there were many Propositions in his Works which might be accused of error.

As to the Second Point, which concerns the Propositions condemn'd, the Faculty observes in the first place, that tho' a good sense may be put upon a proposition, yet it may be condemn'd, as that which ought to be retracted upon the Account of a bad sense. After this they relate the 14 Propositions which are censur'd, and the Qualifications which signify upon whom the condemnation falls, and refer them to a Treatise which was written by *Peter of Ailly* to maintain the Censure.

As to the third Point, the Faculty remarks that a Doctrine may be approv'd by the Church 3 ways. 1st. As useful, probable, and common amongst Scholastick Divines. 2^d. as a Doctrine which every one is oblig'd to believe to be true in all its parts. 3^d. As a Doctrine which is neither Erroneous nor Heretical in any

part: For, add they, there are many Propositions false which do not concern the Faith, and do not bring a Man into a damnable error, which cannot be accused of Heresie, because that implies a corruption of the Christian Faith. The Doctrine approv'd in the first way may contain falsities, and even errors, which is therefore more common and ordinary; besides this, an Approbation may be either express, or tacit, a Toleration or an Owning. These Principles being supposed, the Faculty maintains, that the Doctrine of *St. Thomas* was approv'd only in the first sense, and not in the two other senses, and that it contains Contradictions and Errors in matters of Faith, whereof they bring examples taken out of his Works; and they also produce other instances of many Saints, and many Authors who fell into some errors, viz. *St. Peter*, *St. Cyprian*, *St. Jerome*, the Master of the Sentences, *Gratian*, *St. Anselm*, *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, and some others, whose Doctrines they affirm to be held in greater veneration than that of *St. Thomas*. They maintain particularly that the Doctrine of *St. Thomas* about the absolute necessity of some Creatures, is Erroneous, or at least suspected of error, and refuted by many Reasons.

They observe also, that he is too much addicted to apply Principles of Philosophy, and Sentences of Philosophers to conclusions of Divinity, wherein he does ill; for, say they, Divines ought not to speak as Philosophers do, as *St. Augustine* remarks in the 10th. Book of the City of God, Chap. 23. in these words: 'Philosophers do freely make use of what terms they please, and are not at all afraid to offend Religious Ears about such things as are very difficult to comprehend; but as to us, we must not speak but according to a certain Rule, for fear lest the liberty which we take of using some terms as we please, should convey an opinion of the things themselves, which is disagreeable to Piety.'

We do not find that the Dominicans obtain'd of the Court of *Rome* any Decision in their favour; but on the contrary, we see that to put a stop to the Persecution which they endured, they were obliged to celebrate in *France* the Conception of the Virgin as others did, and no longer to maintain publicly that she was conceived in Sin, but to be silent as to that Question. By observing this Conduct they procur'd their own Repose, and were restor'd to their Functions; but they remain'd still excluded from the Faculty for the space of 25 years, because they would not take an Oath to approve the condemnation of the Propositions of *Montefon*, until at last the Faculty admitted them upon the importunate Request of the King, August 21st. in 1443. upon Condition that they should Renounce the Appeal they had made from the Decree of the Faculty, and that those who were admitted into the Faculty, should promise for the future to obey this Decree of the Faculty.

The Affairs of *John Petit* made no less noise in the University of *Paris* than that of *Montefon*; this Doctor in Divinity of the Faculty of *Paris*, undertook to maintain the Action of *John Duke of Burgundy*, who had caus'd the Duke of *Orleans* to be Assassinated, and wrote upon this subject a Treatise intitled, *The Justification of the Duke of Burgundy*; wherein he maintains that it was lawful for a private Person to put a Tyrant to death. This Book being for some time shelter'd from Censure by the Power of the Duke of *Burgundy*, was at last censured in 1414. by the Faculty of Theology, at the instance of *John Gerson*, and condemn'd by *Gerard Montague* Bishop of *Paris*, and *John Polet* the Inquisitor. The Censure of the Faculty is to be met with among the Works of *Gerson*; it contains 9 Propositions, with convenient Qualifications whereof the 7 first concern the point in question; that 'tis lawful to kill Tyrants, and that those who do it, do not only deserve to be exempt from any Punishment, but ought also to be rewarded. The eighth Proposition which is condemn'd as Erroneous

is this, that to observe always the literal sense of Scripture is to kill a Man's own Soul. The 10th, which is condemned as Erroneous and Seditious is this, that no Man is bound to observe that Alliance or Oath which he has made, when it happens that this Oath or Alliance is contrary to the welfare of his Spouse or Children who made them. The Bishop and Inquisitor by one and the same Sentence did jointly condemn the Doctrine of *John Petit* as Erroneous in Faith and good Manners, and as Scandalous; they ordained that the Copies of his Book should be brought to them, and forbid any to maintain or teach such Propositions. This Sentence is dated *February 23d.* in 1413. according to the stile of the *Gallican Church*; i. e. according to our way of Reckoning in 1414. It was published the 25th. of the same Month, and the Propositions of *John Petit* were publickly burnt. The King on the 16th. of *March* of the same year, published Letters Patent directed to his Parliaments, wherein he confirms the Sentence of the Bishop of *Paris* and the Inquisitor, and ordains that they should cause it to be entred in their Registers, and to be executed; but it was not entred in the Register of the Parliament of *Paris*, till the 4th. of *June*, in 1416.

The Duke of *Burgundy* appealed from this Sentence to Pope *John XXIII.* who appointed three Cardinals to Examine it, whose opinion was that it was null; but *Gerson* carried this Affair to the Council of *Constance*. The Duke of *Burgundy* wrote to them upon this occasion, and demanded that nothing should be done against the Book of *John Petit* but in the presence of his Ambassadors. *Martin Porree* Bishop of *Arras* objected to *Gerson* that he had not faithfully extracted the Propositions out of the Book of *John Petit*, and that he did not take them in the sense of the Author.

The Council appointed Deputies to examine this Affair, which was warmly debated on both sides; and at last in the 15th. Session of the Council held *July* the 6th. in 1415. the Proposition of *John Petit*, that 'tis Lawful and even Meritorious for a Vassal or Subject to kill a Tyrant, was condemned as Heretical and Scandalous, without naming the Author, but only declaring in General that those who should defend it obstinately should be reputed Hereticks, and punished as such. The Duke of *Burgundy* sent to *Paris* *John Montleon* his Almoner, to engage the University, or at least the Nation of *Picardy*, to pray the *Dauphin* that he would write to the Council a Letter condemning the Conduct of *Gerson* in this Affair, as having forg'd a Proposition which was none of *John Petit's*. *Gerson* on his part sent a Declaration to the University of *Paris*, against all those who should hinder the Duke of *Burgundy* from acknowledging publickly that he had committed a Crime, by causing the Duke of *Orleans* to be assassinated.

The Faculty of *Theology* at *Paris* passed also in this Century many other doctrinal Censures.

From the year 1389. they had declared by their Conclusion dated *September* the 19th. against many Propositions of the Magical Art, wherein Compacts made with the Devil are excused, and the Superstitions of that detestable Art, to which a notable Virtue and Efficacy is attributed.

In 1408. the same Faculty consulted about a question moved in the Diocess of *Saintes*, whether we may believe that some of the Blood of Jesus Christ shed upon the Cross was still remaining upon the Earth? To which they answered *May 28th.* that this opinion was no ways contrary to Piety.

In the same year the Faculty condemned 5 Propositions advanc'd by Friar *John Gorel* of the Order of Friars Minors, Licentiate in Divinity, and obliged him to retract them. These Propositions are, first, that the Sacrament of Penance does no ways operate by its own virtue in him who has Grace, because the principal effect of that Sacrament concerns only the Remission of Sins. Secondly, that

he who has rightly confessed, can no ways be obliged to confess a second time. Thirdly, that it no ways belongs to Parish Priests as Parish Priests, to preach, take Confessions, give Extream Unction, and to Bury, nor to receive Tythes, because they were not Instituted by Jesus Christ, nor the Primitive Church. Fourthly, that it agrees more essentially and naturally to Regulars than to Parish Priests to preach. Fifthly, That Parish Priests who have any other means to live upon cannot receive Tythes. The Faculty condemns these Propositions, and declares that Parish Priests are Prelates and Hierarchs of an Inferior Order, to whom the Right belongs of hearing Confessions, and of Administ'ring the Sacraments, which agrees to the Regulars only by accident.

In 1426. on the Month of *October*, the same Faculty having consulted about the Obligation and Manner of observing *Sundays*, and *Festivals*, ordered *Giles Charlier* to draw up a writing, wherein they lay down certain and solid Principles about the Celebration of *Sundays*, and decide, 1st. That every Man is obliged to set apart some time, which ought to be particularly and only imploy'd in worshipping God; 2d. That this time under the old Law, was *Saturday*; 3d. That the obligation to observe *Saturday*, was not a Law purely positive, and ceremonial, but also moral and natural; 4th. That the Observation of *Sunday* succeeded under the new Law to that of the Sabbath; 5th. That we ought to attend the Service of God on *Sundays* and *Festivals*; 6th. That we may on *Sunday* do such works as are Liberal, both Spiritual and Corporal, which concern the Service of God or Charity towards our Neighbour; 7th. That we ought to abstain from servile Works, of which there are three sorts; first, Sin; secondly, the Service which we pay to another Man; thirdly, every Employment or Action which hinders us from applying our selves to the Service of God, without reckoning the Works which concern that Service; 8th. That these last Works are always lawful; 9th. That it is more criminal to sin on *Sunday* than on another Day; 10th. That no Man is obliged to abstain from these servile Works, which are necessary for the preservation of the Body, as the dressing of Meat, a Man's defending himself when he is attack'd, and in danger of his Life; 11th. That these servile Works, whose end is temporal gain, are unlawful on *Sundays* and *Festivals*; 12th. That 'tis not lawful on these days to keep Markets for such things as are not necessary to Life, and chiefly during the time of Divine Service; 13th. That one may buy and sell the necessaries of Life on these days; 14th. That when there is some necessity, a dispensation may be granted for labouring on *Sundays*; 15th. That this necessity cannot be described by a general rule, but in these cases we must have recourse to the judgment of a wise and good Man; 16th. That those who have a mind to abstain on these days, from buying, selling, and doing such things as are even necessary to Life, ought not to be dissuaded from it; 17th. That the transgression of this Command is very criminal.

A Regular of the Order of Friars Minors, call'd *Peter Chonac*, having advanc'd and preach'd some erroneous Propositions, and spoke some Words pre-judicial to the Faculty, was obliged to make satisfaction in 1428.

In 1429. *John Sarrazin*, Licentiate in Theology, of the Order of Friars Preachers, was delated to the Faculty, and accused of having advanced, in his *Act de Vesperis*, eight Propositions concerning Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, contrary to the Doctrine of the Faculty, viz. First, that all the Powers of Jurisdiction in the Church, which are different from that of the Pope, are from the Pope in their Institution and Collation; 2dly. that these Powers are not of Divine Right, nor instituted by God immediately; 3dly. that Jesus Christ says nothing of these Powers, but only of the supream, to which he intrusted the founding of his Church; 4thly. that

when any thing is decreed in a Council, all the Authority which gives force to its Decrees, resides only in the Pope; 5thly. that there is no Text in the Gospel by which it expressly appears, that the Power of Jurisdiction was granted to any other Apostle but St. Peter; 6thly. that it is repugnant in some manner to truth, to affirm that the Power of Jurisdiction in inferior Prelates, whether Bishops or Parish-priests, is immediately from God as the Power of the Pope is; 7thly. that no other spiritual Authorities can do any thing of right against the Pope; 8thly. that the Pope cannot commit canonical Simony, which is forbidden by a positive Law. The Faculty having caus'd these Propositions to be examin'd by Deputies, obliged *Sarazin* to retract them publicly, and to make profession of eight Propositions contrary to them, wherein he owns, 1st. that all the Powers of Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions, which are different from that of the Pope, are from Jesus Christ as to their first Institution and Collation, and from the Pope and the Church, as to their Limitation and ministerial Dispensation; 2dly. that these Powers are of Divine Right, instituted immediately by Jesus Christ; 3dly. that we find in Scripture, that Jesus Christ founded his Church, and expressly instituted other Powers besides that of the Pope; 4thly. that when any thing is decided in a Council, the Authority which gives force to its Decrees, does not reside only in the Pope, but chiefly in the Holy Spirit and the Catholick Church; 5thly. that there are expresse Texts in the Gospel, by which it appears, that Jesus Christ has given his Apostles and Disciples an Authority of Jurisdiction; 6thly. that 'tis agreeable to evangelical and apostolical truth, to affirm, that the Power of Jurisdiction in inferior Prelates, whether Bishops or Parish-priests, is immediately from God; 7thly. that there is a Power, viz. that of the Church, which can do something of right in certain cases against the Pope; 8thly. that every Man, in this life, having the use of reason, of whatsoever dignity, authority or preheminance, even the Pope himself, may commit the crime of Simony. This Retraction was spoken by *Sarazin*, in an Assembly of the Faculty, *March* the 30th. 1429. according to the way of reckoning in *France* at that time, i.e. in 1430.

A Censure of the Proposition about the monition of Bishops. In 1432. the Faculty was consulted in the name of the Bishop of *Evreux*, and the Inquisitor of that Diocess, about a Proposition which one had advanced, that the *Admonitions of Bishops are Abuses*, and it declar'd by its Conclusion, dated *May* the 16th. that this Proposition was reproachful, presumptuous, rash, scandalous, tending to sedition and rebellion, and to weaken the ecclesiastical Censures, contrary to the Doctrine of Jesus Christ and the Apostles, and favourable to some Errors condemn'd in the Council of *Constance*.

A Censure of the Errors of Quadrigarii an Augustin. In 1442. *Nicholas Quadrigarii*, a Doctor of Divinity, of the Order of Friars Hermites of St. *Austine*, having advanc'd in his *Act de Vesperis*, two Propositions; 1st. that every thing which happens by Divine Providence, comes to pass necessarily; the other, that there is no other Power of Jurisdiction in the Church but the Pope's, which is immediately from Jesus Christ, was obliged by the order of the Faculty, to retract these two Propositions on the 9th. of *January*, and to make profession of the contrary Doctrine.

A Censure about the Hierarchy. In 1448. a Regular of the Order of Friars Minors, having advanc'd in the Diocess of *Tournay*, many Propositions contrary to the Rights of Parish-priests, like those which had been formerly advanc'd in 1429. by *John Sarrazin*; the Grand Vicars of the Bishop address'd themselves to *Giles Charlier*, who wrote a Piece to refute them, which is agreeable to the Doctrine of the Faculty of Theology at *Paris*, in the Censure against *Sarrazin*.

A Censure against J. Bartholomew. In 1451. *John Bartholomew*, of the Order of Friars Minors, advanc'd at *Roan* in his Sermons many Propositions contrary to the Rights of Parish-priests,

chiefly about Confession; viz. that the Parishioners may freely confess themselves to Regulars Mendicants, without asking leave of the Parish-priests: Whereupon the Proctor of the Archbishop caus'd an Information to be drawn up against him, and the affair being brought before the University of *Paris*, this Regular appear'd in the Assembly of the University *December* the 4th. and refusing to own that the Parishioners were obliged to confess themselves once a year to their Parish-priests; it was resolved, that the Degree of a Licentiate should be denied him, and that the deciding of the Question should be referred to the Faculties of Theology and Law.

In 1456. this Question was started again with some warmth in the University, upon occasion of a Bull obtain'd from Pope *Nicholas V.* by the Mendicants, who gave them leave to take Confessions, to the prejudice of the Right of Parish-priests, established by the Canon *Omnis utriusque Sexus*; and also, by order of the *Clementine Dudum*. The University understanding that it had been presented to the Official of *Paris* by some Regulars Carmelites, interposed an Appeal, and cited the Mendicants to appear on *Monday, May* the 24th. to declare to them, that they should be excluded from the University, unless they renounc'd the obtaining of that Bull, and would promise to obtain the revocation of it within a certain time. The Mendicants having appeared, and refusing to do it, the University declared them perjurd and excluded from their Society.

The Mendicants instead of procuring the revocation of that Bull, address'd themselves to Pope *Calistus*; complain'd of the treatment they met with from the University, and obtain'd of him a Bull, which confirm'd that of *Nicholas V.* and null'd all that the University had done against them. Notwithstanding this, the University continued firm, and the Mendicants were obliged to seek out some ways of accommodation; the Archbishop of *Rheims*, the Bishop of *Paris*, and the Parliament concern'd themselves in the affair. At first it was proposed, that the Mendicants should declare they pretended not to acquire any new Right by this Bull: But this proposal appear'd to be captious, and was not at all accepted. Several other means were afterwards proposed, which were also rejected, and none but one was accepted, viz. that the Mendicants should refer the examination of this Bull to a future Council; and that in the mean time, they should adhere to the Definition of the Council of *Lateran*, and the Doctrine of the *Gallican Church*; but the Mendicants refused to submit to this condition. In the Month of *September*, Pope *Calistus* granted a Bull, wherein, for promoting peace, he revokes all the privileges granted to the prejudice of the *Clementine Dudum*, which he orders all to observe. This Bull was sent to the University, and read in the Assembly held *February* the 3d. in 1457. At last the Mendicants resolved to submit in order to their restoration, and interposed the authority of Prince *Artus* of *Brittany*, Count of *Richmont*, Constable of *France*, who came with the Archbishop of *Rheims*, and the Bishop of *Paris*, to the Assembly of the University, which was held the 18th. of that Month; where it was proposed, that in order to the restoring of peace to the University, the Bull in question should remain in the hands of the Bishop of *Paris*; and the Regulars Mendicants should be re-admitted into the University, as they were before this contest, upon condition that they would obey the Bull of *Calistus III.* which had revoked that of *Nicholas V.* The Prior of the Dominicans demanded this in the name of all the rest; but because he had not done it with submission enough, the Constable was obliged to bring the Regulars back into the Assembly, and to cause them to make a most humble supplication by the mouth of the Prior of the Augustines; after which they were admitted, upon condition that they should never make use of that Bull which remain'd in the hands of the Bishop of *Paris*, that they would obey the

An History of the Errors condemn'd in the 15th. Century.

The Differences of the University with Regulars Mendicants about a Bull of Priviledge which they had obtain'd.

An History of the Errors condemn'd in the 15th. Century.
the Bull revocatory, and cause it to be approved within a year by their Generals; and that they would no more, for the future, obtain such Bulls under pain of the same exclusion. On the 11th. of July following, a Friar Preacher came to wait upon the Rector of the University in the name of his General, and declar'd to him, that he had orders to forbid the Friars of his Order to enter into the University upon these conditions. The Rector made him no answer, but summon'd the Friars Preachers to ratifie the Agreement, and when they refused to do it, upon the account of the prohibition of their General, the University excluded them yet a second time from their Society, until at last they were brought to supplicate, on the 8th. of October, that they would receive them, and promise to observe the Treaty made in the presence of the Constable.

A Censure of 3 Propositions.
In 1465. the Faculty order'd its Deputies to examine 3 Propositions, which had been maintain'd in the Schools that are in the Street at Fouarra, by a Scholar who answered about Physicks; 1st. that every Man is an infinite number of Men, and that an infinite number of Men have but one Soul; 2d. that no Man shall be corrupted, tho' a Man ought to be corrupted; 3d. that each part of a Man is Man. The Faculty condemned these Propositions, and refer'd the Propositions of other Respondents, which do not concern the Faith, to the Decision of the University.

A Censure in 1470. against some Propositions concerning the Hierarchy.
In 1470. about the end of the Month of August, the Faculty condemn'd also a Proposition like those of Sarrazin and Quadrigarii, concerning Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, viz. that the Apostles did not receive their Power immediately from Jesus Christ, but from St. Peter, which was advanc'd by John Meunier, of the Order of Friars Preachers; who made satisfaction, by declaring, that he knew not that the Faculty had condemned this Proposition, and that he submitted to their Decision.

A Censure of some Propositions concerning the Hierarchy.
In the same Assembly a Doctor of Divinity, of the Order of Friars Minors, call'd Donat Dupuy, who had obtain'd from the Pope an Exemption of his Order, and was Principal of the College of Lombards, where he stay'd, desir'd to be admitted to profess, representing that he was not a Regular but in name, and making great account of the services he had done in the restoration of this College. The Faculty thank'd him, but they would not grant his desire, lest they should infringe the regulations made concerning the number of Professors of the Mendicant Orders.

A Conclusion of the Faculty about the truth of some Propositions of the Creed.
In the Month of November in the same year, the Faculty of Theology at Paris was consulted by that of Louvain, whether the Propositions of the Creed which respect the future, such as these, *Jesus Christ will come, The Resurrection of the Dead will happen*, be true; whether those who affirm it do not fall in to the error of them who think that all things happen by necessity? And the Faculty answered affirmatively by its Conclusion, on the 12th. of this Month.

A Censure of a Proposition about the Trinity.
In 1477. the Faculty being assembled January the 15th. condemn'd this Proposition, which had been advanc'd by a Divine call'd William Milletis, viz. *that the three Persons are constituted by three Properties, whereof one is not God*, and declar'd it scandalous, false and erroneous. The Theologue who advanc'd it, submitted to this condemnation.

A Censure of an erroneous Proposition about Indulgences.
In 1482. John Bethencourt, a Professor of Meaux, presented to the Faculty the following Proposition, which was preach'd in the Diocess of Saintes; that every Soul which is in Purgatory is delivered from it as soon as any gives for it six Blancs of Alms to the Church of St. Peter of Saintonge. This Proposition was founded upon a Bull of Indulgence granted by Pope Sixtus IV. to this Church August the 2d. 1476. The Faculty declar'd by its Conclusion November the 20th. that this Proposition was not in that Bull, and ought not to be asserted nor preached.

At the beginning of the next year, the Chapter of the Church at Tournay sent to the Faculty 14 Propositions, which were advanc'd by Friar John Angeli, of the Order of Friars Minors, in the Sermons which he preach'd during the Lent of the preceding year, in the cathedral Church at Tournay, and the Parish-churches of St. Peter and St. Quintin. The Faculty having examin'd them, condemn'd them by its Conclusion, dated February the 1st. Here follow the Propositions and their Qualifications.

An History of the Errors condemn'd in the 15th. Century. The Censure of some Propositions about the Hierarchy, advanc'd by John Angeli.
The Proposition 1st. The Friars Minors being presented and admitted by the Bishop, are much more proper Priests and true Rectors than the Parish-priests, because they hold their power of the Pope, whereas the Priests hold it only of the Bishop: *Qualification*, whatever may be said of the first part of this Proposition, by reason of the equivocallness of the Word *Proper*; the Faculty declares, that the Proposition in it self, and as to all its parts, and the proof of the last part, wherein 'tis said, that the Priest receives only his power from the Bishop, is scandalous, erroneous in the Faith, destructive of the hierarchical Order; and that it ought to be publickly retracted and abjured, for the preservation of that Order. The second Proposition, a Parishioner who has confess'd to these Friars, has satisfied the Decretal *Omnis utriusque Sexus*, and is not obliged to confess himself once a year to his proper Rector, nor to desire leave of him: The *Qualification*, this Proposition according to the terms wherein it is conceiv'd, is scandalous, contrary to common Right, and ought to be publickly retracted upon the account of the obedience and respect which Inferiors owe to Prelates. The third Proposition, if a Rector refuse to administer the Eucharist to a Parishioner, who has confess'd to a Regular, he may come to this Regular and he shall administer it to him: The *Qualification*, This Proposition is false, suspected of Heresie, contrary to common Right, and ought to be publickly retracted. The fourth Proposition, a Parish-priest can receive nothing from his Parishioners for Confession, nor for administration of the Sacraments; but the same is not to be said of the Mendicants: The *Qualification*, this Proposition is contrary to the disposition of natural Right, and the expreis Command of God, and therefore false and notoriously heretical. The fifth Proposition, the Parish-priest who affirms, that his Parishioners are obliged to confess to him once in a year, under pain of mortal Sin, is excommunicate; and if he celebrate Divine Service, he is irregular: The *Qualification*, this Proposition is false and reproachful. The sixth Proposition, he who causes Mass to be said by a Priest who keeps a Woman in his house, or is otherwise of ill Behaviour, sins mortally: The *Qualification*, this Proposition being indefinite, is doubtful, rash, and ought never to be preach'd to the common-people. The seventh Proposition, the Friars Mendicants are not obliged to pay what is enacted in the *Clementine Dudum*: The *Qualification*, this Proposition is contrary to common Right. The eighth Proposition, the Pope can destroy all the Canon-law and make a new one: The *Qualification*, this Proposition is scandalous, blasphemous, notoriously heretical, and erroneous. The ninth Proposition, some Saints are furiously mad: The *Qualification*, this Proposition is scandalous, blasphemous, and offensive to pious Ears. The tenth Proposition, the Souls which are in Purgatory, are under the jurisdiction of the Pope, and if he pleases, he may empty all Purgatory: The *Qualification*, this Proposition in it self is doubtful, and in the meaning of him who advanc'd it about ordinary jurisdiction, it is false, scandalous, and ought not to be preach'd to the common-people. The eleventh Proposition, the Pope may take away from an Ecclesiastick the half of the Revenues of his Benefices, and give them away to another without shewing any cause for so doing: The *Qualification*, this Proposition is dangerous, and ought not to be preach'd in these times. The twelfth Proposition, whosoever contradicts the will of the Pope, acts like a Pagan, and incurs the sentence of Excommunication *ipso facto*. The Pope cannot

cannot be reprov'd by any person, except in case of Heresy: The *Qualification*, this Proposition is false, and contains a manifest Lye. The fourteenth Proposition, Friar John Angeli has many times affirm'd, that these Articles are true, and that he would maintain them at *Paris*, and over all the Earth, even till he was burnt, without ever revoking them; and that he was not of the number of those Preachers who retract: The *Qualification*, this is the discourse of a Man who is impudent and obstinate; and there is sufficient reason to proceed against him judicially, as one who is very strongly suspected of Heresy.

Another Friar Minor Observantine, called John Merchand, having preach'd in 1486. in the City of *Besancon*, many impertinencies about the Prerogatives of St. Francis, the Faculty of Theology at *Paris*, by their Conclusion April the 10th. censur'd 12 of his Propositions. The 1st. that *Lucifer*, who was the Head of the Angels, having left his place vacant, which was wonderfully set off and adorn'd, it was reserv'd for St. Francis only; because as *Lucifer* was driven from it upon the account of his pride, so there was no Saint upon Earth, which had so much humility as St. Francis; upon which account he was prefer'd to that place. He added, if any person will not believe me unless he go thither and see, I would rather see it than believe it. The Faculty examin'd this Proposition by its parts; as to the 1st. which is copulative, it was found false, contrary to the sentiment of the Saints; the 2d. which concerns the vacant place of *Lucifer*, which was above the Angels, whither the Preacher affirms that St. Francis was taken up, appear'd to them rash, presumptuous, and derogatory from the singular prerogative of the Virgin; the 3d. which is of the humility of St. Francis, is also declared temerarious, presumptuous, false, reproachful to the other Saints; and in fine, the last part, *If any one will not believe, &c.* is declar'd indecent. The second Proposition is, that St. Francis is like to Jesus Christ in forty respects, that he is a second Christ, and a second Son of God. This Proposition is justly censur'd as false and heretical. The third, that the Conception of St. Francis was foretold to his Mother by an Angel, like that of Jesus Christ: This is censur'd as rash and groundless. The following Propositions until the 11th. contain the Fables about the Brands of St. Francis, which are censur'd as having no authority. The 11th. that St. Francis descends every year on the day of his Festival into Purgatory, and delivers out of it all those of his own Order, and that he carries them into Paradise, as Jesus Christ carried thither the Souls of the ancient Fathers. This Proposition is censur'd as suspected of Heresy, contrary to the Justice and the Law of God, preach'd for Interest, and on purpose to deceive the people. The 12th. that St. Francis obtain'd of God, that all the Regulars of his Order, who do not observe his Rule as they ought, shall not continue in this World; and that those who shall speak evil of his Regulars shall be punish'd, a thing which he never told to any but his Confessor, who reveal'd it after his death. This Proposition is condemn'd as schismatical, seditious, notoriously false, impertinent, and suspected of Heresy.

As there were some Preachers who exceeded all due bounds in their Devotion or Superstition towards the Saints, so there were some others who fell into the contrary extremity; and among the rest one named *Lailier*, a Licentiate in Theology of the Faculty of *Paris*, who preaching in the same year, 1486. at *Paris*, advanc'd many bold Propositions against the Authority and Laws of the Church. The Faculty equally condemn'd both these extremes, and with no less constancy oppos'd the novelties of *Lailier*, than those of the Regulars Observantines, of whom we have already spoken. Among the Propositions advanc'd by *Lailier*, they made choice of the nine following. The 1st. you ought to keep the Commands of God and the Apostles, and as to the Commands of the Bishops, they are no better than Chaff,

for they have destroyed the Church by their Reveries; the 2d. St. Francis is rather in the place where *Lucifer* is at present, i. e. in Hell, than in the place where *Lucifer* was before his fall, i. e. in Heaven; the 3d. I am not bound to believe that a Man is a Saint because he is canoniz'd; since he is canoniz'd for Money, and none are canoniz'd but those who give something for it; the 4th. if a Priest marry clandestinely, and come to me and confess it, I would not enjoin him Penance; the 5th. the Priests of the Eastern Church do not sin in marrying, and I believe that neither should we sin in the Western Church, if we should marry; the 6th. four hundred years agoe all Priests were forbidden to marry by a Pope or a Butterfly *, I don't know whether he could do it; the 7th. I would give two Blancs to him that will produce any passage of Scripture, whereby we are obliged to fast in Lent; the 8th. since the time of St. Sylvester, the Roman Church is not the Church of Jesus Christ, but the Church of *Cesar* and of *Silver*; there is no more reason to believe the Legends of the Saints than the Chronicles of the Kings of France. The Faculty by its Conclusion dated June the 6th. 1486. condemn'd these Propositions, and apply'd to each, the suitable Qualifications of heretical, erroneous, schismatical, scandalous, rash, &c. together with another Proposition which the same Preacher advanc'd in his *Sarbonica*; that a mere Priest can as well consecrate the Chrism, and confer Orders, as the Pope, or the Bishop, and that all Priests are equal in the power of Order and Jurisdiction, as were also all the Apostles. The Faculty resolv'd at the same time to deny the Degree of Doctor to *Lailier*; whereupon he address'd himself to the Parliament, who referred this affair to the Bishop of *Paris*, to be examined and judged by him joyntly with the Inquisitor, and by four Doctors deputed from the Faculty. *Lailier* presented to the Official of *Paris* a Writing, for explaining some of his Propositions, wherein he affirms that he had said, first, I never found in the Old or New Testament, that our Lord or his Apostles commanded to fast corporally in the time of Lent, by way of a Precept, under pain of mortal Sin, or of Damnation; and even the Holy Fathers who speak of it or describe it, do not command it under pain of the great Excommunication, or of mortal Sin; they never used these words about it, *Præcipimus & Mandamus*. Secondly, I never said that the Church can oblige, under pain of mortal Sin, or cannot, in a Sermon; but in a Disputation, according to the custom of the School, when the Reverend Father in God Monsieur de Meaux was present, I argu'd pro & contra about it, as a problematical matter, as Mr. John Gerson, and Peter de Alliaco have done. Thirdly, I never said that Priests can marry after they have received Holy Orders, but I said that from the Passion of our Lord, to the time of Gregory VII. they did marry, i. e. until the year 1073. and that St. Peter, and St. Paul, St. Philip the Apostle and Deacon, St. Fabian the Pope and Martyr, St. Hilary the Bishop of *Poitiers*, St. German of *Auxerres*, and many others were married; and 'tis now two years since I said this. Fourthly, that there are some Propositions more bold than mine in Gerson's Treatise about the spiritual Life of the Soul. The Faculty censur'd a new these Propositions, except the 2d. as to which it declared that it no ways concern'd them. The Bishop and Inquisitor did each on their part draw up the Process of *Lailier*. The Inquisitor communicated the Informations he had made to the Bishop, but the Bishop would not communicate his to him; and without appealing he decided the cause of *Lailier* summarily, and after he had caus'd him to own and abjure the Propositions censur'd by the Faculty, he gave him absolution from the Excommunication, and restor'd him by his Sentence to his Functions, Honours and Dignities, and gave him a right of being promoted to other Degrees, and abolish'd all Marks of Infamy. This

An History
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An History
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This Sentence was given and pronounced by the Bishop of *Paris*, assisted with the Ecclesiastical and Secular Judges whom he had called together *June 23d.* in 1486. and in pursuance of it on the 29th. of the same Month *Lailier* abjured publicly in a Sermon Preached at the Cathedral Church at Solemn Procession, the Errors contained in the Propositions censured by the Faculty; afterwards he used his Endeavours to be promoted to the Degree of Doctor, but the Faculty continued still to deny him; and when the Bishop of *Paris* would force them to grant the Degree according to his Sentence, the interposed an appeal to the Person to whom it belonged, by their Act dated *November the 6th.* Pope *Innocent VIII.* being informed of this Affair, sent 2 Bulls, one address'd to *John Cossart* an Inquisitor, by which he forbids *Lailier* to preach, and intrusts this Affair with that Inquisitor, the Arch-bishop of *Sens*, and the Bishop of *Meaux*; the other address'd to the Faculty, whose Zeal he commends, and approves what they had done against *Lailier*, forbids them to give him the Degree of Doctor, makes void and nulls the Sentence of the Bishop of *Paris*. These Bulls are dated the 6th. and the 9th. of *December*, in 1486. There is no more about this Affair in our Registers, but an Extract of some Propositions which *Lailier* maintained in his Act of *Sorbonica*, dated *July the 30th.* in 1484. among which there is one which affirms that Confession is not of Divine Right: The other tend to overthrow the Primacy of the Pope, and the Episcopal Power, and to establish an equality of Power and Jurisdiction among the Ministers of the Church.

Some time after, the Bishop of *Meaux* presented to the Faculty the 7 following Propositions. 1st. 'Tis a greater Crime to have to do with one's Godmother, than their Mother. 2d. The Bishop cannot Absolve from such a Crime. 3d. A Priest who is a Fornicator cannot say *Dominus Vobiscum*, nor repeat Divine Service in any place. The 4th, the Sacraments which are Administred, or the Service which is said by such a Priest, is of no more value than the barking of Dogs. 5th. There is but one St. *Ives* among the Advocates who is Saved. 6th. Hell is all fill'd with Advocates, and therefore no person ought to fear that he shall go there. 7th. Apothecaries, Artificers of Arms, Physicians, and those who make profession of other Trades, shall never go to Paradise, unless they be carried thither by the Devils, or upon the Tail of a Mule. The Faculty censured these Propositions as false, scandalous, and impertinent, on the 3d. of *November*, in 1486.

On the 2d. of *August*, in 1490. the Faculty declared a Contract to be guilty of Usury, whereby a Church had bought a Rent of 30 Livres, for 300 Livres, because they had added this Clause to it, that when the Church would, the Sellers should be obliged to restore the Principal to that Church without diminution of their Interest: On the contrary, the Faculty determined that the Interest of 26 years which the Church had received, ought to be charged upon the Principal.

Four days after, the Faculty made a Conclusion, wherein it condemned the Superstition of a Prayer used against the Plague.

In 1493. the Faculty was consulted by the Parliament, about the Profession, and the Books of Judicial Astrology of *Simon Phares*. This Man having exercised this Art at *Lyons*, was apprehended by Order of the Official, his Books were seiz'd, and he was forbidden by a Sentence to practise Judicial Astrology, and was condemned to some Punishment for having done it. *Phares* appealed from this Sentence to the Parliament. The Parliament would not judge in this Affair, without having the opinion of the Faculty, and sent to them the Books of Judicial Astrology which were found in the hands of *Phares*, and seized by the Official of *Lyons* to be examined. The Faculty appointed Deputies to examine these Books, and condemned this Art. Whereupon an

Act was drawn up in the name of the Faculty, which contained the Sentence that the Deputies had given of all these Books, and by which it exhorts the Parliament to oppose the Progress of this Art, which it declares to be pernicious, Fabulous, Groundless, Superstitious, and adds that it Usurps the Honour of God, corrupts good Manners, and was invented by Devils for the destruction of Men. According to this Opinion the Parliament confirmed by its Decree the Sentence of the Official of *Lyons*, and upon the Remonstrance of the Faculty, forbade to exercise Judicial Astrology, to consult Diviners, to sell the Books mention'd in the Decision of the Faculty, or to use them, and ordained that the Copies seized upon *Phares*, should be sent back, together with his Person, and delivered into the hands of the Official of *Paris*.

In the same year the Faculty, according to the opinion of its Deputies, censured the two following Propositions, which were advanc'd by *Henry Banguoil* a Friar Minor. The first, Man was made God; the second, Jesus Christ had a beginning. It declared that the first of these Propositions taken rigorously was False and Erroneous, forbade any to teach or maintain it, except they express the sense wherein some Doctors had affirm'd it; i. e. that 'tis come to pass that Man is God; it declared also the second to be False, Scandalous, and Heretical, being taken rigorously.

About the end of the same year Friar *John Grillot* of the Order of Friars Minors, having preach'd on the day of the Virgin's Conception, Evening and Morning, in the Church of St. *Germain* of *Auxerres*, and having for the Text of his Sermon in the Morning these words, *This Woman was taken in Adultery*, and given Reasons to prove that the Virgin was Conceived in Sin, tho' he asserted the contrary in the Sermon After-noon, was Cited before the Faculty, and obliged to condemn this way of Preaching, and to acknowledge that it tended rather to the Subversion of People, than their Edification. This Retraction is dated *December the 25th.*

In 1495. the Faculty by its Conclusion of *January the 15th.* censur'd the Falsity and Heresie of the two following Propositions; 1st. the Essence of God is a continued quality; 2d. Jesus Christ is a continued quantity.

On the 15th. of *April*, in 1497. the Faculty condemned this Proposition; when the Prophet *David* says in the Psalms, *I am a Worm, and not a Man*, &c. tho' this may be verified of Jesus Christ according to the Allegorical and Anagogical Sense, yet it could no ways agree to him according to the Literal Sense.

A little while after the Faculty obliged *John Alutari* to retract a Sermon which he had Preached at St. *John in Greve* on the Birth-day of the Virgin, because tho' he had maintain'd that the Virgin had not committed Venial Sin, yet he brought Reasons and Authorities against it, and handled this Question indiscreetly, and to the Scandal of the People.

On the 23d. of *August* in the same year, the Faculty drew up and published its Decree about the Immaculate Conception; wherein, after they had Consulted about this Matter in 3 Assemblies, whereof the 1st. was held *March the 3d.* 1496. and the 2d. the 9th of the same Month, they resolved to oblige themselves by Oath, to maintain that the Virgin was preserved from Original Sin, and never to admit any into their Society but those who would take this Oath, and declared that they would deprive of all Honour and banish all those who did maintain the contrary Proposition, which they judged false, impious, and erroneous.

Notwithstanding this Decree, there was a *Jacobine* of *Rome*, called Friar *John of Verger*, who was so bold as to Preach at *Diep* the contrary Doctrine; the Faculty censured 3 Propositions which he had advanced upon this Subject, by their Conclusion dated *September the 19th.* in 1497.

On the 23d. of *August* in the same year, the Faculty censured also 4 Propositions of another Dominican,

An History of the Errors condemn'd in the 15th. Century.

Some Propositions about the Incarnation censured.

A Censure against a Sermon of Grillot, a Friar Minor, about the Conception.

A Censure of two Propositions.

A Censure in 1497. about the sense of a Prophecy.

The Retraction of a Sermon made by Friar John Alutari.

A Decree of the Faculty in 1497 about the Immaculate Conception.

The Retraction of John of Verger, a Friar Preacher.

A censure against the Propositions of Morcel.

nican, named, *John Morcel*, who derogated from the Honour of the Virgin. Here follow these Propositions, and their Qualifications.

First Proposition, God can produce a meer Creature more Glorious than the Virgin Mary by his absolute Power, although he cannot do it according to his ordinary Power: The Qualification; this Proposition tho' true as to its first part, yet was preached foolishly, indiscreetly, and did no ways tend to the Benefit and Edification of the People, and ought not at all to have been preached; and as to the second part, if he compares the Virgin to the Humanity of Jesus Christ, and his Soul as to Glory, it is false and Erroneous in Faith, and ought to be retracted.

The second Proposition, It is a Problem, viz. whether the Virgin Mary was Corporally more Beautiful than Eve: The Qualification, this Proposition is rash, derogatory from the Honour and Dignity of the Virgin, false, contrary to the Doctrine of the Saints, suspected of Heresie, and therefore ought to be retracted.

The third Proposition, it is Apocryphal to say that Jesus Christ was before the Virgin in his Assumption: The Qualification; this Proposition is false, contrary to the Writings of the Doctors, favours of Impiety, and is offensive to pious Ears.

The fourth Proposition, we are not obliged to believe under pain of Mortal Sin, that the Virgin was taken up into Heaven in Body and Soul, because this is not an Article of Faith: The Qualification; this Proposition as it is express'd is rash, scandalous, impious, tending to diminish the Devotion of People towards the Virgin, false and Heretical. Many People will find that there is some Extravagance in these Qualifications.

On the Month of January in 1498. the Faculty being consulted by King Charles VIII. about the necessity of celebrating General Councils, decided the Questions which his Majesty had proposed to them after this manner. First, that the Pope was bound to call together every tenth year a General Council, chiefly upon the account of any Notorious Corruption in the Head and Members of the Church. Secondly, that if the Pope being desired, did refuse or delay to do it the Ecclesiastical and Secular Princes might call it together. Thirdly, that in this Case those who make up the Assembly might Celebrate the Council, and provide for the Necessities of the Church. This Conclusion is dated February the 10th.

About the end of the same year the Faculty was consulted concerning sixteen Extravagant Propositions, which were preached at Tournay by John Vitrier, a Regular of the Order of Friars Minors of the Observance, which it censured, and qualified by its Conclusion dated October the 2d.

First, It would be better to Cut a Child's Throat, than to place it in a Religious Society which is not reformed.

Secondly, it would be better to take your Daughter by the hand, and lead her to a Lewd place, than to place her in a Nunnery that is not reformed. These two Propositions are censured as Scandalous, Seditious, favouring of the pride of the Pharisees, as false and contrary to good manners.

Thirdly, Whosoever hears Mass said by a Priest who has a Wife at home, Sins mortally.

Fourthly, whosoever makes a Priest that keeps a Wife at home Celebrate Mass, Sins mortally, and by giving him money, you put a halter about his neck.

Fifthly, if your Parish Priest, or any other Priest keep Women in their Houses, you ought to go and pull them out by force, and drive them out of their House. These Propositions are condemned as Scandalous, Seditious, False, &c.

Sixthly, the Musick which is Sung at Nôtre-dam, is nothing but Lewdness, and a provocation to Lewdness. The Qualification which the Faculty gave of

this Proposition was this; altho' we approve not Lascivious and Theatrical Songs, if any such be Sung in the Church, yet we commend and approve the Singing of Musick, which is usually done in the Church, because, it excites the People to Devotion.

Seventhly, the King never gave the Privilege of so much Wine Custom-free at Tournay, to maintain the Lewd Canons and Ecclesiasticks. This is censur'd as Scandalous, and Reproachful.

Eighthly, no money is due to Churches for Pardons.

Ninthly, Pardons are never given for Lewd places.

Tenthly, Pardons come from Hell. These Propositions are censured as Scandalous, False, and Heretical, &c.

Eleventhly, when you hear Mass, you ought to say nothing, and when the Holy Sacrament is elevated, you ought to look towards the Ground, and not upon the Holy Sacrament. This General Proposition is declared false, and contrary to the practice of the Church.

Twelfthly, the Hours of the Virgin ought not to be said by the Seculars.

Thirteenth, the Saints ought not to be pray'd to. These Propositions are censured as False and Heretical.

Fourteenth, there are some who say certain Prayers of the Virgin Mary, to the end that at the hour of death they may see the Virgin Mary; thou shalt see the Devil, and not the Virgin Mary. The Qualification of this Proposition is thus: If the meaning be that it is not lawful to repeat certain devout Prayers, to the end that the Virgin may assist at the death of him who prays devoutly; This Proposition is false: But if the meaning be to Condemn the Superstitious Credulity of some, who think that by virtue of certain Prayers rather than other, the Virgin will appear to them visibly at the hour of Death, we do not Condemn this Sense.

Fifteenth, It would be better for a Married Woman to break her Vow of Marriage, than to break her Fast.

Sixteenth, I would rather be the Cause of a Man's death, than lie with a Woman. These two Propositions are censured as False, Scandalous, &c.

We may also rank among the Errors that were started in the Fifteenth Century, the Propositions of Matthew Grabon, against the Poverty of those who were not Regulars, which are condemned in the Council of Basil, whereof we have already spoken; and the Reveries of Augustine of Rome, of the Order of Friars Hermites of St. Austine, who wrote a Treatise of the Church, divided into three parts; whereof the first was, Of the Union of Jesus Christ and his Church, or, of Jesus Christ entire; the second, Of Jesus Christ as Head, and of his Illustrious Dominion; the third, Of the Charity of Jesus Christ towards the Elect, and of his Infinite Love. He carried this matter so high in this Work of the Union of the Human Nature with the Divine, that he advanc'd some Propositions, wherein he attributes to the Human Nature in Christ, what agrees only to the Divine, as That the human Nature in Jesus Christ is truly, naturally, and properly God; that the two Natures in Jesus Christ are equally amicable; that the Soul of Jesus Christ sees God as perfectly as his Divinity: And concerning the Union of the Members with Christ; that the Union of Charity is not sufficient to make a Member of Jesus Christ, but a Man must be of the number of the Elect and Predestinate.

These Errors, and the Book of this Author were condemned in the Council of Basil, Sess. 22. only his Person was spared, because he testified his Submission, and gave good Reasons for his Absence.

Lastly, we must join to all the rest who wandred from the right way in the Fifteenth Century, Peter of Osmâ, Osmâ.

An History
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An History
of the Er-
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demn'd in
the 15th.
Century.

Les malles
Tantes de
vin a
Tournay.

A censure
against the
Propositions
of Morcel.

The An-
swer of the
Faculty to
the King, a-
bout the ce-
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of a Gene-
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A censure
of 16. Ex-
travagant
Propositions
of John
Vitrier, an
Observan-
tine.

The Errors
of Grabon,

The Error
of Peter
Osmâ.

An History
of the Er-
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demn'd in
the 15th.
Century.

Osma, a Professor at *Salamanca*, who published a Book, wherein he maintains, that Confession is not the Institution of Jesus Christ, but the Invention of Man; that mortal Sins are blotted out by contrition alone, and Sins of thought by a mere remorse. This opinion was condemn'd, and the Author was anathematized (if he did not retract) by the Archbishop of *Toledo*, *Alphonfus Carrilla*, whose Sentence was confirm'd by the Constitution of *Sixtus IV.* published at the beginning of *August*, in 1479.

There were also some Fanaticks in this Century, who publish'd extravagant Errors, among the rest a certain Carmelite, named *William of Hildernissen*, and *Giles le Chantre*, both *Flemings*, who call'd themselves new Prophets, preach'd a new Law, permitted all sorts of crimes, denied the Resurrection, and advanc'd many other Errors which were condemn'd by *Peter Ailly*, and by the Inquisitor of *Flanders*, in

1412. Another *Fleming* call'd *Pikard*, was Head of the Sect of the *Adamites* in *Germany*, who led an infamous Life, and were destroyed by *Zisca*. Of this sort were the *Diggers* of *Bohemia*, so call'd because they dug their Assemblies in Forests and Caves, where they derided the Church, its Ministers, and Sacraments.

Harman Riswich, a *Hollander*, taught horrible Impieties, that the Soul dies with the Body, that there is no Hell, that Matter is eternal, that God never created the Angels, that *Moses* and *Jesus Christ* were Impostors, that our Creed is a Fable, and the Gospel a Foolery. He was condemn'd to perpetual Imprisonment, in 1499. and having made his escape out of it, and continuing still to vomit forth his Blatphemies, he was burnt alive at the *Hague*, in 1512.

An History
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the 15th.
Century.

C H A P. IX.

Ecclesiastical Observations upon the Fifteenth Century.

Ecclesiastical
Observations,
&c.

Those who had any thing to do in Ecclesiastical Affairs, did almost wholly spend the first years of this Century about the Schism of the Popes. It gave occasion to handle the Questions of the Superiority of a General Council above the Pope, and of its Infallibility. The Project of the Re-union of the *Greeks* deserv'd the serious consideration of the whole Earth, but the effects did not answer the expectations which many had of that undertaking. The *Wicklefites* and *Bohemians* made a terrible Schism in the *Latin Church*, which could not be wholly extinguished, neither by violent nor by gentle means. These were the great affairs of the Church in this Century as to Doctrine, for I reckon not in this rank the Errors of some private Divines, which were stifled at their birth, nor the Disputes of School-men about Questions purely theological. This Science, I mean Theology purely scholastical, degenerated also in this Century, and began to be laid aside by Men of the best judgment, who apply'd themselves to a Theology more solid, founded upon the Holy Scripture, and Tradition, and who cultivated the Sciences, and polite Learning, as we have already observ'd in the beginning of the fourth Chapter of this Work.

The Court of *Rome* continued endeavours to make her self Master of all Benefices by Reservations, *Pro-mises of vacant Benefices*, *Preventions*, *Annates*, &c. but was stoutly oppos'd herein, chiefly by *France*, and *Germany*; the Decrees of the Council of *Constance*, and *Basil*, the Laws of our Kings and Emperors, the pragmatick Sanction, and the *German Concordate* put a stop to their covetousness, and maintain'd the Election of elective Benefices, and the Collations of Ordinaries. But the Court of *Rome* found a way to break thro' these Bars at last, to abolish the Pragmatick, to restore the Annates, to ruin the Elections, and to obtain the sovereign disposal of all Benefices. This is what she attempted about the end of this Century, and which she compassed at the beginning of the next, as we shall shew hereafter.

The necessity of the Reformation of the Church in its Head and Members, as to Discipline and Manners, was acknowledged by the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*. They did in vain make attempts to compass it, for it was always put off and eluded. The General Councils which were to meet every ten years to take pains about it, was a Project that was never put in execution. There were scarce any General Councils, and those who did meet, thought of nothing but the most gross disorders of the inferior Clergy; the declarations and remonstrances of private Men about

V o l. III.

the abuses of that time were fruitless, and serv'd only to preserve the memory of them to Posterity.

The Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over the temporal Affairs, was, by little and little, restrain'd in this Century as to Laymen; but the exemptions of the Clergy from a laical Tribunal, were maintain'd with vigor by the Councils. The Council of *Basil* and the pragmatick Sanction, granted the Pope the right of receiving Appeals in all kinds of causes, and the decision of the greater causes in the first instance, but upon condition that he should name Judges to sit upon the several places where the Fact was committed.

During the Schism, the Ecclesiasticks were often vex'd with Tenth's and other impositions which the Popes laid upon the Ecclesiastical Revenues. *Martin V.* in Session 43. of the Council of *Constance*, forbade other Prelates to impose any, and even the Popes themselves to do it, unless it was for a cause of great importance, which was difficult, and concern'd the benefit of the Universal Church, with the consent of the Cardinals and Prelates; and without consulting the Bishops of that Kingdom or Province upon whom the Tax was laid, who must consent to it either one third part, or at least the greatest part of them; and in this case, he order'd that the Tax should be gather'd by Ecclesiastical Persons, and by Apostolical Authority. In the mean time, the Popes have since frequently imposed Tenth's upon Churches. *Eugenius IV.* granted the King of *Cyprus* in 1431. the 100th. part of the Ecclesiastical Revenues of *France*, *Spain*, and *England*, to set at liberty the Hostages which he had left with the Sultan. He granted also King *Alphonfus* a Sum of 200000 Florins, to be levied upon the Churches of *Arragon* and *Sicily*. *Nicholas V.* imposed Tenth's in 1453. upon all the Clergy for a War against the *Turk*. *Calistus III.* in 1457. laid another Tax upon them upon the same occasion. *Pius II.* did the like in 1459. but the *Germans* refusing to pay it, he was forc'd to remit it as to them. In 1490. *Innocent VIII.* would have imposed Tenth's upon the Clergy of *France*, for a War against the *Turk*, but the University of *Paris* oppos'd it, and appeal'd from the Decree of the Pope, by their Act dated *September* the 13th. in 1491. and it continued in these Sentiments; for *Alexander VI.* having a mind to impose also Tenth's upon the Clergy of *France*, made use of Censures against those who would not pay them; the Faculty of Theology being consulted in 1501. made answer, that these Censures were null, that none ought to delate any person, nor so much as fear them. The Heirs of Ec-

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Ecclesiastical Observations, &c. ecclesiasticks succeeded them in all their Goods which they left, without making any distinction of Ecclesiastical Revenues, provided they made good the Repairs of Churches and Buildings, and they could dispose of them by Will. The Regulars were also Heirs to their Kindred, as if they had been Men of the World, and could dispose of these Inheritances.

Jubilees & Indulgences. Pope *Sixtus IV.* put off the Jubilee from twenty five years to twenty five years. The Popes easily granted a very great number of Indulgences, and began even to make a kind of traffick with them. The greatest part of Benefices were held in Commendam, which became so frequent, that *Paul II.* being lately advanc'd to the Pontifical Dignity, said, that since the Pontificate of *Calistus III.* there had been more than five hundred Monasteries held in Commendam. The Cardinal of *Porto* opposed this custom, and Pope *Paul II.* approved his remonstrance. Nevertheless he continued still to grant the greatest part of Abbeys in Commendam, and this custom passed as it were into a Law. The Right of Nomination by Graduates, derived its original from the Decree of the Council of *Basil*, and the Pragmatick Resignations and Translations were not ordinarily made, according as was enacted in the Decretals.

The Differences of Parish-priests with the Regulars about Confession, and the hierarchical Functions. Notwithstanding the Regulations of the Popes, the Parish-priests and Regulars Mendicants were always contending about the administration of the Sacraments, and particularly about the *Easter* Confession. The Regulars diminished as much as they could the authority of the Parish-priests, and equalled themselves to, or even preferred themselves above them, as having their Mission immediately from the Pope. The Parish-priests on the contrary, maintain'd that they were true Pastors appointed by Jesus Christ; and that the Regulars were only by sufferance, by accident in case of necessity, and with the consent of the Ordinaries and Parish-priests. We have lately seen the Propositions which *Gorell*, *Sarrazin*, *Quadrigrarii*, and other Regulars Mendicants taught upon this subject, and the Censures of the Faculty of Theology at *Paris*, which maintain'd the Right and Dignity of the Parish-priests. The Regulars maintain'd also, that any person might confess to them at *Easter*, as at any other time; and that none was obliged to confess himself to his Parish-priest, nor to ask leave of him to go and confess himself to the Regulars. The Popes favoured the Regulars Mendicants, yet they durst not plainly decide in their favours, and contented themselves with granting general privileges, without entring upon particulars. *Alexander V.* by his Bull dated *October* the 10th. in 1459. confirm'd the Decretals of *Boniface VIII.* and *John XXII.* whereof we have already spoken in the observations upon the preceding Centuries. And whereas it was represented to them on behalf of the Regulars Mendicants, that the Errors of *Poilly* were revived, which had been condemned by the Decretal of *John XXII.* and that the following Propositions were maintain'd; 1st. that he who confesses himself to a Regular in the form enjoyn'd by the Decretal *Dudum*, is obliged to confess a-new the same Sins to his Parish-priest; 2^{dly}. that the Propositions of *John Poilly*, which were condemn'd by *John XXII.* are defensible and true, and that the Constitution of this Pope is null, because he was a Heretick; 3^{dly}. that neither God nor the Pope can dispense with the obligation of confessing to a Parish-priest, as long as the Canon *Omnis utriusque Sexus* does continue in force; 4^{thly}. that the Confession which is made to Regulars being doubtful, and that which is made to a Parish-priest being certainly good, we must hold to that which is certain, and leave what is uncertain; 5^{thly}. that altho' the Regulars being approv'd, have power to absolve and take Confessions; yet the people have not power to confess themselves to them without the leave of the Parish-priest; 6^{thly}. that the Regulars who desire the privileges of hearing Confessions, are in mortal Sin and excommunicate,

as well as those who confirm or grant them; 7^{thly}. that the Parish Priest has more right than the Pope to dispence with the Canon *Omnis utriusque Sexus*. *Alexander V.* condemn'd all these Propositions, and thunder'd out an Excommunication against those who maintain'd them. This Bull being brought to *Paris*, made a great noise there in the University. *Gerson* was intrusted to make a Sermon upon this subject, wherein after he had observ'd that the writing in form of a Bull might be the cause of disorder, and be prejudicial to the hierarchical Order; that this had been obtain'd by surprize, thro' the impotunity of Regulars Mendicants, and before the Pope had examin'd the matter; that he was persuaded, that whenever the Pope was better informed he would revoke it; that the University thought it intolerable, until it was examin'd; that his design was not to shew all the Evil which it contain'd; but he might say in general, that it would be the cause of much trouble to the whole hierarchical Order of superior Prelates, and the inferior who are Parish-priests; that he would content himself with reading an Act drawn up by the Parish-priests, which he would explain, to prevent the evil consequences that might ensue. After this, he lays down the following Maxims; that Parish-priests are Pastors of the Hierarchy; that a Pope ought not to send Mendicants but where they are wanted, and with the consent of the Parish-priests; that there may be some occasions wherein a Penitent shall be obliged to confess to his Parish-priest the Sins which he had already confess'd to a Regular; That the privileges of Mendicants ought to have certain Bounds. The Bull of *Alexander V.* was confirm'd by *Eugenius IV.* and afterwards by *Nicholas V.* whose Bull alarm'd, as we have seen, the University of *Paris* against the Mendicants. *Calistus III.* had a mind at first to maintain this matter in its highest rigour, and granted a Bull upon this occasion; but perceiving that he could not compass his end, he was forc'd to moderate the matter by his Bull, dated *August* the 20th. in 1456. in which he kept a kind of *Medium*, by blaming both one and t'other side; for after he had by it confirm'd the Decretals of *Boniface VIII.* *Clement V.* and *John XXII.* he said, that upon the complaints of the Bishops and Parish-priests, that came to him from all parts against the Regulars, who were accused of disobeying these Decretals, upon pretence of privileges and favours which they have since obtain'd; and upon the information he had receiv'd, that Bishops, Parish-priests, and other Priests do also molest the Regulars, being persuaded that these Regulars seduc'd their Parishioners from their Parishes, by telling them, that they may freely come to their Houses on Festival Days, to hear Divine Service; that they are the proper Priests and Rectors to whom they ought to make *Easter* Confession; that the Parish-priests maintain also, that Confessions made to Regulars ought to be reiterated; that these disputes being the cause of scandal, hatred, divisions and scruples, he ordains both one and the other to put an end to these contests, and each to continue within the same Bounds which of right belong'd to them, without attempting to invade the right of others, or to enlarge their own pretensions. For which end, he renew'd the *Clementine Dudum*, revok'd the enlargements which might be made of it, and all such privileges which may have been granted beyond what is contain'd in that Bull, which he declares null; and condemns the Propositions which were advanc'd, as well by the Regulars to seduce the Parishioners from their Parish, as by the Seculars against the privileges granted to the Mendicants by this Decretal. *Sixtus IV.* without any regard to this revocation of *Calistus*, reviv'd in 1473. the Bulls of *Alexander V.* and *Eugenius IV.* and gave the same power which the Mendicants had of administering the Sacraments of the Eucharist, and Extream Unction, to those whom the Curates refused without a lawful cause.

But

Ecclesiastical Observations, &c.

But he was afterwards forc'd to explain himself upon occasion of the differences which arose in Germany, between the Mendicants and the Parish-priests; and declared by his Bull, dated June the 17th. in 1478. 1st. that the Orders of Mendicants were very advantageous to the Church; 2^{dly}. that the Friars Mendicants ought not to preach, that the Parishioners were not obliged to hear Mass in their Parishes on Festivals and Sunday; 3^{dly}. that neither the Regulars nor the Mendicants ought to solicit the Laity to chuse their place of Burial among them, because in this they ought to be left to their liberty; 4^{thly}. that the Mendicants ought no more to preach, that Parishioners are not obliged to confess themselves at least at Easter to their Parish-priests, because the Parishioners are bound of right to confess themselves at Easter to their proper Priests; that in the mean while, the Friars Mendicants are not excluded by this from hearing Confessions, and imposing Penances according to common right, and the privileges which were granted them; 5^{thly}. that the usage shall be observed as to the Hours of Divine Service; that the Regulars shall not seduce the Parishioners from their Parishes; and that the Parish-priests shall not hurt the Mendicants, that so there may appear to be a perfect Union and Charity between them. This Decision of Sixtus did wholly remove the difficulty about the Easter Confession, and plainly decided the Question in favour of the Parish-priests.

The Institution of new religious Orders.

The new religious Societies instituted in this Century, are the Society of Canons Regulars of St. Savinour, founded near Siena, by Stephen a Regular Augustinian, who had leave of the Pope to change the Habit, and was approv'd by Gregory XII. in 1408. to which the Church of St. Mary of Escoupetto of Florence, was united; from whence the Monastery was called Scopetto, and the Canons Scopettines; the Order of Mount Olivet, which was a Reformation of the Hieronymites, who followed the Rule attributed to St. Jerome, which was compiled by Loup, a Brother to St. Vincent Ferrier, and approv'd by the Popes Gregory XII. and Martin V. the Society of

Ecclesiastical Observations, &c.

Canons Regulars of George of Alga, founded in 1407. by Laurence Justinian, the Patriarch of Venice: The Congregation of St. Justina of Padua, which was a Reformation of the Benedictine Order in Italy, made by Lewis Barbe a Venetian, Canon of the Congregation of St. George of Alga, in 1409. which was approv'd by Eugenius IV. and John XXIII. and honoured with many privileges by the Popes: The Congregation of Bursfeld, which is a Reformation of the Benedictines in Germany, that was begun by John Rhodes, who passed from the Order of Carthusians to that of St. Benedict, and was made Abbot of the Abbey of St. Matthias near Treves, and finished by John Abbot of Bursfeld, who united many Monasteries into one Congregation: The Order of Minims, whose Author was St. Francis of Paule, who built about the year 1467. a little Monastery of Regulars near that City, under a Rule which was approv'd by Sixtus IV. Alexander VI. and Julius II. At first they bore the name of the Hermits of St. Francis, and afterwards that of the Minims, because they call'd themselves in humility, *Minimi fratres Eremitæ*: The Order of the Nuns of the blessed Virgin Mary, which was instituted at Toledo by Beatrix of Sylva, a Portuguese Woman, and approv'd in 1489. by Innocent VIII. upon the Prayer of Isabella Queen of Spain. While Beatrix liv'd they followed the Rule of the Cistercians; after her death they assum'd that of St. Claire in 1494.

The military Orders.

The military Orders founded in this Century, are, that of the *Annunciado*, instituted by Amideus V. Count of Savoy, in 1420. that of St. Maurice instituted by Amideus VII. who was afterward chosen Pope; that of the *Golden Fleece*, instituted in 1431. by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy; that of the Knights of *Luna*, by Renatus Duke of Anjou, King of Sicily in 1464. that of the Knights of St. George, by Frederick III. Emperor; that of St. Michael, by King Louis XI. in 1469. that of St. Stephen, by Cosmus of Medicis, which was approv'd in 1561. by Pius IV. and some others that are less famous.

A

DISSERTATION

About the

AUTHOR of the BOOK,

Concerning the

Imitation of JESUS CHRIST.

Wherein the Contests that have arisen upon this Subject are Related; and the Reasons which have been alledg'd in favour of those to whom it is Attributed; the Manuscripts, the Editions and Testimonies which are made use of to maintain the Right of each Pretender, are Examined; and upon the whole, an Equitable and Impartial Judgment is given.

A Dissertation about the Author of the Imitation of Jesus Christ.

THERE was never a Book in the world, whose Author was Contested with more heat, and about which more Pieces have been Written, than about the Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ. This question which appears not to be of any great Consequence, nor to be worthy of the pains of Learned Men, is now become famous, by the contrary Pretensions of two great Religious Societies about it; by the different Judgments which Learned Men have given of it; by the Cu-

rious Enquiries which have been made on both sides; by the great number of Reasons and Authorities which have been alledg'd; by the Learning and Eloquence of the Contenders, and by the noise it has made in the World. All these Reasons have obliged us to search this Matter to the bottom in this Dissertation, wherein we have Collected together all that has been done or written upon this Subject in near forty different Books, from the beginning of our Age.

A Dissertation about the Author of the Imitation of Jesus Christ.

SECTION I.

A History of the Contest about the Author of the Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ, from the beginning of our Age, until this present time.

A Dissertation, &c.

THE Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ, after it had often appear'd under the Name of St. Bernard, was printed many times under the Name of Gerson, and of Thomas à Kempis; but since the Edition of Badius, in 1520. it was more commonly publish'd under the Name of Thomas à Kempis, and he pass'd for the Author of it, without much contest, untill the beginning of this Century, that some maintain'd it could not be his. This Doubt was first started in Spain, which was

grounded upon this, that the Imitation of Jesus Christ was Cited in the Conferences attributed to St. Bonaventure, who died before the Birth of Thomas à Kempis. Don Pedro Mauriquez was the first that maintain'd this Opinion in Writing, in a Spanish Book, intitled, *Appareios para administrar el Sacramento de la Penitencia*, printed at Milan, in 1604. Some Spaniards having spread this Opinion in Italy, Father Rossignol a Jesuit confirm'd it by the Authority of a Manuscript of the Imitation

A Dissertation, &c.

A Dissertation about the Author of the Imitation of Jesus Christ. tation of Jesus Christ, which he found in the House of the Jesuits of *Arona*, which was formerly an Abbey of the Order of St. *Benedict*, in which it is attributed in four places to *John Gersen*, or *Gesen*, or *Gessen*, an Abbot. He believed that this Manuscript belong'd to the Ancient Library of the Benedictines of *Arona*, and communicated this Discovery to *Possevin*, and *Bellarmin*, who thought this Opinion probable. On the contrary, *Rosweidus* a *Flemish* Jesuit wrote a Letter in 1615. wherein he maintains that *Thomas à Kempis* is the true Author of the Imitation of Jesus Christ, and denies that the Conferences attributed to St. *Bonaventure* were truly his. On the other side, *Constantine Cajetan* of *Syracuse*, Abbot of the Monastery of St. *Barontus*, of the order of St. *Benedict*, of the Congregation of Mount *Cassin*, a Man very Zealous for the Interest of his own Order, having the Manuscript of *Arona* communicated to him by the Jesuit *Nigroni*, caus'd the Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ to be printed at *Rome*, in 1616. under the Name of *John Gessen*, Abbot of the Order of St. *Benedict*, together with a Dissertation, wherein he maintains, that the Conferences are *Bonaventure's*, and that the Manuscript of *Arona* is a decisive Piece, to shew that the Book of the Imitation is an Abbot's of his Order. *Rosweidus* wrote immediately a Book against *Cajetan*, which he intitles, *VINDICIÆ KEMPENSES*, *The Defence of Kempis*; wherein he answers his Reasons, and maintains that the Name of *Gersen* was put for that of *Gerson*, in the Manuscript of *Arona*, which did not at all belong to the Ancient Library of the Benedictines of *Arona*, as the Abbot *Cajetan* suppos'd, but was brought from *Genua* to *Arona*, in 1599. by Father *Maiolo* a Jesuit, who found it in his Father's House. This Answer of *Rosweidus* came forth in 1617. and made *Bellarmin* change his opinion, because he thought that *Rosweidus* had sufficiently answered the objections of the Abbot *Cajetan*. This latter stay'd not long before he made a Reply, but quickly put forth an Apology for his opinion, which was printed at *Paris* in 1618. And that his opinion might spread thro' the World, he ask'd leave of the Congregation de *Propagan da Fide*, to print the Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ in *Greek*, under the Name of the Abbot *Gessen*.

The Canons Regulars being alarm'd at this Design, presented a Petition to this Congregation to hinder it, and desir'd to prohibit the printing of this Book under any other Name than that of *Thomas à Kempis*. This way of proceeding did not take effect, and the Contest was hush'd up till the year 1626. in which *Rosweidus* reviv'd it, by Publishing a fair Edition of the Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ, in which he inserted a Dissertation about the Author of this Book, which he intitled, *Plain Testimonies to prove that Thomas à Kempis is the Author of the Imitation of Jesus Christ*. *Bollandus* reprinted it after the Death of *Rosweidus*, in 1630. and 1634. *Francis Walgrave* an *English* Benedictine oppos'd to this Edition of *Rosweidus*, a new Edition of the Book of Imitation, under the Name of *John Gersen*, whom he intitles Abbot of *Verceil*, printed at *Paris* by *Sebastian Hure*, in 1638. with Apologetical Notes about the Title and the Text of this Book, wherein he produces 4 Manuscripts out of *Italy*, to prove that this Book was *Gersen's*, that of *Arona*, that of the Monastery of *Padolirona*, where the Name of *Gerson* is found in two places; that of the Cardinal of *Biscia*, wherein the Author of the Imitation is call'd *John de Canabaco*, and an Edition of the Imitation at *Venice*, in 1501. under the Name of *Gerson*; at the end of which, there was written in an ancient Character, *This Book was not compil'd by John Gerson, but by John ——— Abbot of Verceil, whose Manuscript is to this day in this Abbey*. From this Remark *Walgrave* Conjectures that *Gersen* was Abbot of St. *Stephen* of *Verceil*, and there are 4 Manuscripts, which

Cajetan calls the Chariot of Gold, upon which *John Gersen* is carried in Triumph. Father *Fronto* a Canon Regular of St. *Genevieve* of *Paris*, wrote an answer two years after to this Piece, of *Walgrave's*, intitled, *Thomas à Kempis vindicated by one of the Canons Regulars of the Congregation of France*. It was printed by *Cramoisy*, in 1641.

At the same time Cardinal *Richlieu* having given orders to print at the *Louvre* the Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ; Father *Gregory Tarissus*, Superior of the Benedictines of the Congregation of St. *Maur*, desired of this Cardinal, that this Impression should be published under the Name of *John Gersen*, a Regular of the Order of St. *Benedict*, whom he affirmed to be the true Author of this Book, upon the Authority of four Ancient Manuscripts which were at *Rome*. Cardinal *Richlieu* answered Father *Tarissus*, that he would write to *Rome* to have a Certificate from some Person worthy of Credit, that these Manuscripts were agreeable to what he had said, and gave order to Mr. *Desnoyer* to search what light he could find upon this Subject. And it was Resolved that this Question should be examin'd by the Messieurs, *Du Val*, *Hallier*, and St. *Beuve*, Doctors, and by the Fathers *Petavius*, and *Sirmondus*, Jesuits, who might call in to their assistance the Priors of St. *German de Prez*, of St. *Genevieve*, and St. *Victor*. Father *Tarissus* having written to *Rome*, the R. R. F. F. Dom. *Placidus le Simon*, Proctor-General of the Benedictines, of the Congregation of St. *Maur*, in the Court of *Rome*, and Dom. *John M.* Proctor-General of the *English* Benedictines, came on the 30th. of *January*, in 1641. to Cardinal *Bagni*, who had been Nuncio in *France*, and prayed him to look upon the four Manuscripts which they presented him, that he might assure Cardinal *Richlieu* they did really bear the Name of *John Gerson*. Cardinal *Bagni* answered them, that to make an Authentical Instrument, it would be convenient to appoint two Persons expert in these Matters, to examine these Manuscripts and make a Report of them in the presence of himself, and a Notary. They agreed upon the Sieur *Gabriel Naudæus* Secretary to this Cardinal (in whose hands they left the Manuscripts) and the Sieur *Fioravente Martinel*, one of the Under-keepers and Writers of the *Vatican* Library. The Sieur *Naudæus* having examined these Manuscripts by himself, found in that which belonged to the Cardinal of *Biscia*, and which was then *Allatius's*, the Name of *Canabaco* at the top, tho' this might be written by the same hand, and by the same Writer. He found also in this Manuscript a Bull of the Apostolical Legate in *Germany*, which was dated in 1448. which shew'd that this Manuscript was later than that year, whereof he judg'd the Writing to be at the end of the Fifteenth Century or the beginning of the Sixteenth. As to the Second Manuscript, which was that of *Padolirona*, he found that these words had been written some time after the rest, *Incipit Liber Johannis Gerson Primus*, which were of a Vermilion more bright and fresh than the rest of the Title; and that at the end of the same Manuscript *Gerson* was changed into *Gersen*. As to the third, which was that of the Abby of *Cave*, as it was without the Name of the Author, and had only the Figure of a Benedictine upon the first Letter, from which they would draw some Inference; he Remarks that nothing can be concluded from this Representation, and that there is no manner of proof that this is the Figure of the Author of this Book. The Fourth was not a Manuscript, but was printed at *Venice* under the Name of *John Gerson*, and at the bottom of the Page it was observ'd, that this Work was not *Gerson's*, but *Gersen's*, the Abbot of *Verceil*. He meddles not at all with the time of writing this note, which he judg'd a very late Forgery, and to be put in the room of another which had been carefully eras'd; that the traces of some whole words were still to be seen,

and even the Letters of *Thomas* which had been erased. Monsieur *Naudæus* having made these Remarks, Communicated them to Cardinal *Bagni*, and to *Sieur Fioravente*, who was of the same opinion. The Fathers *Dom Placidus*, and *Dom John* coming afterwards with their Notary, the thing was examined in their presence, and even the traces of three Letters were picked out in the Ancient Title of the first Manuscript, which did not at all correspond to the new Letters. They did not find that this Report would be to their advantage, and therefore they never ordered an Instrument of it to be drawn up before a Notary. But *Messieur Naudæus* drew up one by his own Authority, which he caused to be attested by *Vincent Galeotte*, Auditor to Cardinal *Bagni*, and sent it the same year to the *Messieurs Du Puy*.

In France Father *Sirmondus* having met with a Manuscript of the Imitation in the Library of the College of Jesuits which was Anonymous, but such as he judg'd to be more ancient than *Thomas à Kempis*, founded upon this his opinion, that *Thomas* was not the Author of it. On the contrary, Father *Petavius* considering the agreement of the stile of this Book, with that of the other Books which were uncontestedly owned to be *Thomas à Kempis's*, made no scruple to affirm that it was his, being otherwise persuaded that *Reſpondeus* had answered all the Difficulties of the Abbot *Cajetan*. Monsieur de *St. Beuve* declar'd, that it was more probable, that this Book was *Gersen's*, the Chancellor of the University of *Paris*, than *Gersen's* or *Thomas à Kempis's*. The opinion of the other two Doctors is not known. The Result of this whole enquiry was, that the Book of the Imitation was printed at the *Louvre*, without the Name of the Author. Notwithstanding the Remarks made by Monsieur *Naudæus*, the Abbot *Cajetan* would still maintain his own Opinion and alledg'd the same Manuscripts attested by the bare Instrument of a Notary, and the same Reasons which he had formerly made use of in an Apology which he published at *Rome*, in 1644. for *John Gersen*, together with a new Edition of the Imitation under his name.

The Book of *Walgrave*, and the Apology of *Cajetan*, were refuted by a *Flemish* Canon Regular, and by *Simon Werlin*, Rector of *Dieffen*, who wrote in 1641. a Treatise against *Walgrave*, and a second in 1647. against *Cajetan*: This second was not printed till the year 1649. after the death of the Author, with this Title, *Vindicie Vindiciarum Kempensium*.

In the same year Father *Fronto*, a Canon Regular of *St. Genevieve*, reprinted the Dissertation which had appear'd in 1641. wherein he inserted the Relation of Mr. *Naudæus*, about the Manuscripts of *Rome*. His Work is divided into three parts. In the 1st. he intends to prove, that the Imitation is not *Gersen's*, nor a *Benedictine* Abbot's; in the 2^d. that it is not *Gersen's*; and in the last, that it is *Thomas à Kempis's*: And at the same time, he printed the Book in a large Character under the name of *Thomas à Kempis*.

This Book of Father *Fronto* was, as it were, a new signal which renew'd the War between the two parties, whereof one was for *Gersen*, and the other for *Thomas à Kempis*: For immediately Father *Robert Quatremaires*, of the Congregation of *St. Maur*, being a Man of wit and learning, but hot and eager, made an Answer to the Book of Father *Fronto*, by word of mouth, wherein he accus'd Mr. *Naudæus* of unfaithfulness in the examination of the Manuscripts, and in the relation he had made of them; he suspected him of having falsified the Manuscripts in question, while he had them in his hands, and of having given this Testimonial, for the reward of a simple Priory which he had in their Order, altho' it was not given him till four years after he had sent this relation to the *Messieurs Du Puy*.

Some time after, Father *Francis Walgrave* wrote

another Answer, wherein he treats the *Sieur Naudæus* no better. Both the one and the other published a Tract of the deceased Monsieur *Launoy*, Doctor in Divinity, of the Faculty of *Paris*, which was much more wise and moderate; wherein he gives his judgment about the Author of the Books of Imitation, in favour of *Gersen*, and against *Thomas à Kempis*.

The *Sieur Naudæus* seeing himself attack'd, and accus'd of Forgery and Falsification, did not only make use of the ordinary defence to Men of Learning, which is, to justify himself by publick writings, that discover the innocence of the accus'd; but he had recourse also to the Magistrates, to demand satisfaction for the reproach that had been thrown upon him, and presented his Libel to the Court of Justice at *Paris*, praying, that the copies of the Books of *Quatremaires* and *Walgrave*, might be seiz'd and suppress'd. But the *Benedictines* removed the Cause to the Court of Requests at the Palace, wherein the *Sieur Naudæus* offer'd to justify the truth of his relation, by exhibiting the Manuscripts. All the difficulty was how to fetch them from *Rome*. He was Master of the Manuscript of *Allatus*, the inspection of which plainly shew'd, that the Word *Cantharo* was interlin'd, and added some time after the other Words, tho' it was of the same writing and the same Vermilion. As to the other three Manuscripts, he could not fetch them, whatever diligence and importunity he us'd with the *Benedictines* of *Rome* to produce them: He offered even in the Court of Justice to consign a Sum of 3000 Livres, to be distributed for the benefit of the *Hôtel Dieu*, or employ'd to make a Silver Lamp, which should be plac'd before the Grand Altar of the Church of *St. Germain de Pres*, provided the *Benedictines* would send the 3 Manuscripts in question within six Weeks, and that these Manuscripts should not be judg'd to agree with what he had said in his relation. This Process lasted some time; the Canons Regulars of *St. Genevieve* interpos'd in the Cause, and desir'd that the Book of the Imitation might be prohibited to be printed under any other name but that of *Thomas à Kempis*. At last, after the Cause had been pleaded by all parties, it was ordain'd February the 12th. 1652. that all reproachful Words which had been us'd by any party should be suppress'd; that nevertheless Justice should be done upon the copies of *Walgrave's* Book which had been seiz'd; that all persons should be forbidden to print the Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ, under the name of *John Gersen*, the Abbot of *Urceil*, and a Permission should be granted to print it under the name of *Thomas à Kempis*. The *Benedictines* appeal'd from this Sentence of the Court of Requests at the Palace to the Grand Court, but this Appeal was not prosecuted.

While this Cause was depending before the Magistrates, the Writers continued still to publish their Books. Father *Fronto* answered the Book of *Walgrave*, and that of Mr. *Launoy*. The *Sieur Naudæus* wrote many Pieces about it in *French* and *Latin*, in an elegant style, but brisk and passionate, and cruelly outraged the poor Abbot *Cajetan* in his Piece intitled, *Causæ Kempensis Correctio*. He attack'd also very rudely Mr. *Launoy* in another Piece, intitled, *Velitatio Kempensis*. An *English* Priest, Confessor to the *English Benedictines* at *Paris*, call'd *Thomas Carr*, who had formerly written in *English* about this controversy, wrote a Book more moderate than those of Mr. *Naudæus*, to defend the Cause of *Thomas à Kempis*, which he intitled, *Thomas à Kempis a seipso restitutus*. The chief thing which he did in this Book, was to compare the Terms, Phrases, Sentences and Doctrine of the Book of the Imitation, with the other Books of *Thomas à Kempis*, and thereby to prove, that there is a perfect agreement between them; yet to this, he added some ancient Editions and ancient Testimonies. Tho' it is not the most

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A Dissertation about the Author of the Imitation of Jesus Christ. most elegant, yet is the most solid Piece that hitherto had been written in defence of *Thomas a Kempis*. Father *Fronto* produc'd two new Arguments, one taken from the agreement of the Imitation, with the Books of the Canons Regular of that time; and the other taken from the name of *Devout*, which the Canons Regular assum'd, and is sometimes us'd in the Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ. Mr. *Launoy* did not keep silence, but wrote a Reply to the Answer of Father *Fronto*. About the same time Father *Lanquaille* wrote also a Confutation of what Mr. *de Marillac* had said in his Preface to the Translation of the Imitation, in favour of *John Gersen*.

But the Canons Regular had no sooner gain'd their Cause, as to what concern'd the printing of the Imitation, under the name of *Thomas a Kempis*, but they presently cry'd out *Victoria*, and printed a Latin Book, intitled, *The Triumph of Thomas a Kempis over his Adversaries*, which was written by Father *Desnos*, and a Treatise in French, intitled, *The Contest about the Author of the Imitation of Jesus Christ fully clear'd, by comparing together all the Proofs offer'd by the Benedictines and Canons Regular, together with the Proofs justifying the Claim of Thomas a Kempis*. This Book had not the name of the Author; but 'tis well enough known, that it was written by Father *Boissy*, a Canon Regular of St. *Genevieve*. It is divided into three parts: The first contains the proof of the claim of *Thomas a Kempis*; the second, the Answer to the Reasons which are made use of to oppose it; and the third, the claim of *Gersen* produc'd and rejected: At the end there are added some Pieces justifying the claim of *Thomas a Kempis*. This Book repeats every thing in the best order, which had been said hitherto, to prove that the Book of the Imitation was *Thomas a Kempis's*. This Book met with no reply from the *Benedictines*; but Mr. *Launoy* made some Notes to it, as to what concern'd himself, in a French Dissertation, dedicated to Mr. *de Montmor*.

The Controversy was for some time hush'd up, till the *Benedictines* gathered from all parts, such Manuscripts as might give new strength to their pretensions. They fetch'd out of *Italy* the Manuscripts of *Padolirona*, of *Allatus* and *Cave*, which Mr. *Naudæus* had accus'd of Forgery, and many others out of *Flanders* and *Germany*; and being thus arm'd, they presented them in 1671. to Mr. *de Lamoignon*, first President, at a Conference where the F. F. *Lalemant* and *du Moulinet* oppos'd them, and maintain'd that these Manuscripts were unserviceable to their cause. Some time after, they address'd themselves to *Francis Harlay*, Archbishop of *Paris*, and pray'd him that these Manuscripts might be examined in his presence by learned Men; to which this Prelate consented. Whereupon they brought into his Palace, on the 14th. of *August*, 1671. 12 Manuscripts and some ancient Editions, under the name of *Gersen*. Mr. *Faure*, Doctor in Divinity, of the Faculty of *Paris*, Father *le Cointe*, of the Congregation of the Oratory, Mr. *Vion*, of *Herouval*, Mr. *Valestus*, Mr. *Baluzius*, and Mr. *Cotelier*, were there present: They examined these Titles in the presence of the Archbishop, and made their report; of which they drew up a Process in writing, and among other things, judg'd the writing of the Manuscript of *Padolirona* to be unchang'd, which the *Sieur Naudæus* had judg'd to be corrupted. Upon this report, the *Benedictines* reprinted in

1674. *cum Privilegio*, the Books of the Imitation of Jesus Christ, by *Billain*, in a fair Character, under the name of *John Gersen*, Abbot of St. *Stephen* of *Verceil*, of the Order of St. *Benedict*, together with the Instrument which we just now mention'd; and a Dissertation which they printed also apart, written by Father *Delfau*, which produces all the Reasons which can be alledg'd, to maintain the opinion of those who believ'd, that *John Gersen* was the Author of this Treatise.

Some time after, the *Benedictines* of the Abbey of St. *Germain de Prez*, receiv'd also another Manuscript from Mr. *Sluse*, which had at the end the name of *John Gersen*, which was examined, judg'd unalter'd, and 200 years old; by the Messieurs *Du Cange*, *Herouval*, *Baluzius*, *Valestus*, *Launoy*, *Cotelier*, and by Father *le Cointe*, according to the Act which they published, bearing date *August* the 23d. 1674.

The Canons Regular put forth in 1677. an Answer to the Dissertation of Father *Delfau*, under the name of *Vindiciæ Kempenses*, written by Father *Tessellèste*, a Canon Regular; which was quickly confuted by some observations.

At last the Canons Regular, that they might oppose an authentick Instrument to that of the *Benedictines*, made a collection also of the Manuscripts and Titles upon which they grounded their opinion; and having examin'd them in order, in the presence of the Archbishop of *Paris*, by the Messieurs *Faure*, *Baluzius*, *Vion* of *Herouval*, *du Cange*, and by F. F. *Gardiner* and *Hardouin*, Jesuits; F. *du Bois*, of the Oratory, and F. *Alexander*, a *Jacobin*, a Process in writing was drawn up of this matter, *March* the 4th. 1681.

At last F. Dom. *John Mabillon*, and F. Dom. *Michael*, having brought with them at their return from their journey into *Italy*, the famous Manuscript of *Arona*, together with a Manuscript of the Monastery of *Bobio*, and another of the Church of St. *John* of *Parma*, wherein the name of *John Gersen* was found, assembled on the 28th. of *July* 1687. the Messieurs *Faure*, *du Cange*, *Du Herouval*, and many other able Men, well vers'd in these matters, who did me the honour to receive me into their number; who having examin'd these three Manuscripts, judg'd, that the name of *Gersen* was written in them by the first hand; that the writing of the first Manuscript did not appear less ancient than 300 years; *Non videtur inferior trecentis annis*; that the second was of the same antiquity, and that the third contain'd (before the Book of Imitation) the Rule of St. *Benedict*, which had been fully written and finish'd, according to the date which is at the end, *August* the 8th. in the year 1466.

Thus you see what is the state of the controversy, which remains undecided to this day, altho' the Process was wholly drawn up, and the Cause ripe for a Sentence, from the Books and Reasons which have been produc'd and alledg'd on both sides; and were at first examin'd, own'd and verified by persons of probity and ability, as all must acknowledge. Let us now therefore make an extract out of the Writings and Exhibits of the parties, and let us then see if there be any way left to give a Decision, and in whose favour Justice and Truth require it should be given.

SECTION II.

The Authors to whom the Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ has been ascribed. Proofs that it is by no means St. Bernard's.

A Dissertation about the Author of the Imitation of Jesus Christ. **T**Here are but four Authors who can have any pretension to the Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ; St. Bernard, John Gerson, the Chancellour of the University of Paris, Thomas à Kempis, and John Gessen or Gersen, an Abbot: For I will not mention Ludolphus the Saxon, to whom it has been ascrib'd in a Manuscript, and under whose name an ancient Translation of it has been printed, because he has so slender a claim, that he cannot with any congruity, be joyn'd with the rest in their pretensions.

St. Bernard seems to have been the first who was in possession of it, at least it was under his name, that the first Edition appear'd, that we now have of the Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ, which was printed in 1485. at Brescia, and taken without doubt, from a Manuscript more ancient, which went under his name, *Incipit Opus D. Bernardi saluberrimum de Imitatione Christi, & Contemptu omnium Vanitatum Mundi, quod Joanni Gersoni Cancellario attribuitur.* It was also under his name, that the first Version of the Imitation was made: For in the Inventory of the Books of John Count of Angoulesme and Perigueux, which was made in 1467. and is in the Court of Exchequer, we find it under this Title, *The Inventory of the Books which are found in the Closet of the deceased Monseigneur, on the 1st. day of January, in 1467.* For towards the end we meet with it in these words, *The Imitation of St. Bernard, with many Prayers and Devotions, in common Letter and Paper, which are very much perished.* Observe these last words, which shew that this Manuscript was then very old in 1467. and consequently, that this Version had been made a long while before, from a Manuscript which went under the name of St. Bernard. Wherefore in the first French Edition of the Imitation at Paris, by Lambert, in 1493. 'tis observ'd, that till that time this Book had been ascrib'd to St. Bernard, or Gerson: *Here begins the most wholesome Book, intitled, De Imitatione Christi, which has hitherto by every one been ascrib'd to St. Bernard, or Mr. John Gerson:* And in another Edition at Paris, by Lenoix, about the year 1500. we have this Title, *The Book of the Imitation of our Lord, as-*

crib'd to St. Bernard, or John Gerson, translated out of Latin into French: Lastly, there are still some Manuscripts, in which it is ascrib'd to St. Bernard; among the rest, there is one in the Library of St. Genevieve, M. Numb. 413.

In the mean time it is impossible to maintain, that it is St. Bernard's, and the Book it self affords a demonstrative proof, that it is not; for St. Francis is quoted in it, in the 50th. Chapter of the third Book. *A Man is only of so much worth, as he is in your Eyes, Lord, and nothing more, says the humble St. Francis.* Now St. Bernard died in 1153. and St. Francis was not born till 1226. Besides, the Style of the Book of the Imitation is much more plain, and the Discourse more unpolish'd than that of St. Bernard: We must therefore say, that it was by the fault of Transcribers or Printers, that this Work has been ascrib'd to him; for they finding it without the Author's name, join'd to some Work of St. Bernard's, as it is still to be found in some Manuscripts, thought that it must certainly be the same Author's, and so boldly put his name to it. This plainly shews, that we must not always trust to the Inscriptions of Manuscripts, and the most ancient Editions. This is all that concerns St. Bernard. If the three others had no more claim than he, or the reasons were no less convincing for taking it away from them, this enquiry would quickly come to an end. But the case is not the same; for they produce many more proofs and testimonies, and there can be no reason, without some reply to them, either to establish or destroy their claim. And this is what we intend to do in the following Paragraphs, wherein we shall first examine the Manuscripts which each produces for himself. 2dly. The ancient Editions which they produce, that are almost equivalent to the Manuscripts, because Printing began a little time after the publication of this Work, and there are even Manuscripts later than some Editions. 3dly. The testimonies which they alledge. 4thly. The reasons they bring to establish their claims. 5thly. The answers they give to the proofs which are offered to destroy it.

SECTION III.

An Examination of the Manuscripts of the Book of the Imitation, which go under the Name of Thomas à Kempis, a Canon Regular of Zwoll.

A Dissertation, &c. **T**HE first of the contending parties whom we will hear, is Thomas à Kempis, whose most probable Title is founded upon a Manuscript of the Imitation, which is to be found in the Jesuits House at Antwerp, written with his own hand in 1441. as these Words written at the end of the Manuscript, give reason to believe: *Finitus & completus Anno Domini, 1441. per manus fratris Thomæ Kemp. in monte S. Agnetis prope Zwoll, i.e. Being finish'd and compleated in the year of our Lord, 1441. by the hand of Fryar Tho. à Kempis in the mount of St. Agnes near Zwoll.* This Manuscript contains the four Books of the Imitation of Jesus Christ under four different Titles: The first under this Title, *Useful Advertisements for a spiritual Life;* aliàs, *Of the Imitation of Jesus Christ.* The second under this, *Advices which carry a Man inward.* The fourth,

which is transpos'd and plac'd in the room of the third, under this Title, *Of the Sacrament of the Altar.* The third, which is plac'd last, under this Title, *Of the interior Speech of Jesus Christ.* And besides these four Books, there are some other Treatises of Thomas à Kempis, viz. *A Treatise of the Discipline of those who are in the Cloyster;* *A Letter of a devout person to a Regular;* *A Recommendation of Humility, of the mortified Life, the peaceable Life of good Men;* *Of the Elevation of the Heart;* *A short Advice about external Behaviour.* Now all these Treatises are, without dispute, Thomas à Kempis's; from whence it is infer'd, that the four first are also his, and so much the rather, because if they had been another Author's, he would not have fail'd to have set down his name. This Manuscript is authentick, for it is mark'd at the beginning, *That it is at the Monastery of*

A Dissertation about the Author of the Imitation of Jesus Christ. of the Canons Regular of Mount St. Agnes, a Virgin and Martyr near to Zwoll. And afterwards, we find written with a later hand, that Friar John Latomus, a Regular of the Order of Regulars, in the House near Herental, Minister-General of this Order, having visited the Monastery of St. Agnes, near Zwoll, had remov'd the Ruins of this Monastery, lest it should entirely be lost, and carried it to Antwerp, where he had left it in 1577. in the hands of his ancient and faithful Friend John Beller, who had given it in favour of his Children, to the F. F. of the Society of Jesus, in 1590.

Those who maintain, that *Thomas à Kempis* is not the Author of the Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ, answer, that this Manuscript rather favours them than the contrary: 1st. Because it proves only, that *Thomas à Kempis* is the Transcriber of the Books of Imitation, and not that he is the Author of them. This is all that is signified by what is set down at the end, and the same observation is to be met with in a Volume of a Bible, written by *Thomas à Kempis*; finished and compleated in 1439. on the Vigil of St. James, by the hands of Friar Thomas à Kempis, &c. which shews, that this is the common and ordinary form which mere Transcribers were wont to make use of at that time. 2^{dly}. That tho' this Manuscript be written with the hand of *Thomas à Kempis*, yet it cannot be said, that this is the Original of that Book, because it is evident, and confessed by all the World, that there are Manuscripts of the Book of Imitation more ancient than this; among the rest, a Manuscript of the first Book, which ends thus, *Here ends this Treatise, written in the Council of Basil, in 1437. and finish'd with the help of God, by me Gottingen*: It cannot therefore be said, that this is the Original of *Thomas à Kempis*'s Composition; it can be no more than a copy which he wrote out of his own Works. 3^{dly}. There are some things in this Manuscript which may make it doubtful, whether *Thomas à Kempis* be the Author of the Book; for if he were, 'tis reasonable to believe, that he would not have plac'd the fourth Book in the room of the third; he would not have left in it so many faults, such as omissions, particularly at *Lib. 1. cap. 13.* after this Verse, *Principiis obsta, sero medicina paratur*, this other Verse necessary for compleating the sense, is omitted, *Cum mala per longas invaluere Moras*, and at *Lib. 2. cap. 11. Raro invenitur tam spiritualis*, the Word *invenitur* is forgotten; and gross faults, as at *Lib. 1. cap. 12. Non bene nobis creditur*, for *de nobis*; at *Lib. 2. cap. 5. Debes habere* for *velles habere*, *Lib. 4.* (which is the third Book in the printed copies) *cap. 36. succumbi* for *succumbere*, *cap. 55. stips* for *stipes* or *stirps*; and Words repeated twice and eraz'd. If these things be true, say they, then those who publish'd the Book of the Imitation under the name of *Thomas à Kempis*, have not in every thing followed this Manuscript as they ought to have done, if it were certain that this was the last copy of the Author, which ought therefore to be most correct. 4^{thly}. 'Tis pretended, that this is not a proof that the Imitation is *Thomas à Kempis*'s, because it is joyn'd to the Works which are ascrib'd to him, that there are very often found in one and the same Volume, the Works of different Authors; and perhaps there may be some cause to doubt, whether these other Works which are joyn'd to this, are all of them *Thomas à Kempis*'s.

To the first Objection it is reply'd, that 'tis true, it cannot be infer'd merely from the words that are at the end of this Manuscript, that it is *Thomas à Kempis*'s; nay, 'tis confess'd, that in humility he would not put his name to this Work, that he lov'd rather to pass for the Transcriber than the Author of it; but still it is pretended, that this being joyn'd to the other Works which are uncontestably his, in one and the same Manuscript, all written out with his own hand, 'tis no ways probable that it should be any other Author's; and so much the rather, because *Thomas à Kempis* did not make any distinction between them, and never observ'd that the Imitati-

on was another Author's. As to the 2^d. that 'tis not pretended, that this Manuscript was the first Original of *Thomas à Kempis*, but that it was only a copy written out in 1441. of a Work which he compos'd about the year 1415. As to the 3^d. 'tis reply'd; that an Author who transcribes his own Work, may sometimes commit faults through inadvertency; that the transposal of the Book is not a fault, since these Books never had any certain order; that the Verse, *Cum mala per longas*, &c. is omitted not only in this Manuscript, but in others which go not under the name of *Kempis*; and that *Cajetan* and *Walgrave* did think it needless, since they have not put it in their Editions. As to the last, 'tis reply'd, that this Manuscript being written from beginning to end, with the hand of *Thomas à Kempis*, it cannot be said, that it was by chance he joyn'd these Works together, and that 'tis no wise probable, he should write a Treatise which is none of his, with those Treatises which are his, and never make any distinction between them.

There is another Manuscript also written with the hand of *Tho. à Kempis*, which has a declaration written at the end of it, in 1586. by *John Ulimmerius*; *Hic liber est scriptus manu & characteribus reverendi & religiosi Patris, P. Thomæ Kempis, Canonici Regularis, in Monte St. Agnetis, qui est autor horum libellorum devotorum*: *Joannes Ulimmerius scripsit, 1586.* This Manuscript is in the Library of St. Martin of Louvain, it contains the Soliloquy of the Soul, the three first Books of Imitation, the Treatise of the Elevation of the Soul, a brief Advice for spiritual Exercise, the Treatise of the Sacrament (which is the fourth Book of Imitation) whereof there is nothing but the Preface: 'Tis partly written on Parchment, and partly on Paper. There are in it the same omissions which are in the other, and the same reflections may be made upon them; and so much the rather, because it is not himself, but another who testifies, that it was written with the hand of *Thomas à Kempis*, and that he is the Author of it; and this he did in 1586. which is more than a hundred years after his death; which renders his testimony, both as to the writing and composure of *Thomas à Kempis*, of little authority. Those who have seen these two Manuscripts, and might have compar'd them together, have never told us, whether the hands be like one another. Let us now proceed to the other Manuscripts, which are not written out with the hand of *Thomas à Kempis*, but only go under his name, which are produc'd by the F. F. of St. Genevieve.

The first is a Manuscript of St. Martin of Louvain, which contains the little Garden of Roses, and three Books of Imitation, viz. the 1st. the 4th. and the 3^d. at the end whereof these Words are read; *Expliciunt tractatus quatuor Fratris Thomæ Kempis devoti & interni, scripti, illuminati & ligati per manus fratris Symonis Jacobi, de Leydis, Professi in Leyderdorp. pro tunc Socii Rectoris hujus Monasterii sancti monialium Antiquarum in Aemstelredam Anno scilicet Domini 1482. in professo Willibrord Episcopi. i. e.* Here end the four Treatises of Friar *Thomas à Kempis*; a devout and inward Man, written, enlightned, and bound up by the hands of Friar *Simon James*, of Leyden, a Regular of *Leyderdorp*, at that time the Companion of the Rector of the ancient Nuns of this Monastery of *Amsterdam*, in the year of our Lord, 1482. on the Festival-day of St. *Willibrord*, Bishop. Here is a Manuscript of 1482. whose Transcriber does plainly ascribe three Books of the Imitation to *Thomas à Kempis*.

The second is a Manuscript of the House of St. Peter and St. Anthony, at *Delhem*, wherein there is found an Extract taken out of the Treatise of the Cloyster of the Soul, by *Hugo Foliot*, written in 1475. and the Book of Imitation under this Title, *A Treatise of the Contempt of the World*; at the end whereof there is written with another hand: *Explicit libellus de Contemptu Mundi, quem fecit frater Thomas Kempis, professus in Monte Agnetis Ordinis Canoniconum*.

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canonicorum Regularium, obiit etatis sue Anno 92, in Ordine devotus 65, requiescat in perpetua pace de primis pro quo solvi debitum, Anno 1471. Cosma & Damiani quo Anno obiit, i. e. Here ends the Book of the Contempt of the World, which was made by Friar Thomas à Kempis a Regular of Mount St. Agnes, of the Order of Canons Regulars, who died in the 92d. year of his age, in the 65th. after his admission into his Order, and in 1471. on the day of St. Cosmas and St. Damian: Let him rest in eternal Peace. This Manuscript does not contribute much to confirm the claim of Thomas à Kempis, because this observation was not made with the hand of him who wrote the Manuscript, who left the Treatise anonymous.

The third is a Manuscript of the Canons Regular of the Holy Cross of *Ausburg*, which contains four Books of the Imitation, at the end whereof are found these Words; *Compiler hujus Opusculi fuit quidam frater Thomas nomine de Conventu & Ordine Canonicorum Regularium Ordinis S. Augustini, Montis S. Agnetis Trajectensis, i. e. The Compiler of this Treatise is Friar Thomas, of the Convent and Order of Canons Regulars, of the Order of St. Augustine, of Mount St. Agnes, of Utrecht. Bollandus and Heslerus have pretended, that this Manuscript is of the year 1440. but in that which was produc'd by the Canons Regulars of St. Genevieve, there was no date at all, and those who are well vers'd in these matters, could not pitch upon the time in which it might be written; and therefore we cannot tell, whether it be more ancient or later than that of 1441. besides, that Thomas à Kempis is here describ'd only as a Compiler.*

The fourth is a Manuscript in the Library of St. Martin at *Louvain*, which at the head of the first Book, has the name of Thomas à Kempis, *Liber primus fratris Thomæ à Kempis, Canonici Regularis de Imitatione Christi.* This Manuscript has its date at the end, which is but in the year 1524. *Ultima Decembris finientis Anni 1524. in Festo S. Sylvestri Papæ & Confessoris.*

They alledge also many other Manuscripts, which have been seen and quoted by those who have written about these matters, whose testimonies they relate, as a Manuscript of the Convent of the Carthusians at *Brussels*, written in 1463. containing the 4 Books of Imitation, without the name of the Author indeed, but only under the title of a Regular: *Explicit devotus tractatus cujusdam Regularis, de interna locutione Christi ad Animam fidelem, scriptus per manus Jacobi Bacult, Laici reddit. Finitus in Anno Jubileo, 1473. die mensis Octobris, & pertinet ad Carthusienses Domus Sylvæ Sancti Martini prope Gerald Montem.* This Manuscript is cited by *Chiffletius*, in the 7th. Chapter of his Apology, and he affirms that he had it in his hands. There is another Manuscript at *Utrecht* cited by the same Author, upon the credit of *Lappius*, who believ'd it to be of the 14th. Century, in which the name of Thomas a Regular is thrice repeated. There are two Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. John Baptist, of *Rebdorf*, without date, which according to the Certificate of Father *Breidenbach*, Subprior of this Monastery, and of a Notary, go under the name of Thomas à Kempis; a Manuscript in the Library of *Afflighew*, cited by *Sanderus*, upon the Testimonial of Father *Cambiere*, a Benedictine Regular of that Abbey, which goes under the name of Thomas à Kempis; a Manuscript in the Monastery of Canons Regulars of *Maseyke*, quoted by *Rosweidus*, which was written in 1477. by *Cornelius Offermans*, which goes under the name of Thomas à Kempis; a Manuscript in the Library of *David Ehinger*, of the City of *Kirchen*, in the Dutchy of *Wirttemberg*, quoted by *Prosper Farandus*, which contains three Books of the Imitation, with the name of Thomas à Kempis; upon which it is observ'd, that this Book is of the Author's hand, who wrote it in 1425. But since there is now no such Manuscript, neither is it said, with what hand

this is observ'd, no great matter can be built upon it: A Manuscript in the Library of *Ausburg*, attested by the Surrogate Bishop of that City, without any date, wherein the Imitation carries the name of Thomas à Kempis; a Manuscript in the Library of *Ausburg*, which contains four Books of the Imitation under the name of Thomas à Kempis, as the Catalogue printed in 1633. gives ground to believe; and wherein there is no more but the last joyn'd to the other Treatises of Thomas a Canon Regular of Mount St. Agnes in a Volume, on the first Page whereof it is observ'd, that this Book was for the use of Friar John Lefort, a Reader of Divinity, and that it was given in 1490. in the Octave of St. Martin, by John Carpenter, Provincial of the Order of the Carmelites.

To these particular Manuscripts of the Imitation of Jesus Christ, which go under the name of Thomas à Kempis, we may joyn the ancient Collections of the Works of this Author, among which the Imitation is plac'd. The first is a Manuscript in the Library of the Monastery of St. Barbe, of the Carthusians of *Cologne*, containing divers Treatises, the Titles whereof are at the top, viz. *The Mirror of Henry of Hesse, the Book of discerning Spirits by the same, and afterwards, Some Tracts of a devout Regular (where some person has added on the Margin, whose Name is Thomas à Kempis, of a Convent near to Zwoll) Of the Sacrament of the Altar; of the seven things which most pleased God in his Elect; the Bre-viloquium of spiritual Exercises; a Treatise of some Virtues; the Soliloquy of the Soul by way of Dialogue; the little Book which is call'd, Qui sequitur me.* Towards the end of the Book, about the Sacrament of the Altar, 'tis observ'd, that this Treatise was written in 1447. on St. Simon and St. Jude's Day. The two first Treatises of this Manuscript, which are Henry Hesse's, and the last which is the first Book of the Imitation, are written in a different hand from the rest, which are written in a hand resembling that in which the Catalogue is written. This was the Judgment of men well versed in these matters: But the Name of Thomas à Kempis appears to be written lately. There are also two other Collections alledged, one which is in the Monastery of *Benedictines* of Mount *Blandin*, near *Gant*; which according to the Certificate of Father *Vanbeul*, Library-keeper to this Abby, authorized by the Dean of the Church of *Gant*, contains many Works of Thomas à Kempis, which begin with the Sermons to the Novices, together with their Preface, which is intitled, *Here begins the Prologue of that devout Man Friar Thomas à Kempis, a Priest, a Canon Regular profess'd, who died in the Monastery of St. Agnes near Zwoll; after this follow the Sermons:* There are many other Works of the same Author, among which is found that of the Imitation. This Manuscript has no Date; and there was never any Judgment given of its Antiquity. The third Collection is, that which is found in the Library of the *Benedictines* of St. Martin at *Tournay*, which is alledged by *Chiffletius*, it contains the Book of the Discipline of those who are in the Cloyster; Spiritual Exercises; the Treatise of a Man's acknowledgment of his own Frailty; a short Advertisement of the Spiritual Exercise; Useful Advices for a spiritual Life (this is the 1st Book of the Imitation) Advertisements which carry a man inward. (that's the 2d. Book) and at the end is written with the same hand and in Red, *Friar Thomas à Kempis, Canon-Regular of the Monastery of St. Agnes near Zwoll, in the Diocese of Utrecht, wrote the Tracts above recited.* This Manuscript is without Date.

To these Collections we may add the Manuscript Catalogues of Books, wherein the Imitation is found commended under the Name of Thomas à Kempis, such as that of the Library of *Endovia*, which is joined to another Catalogue of *Sancta Maria* of *Arnhem*, dated in the year 1472. A Catalogue of the Books of about a hundred Libraries of *Germany*, which contain short

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A Dissertation about the Author of the Imitation of Jesus Christ. short Characters of Authors, wherein there is found at Page 302. what follows, *Friar Thomas à Kempis, of the Diocese of Cologne, a Canon Regular at Mount St. Agnes near Zwol, in the Diocese of Utrecht, being well versed in the Holy Scripture; has Compil'd many Tracts, which are witnesses of his Devotion; and useful for Regulars; viz. Advertisements for a Spiritual Life, otherwise called, of the Imitation of Jesus Christ; Advices which lead to an inward Life, and of inward Conversation; of Internal Consolation or Speech; of the Holy Communion, or the Preparation of a Man for the Communion.* There is another Catalogue joyned to the preceeding, wherein at the Letter T: there is put under the Name of *Thomas à Kempis* the four Books of the Imitation, together with the Book of the three Tabernacles, and of *Mary and Martha*; these three Catalogues are in the Library of *St. Martin of Louvain*. There is also a Catalogue in the Library of *St. Maria of Arnhem*; dated in 1496. wherein the four Books of the Imitation are found under the Name of *Thomas à Kempis*. Three ancient Catalogues in the Library of the Monastery of *St. John Baptist de Rebdorf*, containing the Titles of all the Works of *Thomas à Kempis*, among which are found the Books of the Imitation; whereof one bears date 1488. and goes under the Name of *Friar Nicolas Numan of Frankfurt*, a Regular of *Frankendal*. An Observation which is at the end of the Monastery of *St. Catherine of Aushburg*, wherein are the Lives of *Gerard and Florence* in German; wherein 'tis observed that this Book is *Thomas à Kempis's*, who wrote a Devout Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ.

The General Answer which is given to all these Manuscripts is this, that being all later than that of *Antwerp*, in 1441. which has the Name of *Thomas à Kempis* at the end of it, altho' it be only in the

quality of a Transcriber, and not of the Author, it was very possible that one of these might be taken for the other; and that the Book might be ascribed to *Thomas à Kempis* as the Author; which he had only Transcrib'd. That this it is which has deceived some of those who have since Copied out or Printed this Work; and many Authors who have ascribed it to him. That there is not any Manuscript found before the year 1441. which goes under the Name of *Thomas à Kempis*, and that there were many of the same time and since that, which are Anonymous. That these Manuscripts are not more considerable, nor more Ancient than those which ascribe the same Book to *St. Bernard*, to *Gerson*, or *Gersen*, even while *Thomas à Kempis* was alive. But on the contrary, the latter are more ancient. That no where but in *Flanders* or *Germany* are there any Manuscripts to be found which go under the Name of *Thomas*, and that all those which are in *France* and *Italy* are anonymous; or go under the Name of *Gerson*, or *Gersen*, which shews that those who first put his Name to the Manuscripts were deceiv'd by the Manuscript of *Thomas à Kempis*, in 1441. That in the Manuscripts which carry the Name of *Thomas à Kempis*, the four Books are parted, and under different Titles, as if they were four different Treatises, and often they are transpos'd; whereas in the greatest part of the other Manuscripts which are more ancient, the four Books of Imitation are placed there under the same Title, and in their Natural Order. These are the Exceptions which are made against the great number of Manuscripts which are alledged on behalf of *Thomas à Kempis*, which depend upon the Manuscripts which the others produce, whereof we shall speak hereafter. Let us now come to the Editions which have been made under the name of *Thomas à Kempis*.

SECTION IV.

The Editions of the Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ under the Name of Thomas à Kempis.

A Dissertation about the Author of the Imitation of Jesus Christ. **T**IS true, the first Edition which is alledg'd with a Date of the Imitation of Jesus Christ under the Name of *Thomas à Kempis*, is in 1475. tho' the Copy of it is never produced; but then 'tis said that there is one in the Library of the Republick of *Ausburg*, Cod. 32. of Theological Books, wherein the 4 Books of the Imitation are printed in Folio, without a Date indeed, but at the end there is found this Note, *Viri Egregii Thomæ Montis Sanctæ Agnetis in Traiecto Regularis Canonici, Libri de Christi Imitatione numero quatuor finiunt feliciter, per Zanitherum Zainer ex Rentlingen progenitum, literis impressi abeicis: i. e.* Here end the 4 Books of the Imitation of Jesus Christ, by that Excellent man *Thomas a Canon Regular of Mount St. Agnes of Utrecht*, printed in Letters of Brass by *Gonther Zainer*, a Native of *Rentlingen*; *Zainer* died April the 14th. in 1475. as is proved by the Burial-Book of the Canons Regular of the Holy-Cross of *Ausburg*, and therefore this Edition must be more ancient than the former. There is an Edition of the Mirror of Human Life by *Roderic of Zamara*, printed in 1471. by *Zainer*. And lastly it is observ'd upon the Copy whereof we are now speaking, that it was bought by the Convent of Friars Carmelites of *Ausburg*. Supposing the truth of these matters of Fact, it cannot be deny'd, but the Books of the Imitation were printed under the Name of *Thomas à Kempis*, a little time after his Death.

The Second Edition which is alledg'd is that of *Strasbourg*, in 1487. 'Tis said that it was in the Library of *Prague*; and *Heferus* relates that he found it at *Aushburg*, in the Library of the Canons Regular of *St. George*. It begins thus; *Incipit Liber primus fratris Thomæ de Kempis, Canonici Regularis, Ordinis St. Augustini, de Imitatione Christi, & de contemptu omnium vanitatum Mundi. Capitulum primum. Qui sequitur me, &c.* and at the end, *Fratris Thomæ de Kempis de Imitatione Christi, & de contemptu omnium vanitatum Mundi, devotum & utile Opusculum finit feliciter, Argentine impressum, per Martinum Flach, Anno Dom. 1487.*

There is also alledg'd another Edition in the same year at *Nuremberg*, which is mentioned in the Addition to the History of the Library of *Nuremberg*.

There are 3 Editions in 1480. one at *Ingolstadt*, the other at *Lyons*, and a 3d. at *Memmingen*, and one at *Lunenburg*, in 1493.

The first which fell into our hands is the French at *Paris*, in 1493. which we have already quoted, and has these words at the top, *Here begins the most wholesome Book intitled, Of the Imitation of Jesus Christ our Lord, and a perfect contempt of this miserable World, which by some has been hitherto ascrib'd to St. Bernard, or Mr. John Gerson, tho' really it does not belong to them: For the Author of this Book under our Lord, was a Venerable Father, and most Devout Canon-Regular, who in his own time lived in a Regular Observa-*

A Dissertation about the Author of the Imitation of Jesus Christ. tion of the Rule of my Lord St. Austine named Friar Thomas de Kempis.

After this follows an Edition of the Works of Thomas à Kempis, in 1494. at Nuremberg, by Gaspar Hochfeder, by the Care of Peter Danhauser, and at the sollicitation of George Pickamer, Prior of the Carthusians of that City, wherein the Treatise of the Imitation is at the head of all the works, with this Observation; *Dulcissimi & Divi Thomæ de Kempis viri piissimi, religiosissimi quæ de Imitatione Christi, Opus: quod falso apud vulgares Gersoni Parisiensi Cancellario impingitur.*

There are also before that at Paris, one by Badius in 1520. which some have thought to be the first Edition, under the Name of Thomas à Kempis; that of Collogne, in 1507. and that at Antwerp, in 1519.

In the Editions of the Works of Thomas à Kempis by Badius, in 1520, 1521, and 1523. the Book of the Imitation is there with this Note, that it was falsely ascrib'd to Gerson. It was also printed at Venice, in 1535. among some Works of Thomas à Kempis with the same Note. I pass over in silence the Paris Editions of the years 1541, 1549, 1561. and 1574. and at Antwerp, in 1535, 1550, 1552, 1559, 1575, 1587, 1592, 1599, 1607. after which followed that of 1616. by Bellerus from the Manuscript written with the Author's own hand, in 1441. at Lyons in the years 1554, 1555, 1596, and 1601. at Vienna in Austria, in 1561. at Lisbon in the same year; at Dillingen in the years 1571, and 1576. at Basil in 1563. in which the 3 first Books are turn'd into fine Latin by Sebastian Castalio, which have been publish'd since after the same manner by Francis Toll, who translated the 4th. Book, and printed them together at Antwerp, in 1575. at Collogne in the years 1575, 1582, 1591, 1601, 1607, and 1610. and at Rome, in 1583. wherein the Book of the Imitation is printed under the Name of Thomas à Kempis, a Canon Regular, or with this Observation, that it

has been falsely ascrib'd to Gerson. Neither shall I mention the Editions, in Vulgar Tongues, such as the French Version, printed in 1564. the Italian printed at Venice in 1569. a Spanish Version of Louis de Grenada, printed in 1542. two other Versions in the same Tongue printed in 1615, and 1633. a Version into Flemish by Nicholas Winge a Canon Regular of Louvain, printed at Louvain in 1584, and 1576. and at Antwerp, in 1591. a German Version printed at Dillingen in 1554, and 1555. the Translations into the Turkish Language, in 1580. into the Bohemian in 1600. into the English in 1611. into the Greek at Ausburg, in 1615. into the Japan, Arabick and Hungarian Tongues in 1636.

This multitude of Editions does no ways terrify the Adversaries of Thomas à Kempis, for the latter are of no great Authority, and to the former they oppose Editions equally ancient, which ascribe this Book to St. Bernard, or to Gerson, under whose Name it appeared many times in Italy, and France, before the Name of Thomas à Kempis was mention'd. These Editions were Published since the death of the Author, at a time when some in Germany and Flanders thought the Book of Imitation was his; and they are either in Germany, or Flanders; for there is never an ancient Edition in Italy or France under the Name of that Author, but they are almost all under the Name of Gerson. Lastly, It is not by Editions that we must decide this Question, but by Manuscripts, for if another Author has some of these more ancient than Thomas à Kempis, this Book can be none of his.

If those which go under the Name of Gerson, or Gersen, are more ancient and more authentical than those which go under the Name of Thomas, 'tis more natural to ascribe it to them than to this latter. Upon this depends the Decision of the Question, and the number of later Editions ought not to be any prejudice against the Manuscripts.

SECTION V.

The Testimonies of Authors which are alledg'd in Favour of Thomas à Kempis.

A Dissertation, &c. THE Testimony of Cotemporary Authors who wrote and lived immediately after an Author, is of great moment to discover his true Works; and many such Testimonies are produc'd to prove that the Book of the Imitation is Thomas à Kempis's.

The 1st. is John Busch, a Canon-Regular of Windesem, who finish'd the Chronicle of his Monastery in 1464. as he himself observes in his Preface, and as may be inferr'd from Chap. 4. and 5. of the 2d. Book of that Chronicle, wherein he remarks that it was more than 70 years since the Monastery of Windesem was founded. This Author speaking in Chap. 21. of the 2d. Book of the death of John of Huesden, Prior of the Monastery of Windesem, says, that a few days before his death it happened that two considerable Friars of Mount St. Agnes near Zwoll, of his own order, came to meet this Prior, and consult him about some things; of whom, one was Friar Thomas à Kempis, a man of an Exemplary Life, who wrote many devout Books, (viz. He that follows me, Of the Imitation of Jesus Christ, with some others,) and the next Night he had a Dream which presaged future things; For he saw in the Night time a meeting of Blessed Spirits in Heaven, who crowded as it were for the death of a certain Person; and when he heard the Bell Knowl, as it

us'd to do for a Dying-man, he awoke out of Sleep; and from hence he conjectured that the Prior of Windesem would quickly die. *Contigit ante paucos dies sui obitus, ut duo fratres notabiles de monte Sanctæ Agnetis prope Zwoll Ordinis nostri, dictum Priorem nostrum super certis rebus consulturi in Windesem advenirent, quorum unus frater Thomas de Kempis, Vir probatæ vitæ, qui plures devotos libros composuit, viz. Qui sequitur me, De Imitatione Christi, cum aliis, nocte insectâ somnium vidit præfagium futurorum. Aspexit namq; in visu noctis concursum Spirituum beatorum fieri in cælestibus, quasi pro alicujus morte celeriter festinantium statimq; tabulam tanquam pro morientis exitu in somnis audivit pulsari, ut exinde experrectus evigilaret. In se itaque reversus cœpit tacite cogitare, quod Prior in Windesem in brevi esset migraturus.* This Passage is not only printed by Busch, but is found also in a Manuscript of the Abby of St. Martin of Louvain, and in another Manuscript of St. Peter and St. Anthony of Dalhem, which were exhibited by the Canons Regular of St. Genevieve, in a Manuscript of the Library of Utrecht, and in that of Rebdorf, according to the Authentick Testimonies of the Library-Keeper of Utrecht, and the Suffragan Bishop of Ausburg. The Manuscript in the Library of Rebdorf, was written in 1477. by Friar John Offenburg, aged 70 years, as is observed in the Manuscript. *Finit feliciter per me fratrem*

A Dissertation about the Author of the Imitation of Jesus Christ. fratrem Joannem Offenburg in Perpgarten Professum feria tertia ante Dionysii festum, anno ætatis meæ circiter septuagesimo, anno vero Incarnationis 1477. sine speculo oculari scriptum. This Offenburg died in 1479. as is observ'd in the same Page, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ 1479. obiit idem frater Joannes Offenburg. Nevertheless this Parenthesis is suspected of Forgery, Quorum unus frater, Thomas à Kempis, &c. or at least these words, Qui sequitur me, de Imitatione Christi; and 'tis pretended the Parenthesis was added some time after. First, because it has no Connexion, nor Relation to what goes before, and what follows after. Secondly, because it promises to speak of two Friars, and yet it names only Thomas à Kempis. Thirdly, because in order to the Revelation of this Vision, it was needless to alledge that Thomas à Kempis had wrote Devout Books. Fourthly, because it seems to be an Affectation among these Books to name only the Imitation of Jesus Christ. That if one observes narrowly this Construction, qui plures devotos libros composuit, viz. Qui sequitur me, de Imitatione Christi, he will find it very probable that these words, viz. Qui sequitur me, &c. are added. This Conjecture would be past all doubt, if there be, as one told me, a Manuscript of the Chronicle by Busch, written in 1464. wherein this Parenthesis is not to be found; for the Manuscripts wherein it is, being Copied out since that time, 'tis easie to conceive that this Addition was made to them, as many others have been: But tho' it were manifest that this Parenthesis was written by Busch, in 1464. yet it is possible that this Author may be deceived, and ascribe to Thomas à Kempis a Book whereof he was only the Transcriber.

The Second Witness is Matthias Farinator, of the Order of the Carmelites of Vienna in Austria, who is the Author of a Book of Moralities, intitled, The Light of the Soul, printed at Antwerp, in 1477. 'Tis said, that he wrote the Book of the Imitation with his own hand, under the Name of Thomas à Kempis, and that his Copy is found with the other Treatises in the Library of Ausburg, as the Catalogue of that Library shews. The Books of the Imitation are only in Manuscript, but there are other Books, at the end of which, 'tis observed, that they were written in 1472. with the hand of Matthias, and another which is a Soliloquy of Hugo, in 1475.

As to this witness, 'tis said that he may do very much hurt to Thomas à Kempis, but can do him no service; because this Matthias Farinator lived under the Pontificate of John XXII. who sat in the Holy See, from 1316. to the year 1334. by whose Order he undertook to Compose the Book of the Light of the Soul. Possevin and Simlerus place him at the same time. If it be thus, and that he transcribed the Book of the Imitation, then it could not be Thomas à Kempis's, since this Farinator must be dead before the year 1406. wherein Thomas became a Regular Profess'd. To this 'tis replied, that Matthias Farinator was not of the Fourteenth, but of the Fifteenth Century; as the Date of his Manuscript shews; that Trithemius has not put him in the Catalogue of his Writers which ends at the year 1494. nor Arnoldboiens, in his Catalogue of the Writers of the Order of Carmelites, which was finished about the same time: That Possevin and Simler were deceived, because they thought that Matthias Farinator wrote his Book by the Order of John XXII. for there is no such thing said in the Preface, as these Authors thought, that Farinator Composed this Book by the Order of Pope John XXII. but, that this Book was written in the time of Pope John XXII. and after it had remained a long while concealed and in obscurity, he had put it into better order, divided it into Chapters and Paragraphs, and made a Table to it. Here follow the words, Liber Moralitatum jussu Joannis Pontificis Maximi Lumen Animæ dictus, quem post diutinam occultationem cum adhuc informis esset, Simplicioribus rudis & obscurus appareret, frater Matthias Farinator de Vienna, Sacri Ordinis, B. Dei Genetricis & Virgi-

V O L. III.

A Dissertation about the Author of the Imitation of Jesus Christ. nis Mariæ, de Monte Carmeli Lectorum Sacræ Theologiæ minimus, in Titulos, & Titulos in Paragraphos distinxit; Moralitates omnes pariter Naturales per binas Tabulaturas consignans, & editus est anno 1477. 'Tis therefore very probable that Matthias lived at the end of the Fifteenth Century, and that he did not Compose, but put in Order, Correct, and Publish the Book of Moralities. If this be so, it may be said, that supposing he had written the Imitation of Jesus Christ under the Name of Thomas à Kempis, yet he was impos'd upon by some Manuscript which was taken from that of 1441. which made some believe that this Book was Thomas à Kempis's. I say, suppose he had written it under his Name, for there is no such thing in this Manuscript; yet it may be, that the Author of the Catalogue having drawn it up at such a time as Thomas à Kempis was commonly believed to be the Author of the Book of Imitation, might add his Name to it, tho' it was not in this Manuscript. Lastly, since we have not the Original written with Farinator's own hand, we can lay no great stress upon this.

The third Witness which is produc'd for Thomas à Kempis, is the Anonymous Author of his Life who ascribes to him the Book of the Imitation; and in the Body of the Life he says, that we may see in his Treatise of the Interior Conversation of Jesus Christ with the Soul, Ch. 2. what he said to the Lord in his Solitude, and in the Ancient Catalogue which concludes his Life.

Against this Witness, 'tis alledg'd, that he was not Cotemporary to Thomas à Kempis; that he had neither seen nor known him, since he says, that he learned what he wrote of his Life from the Friars of his Convent, who were still alive; a Fratribus illius Conventus qui adhuc vivunt; and that he speaks of the time when Thomas became a Regular, as a thing that was past many years ago: Tunc temporis fuit Consuetudinis ut sic per sex annos probentur, priusquam investiantur. And therefore we must not wonder that he speaks according to the Common opinion in Germany, of the Book of Imitation: That besides, this Life was interpolated, and that neither the Catalogue, nor the last words wherein he promises it, are to be found in the Editions of Venice, in 1568, and 1576. that the Catalogues of the Works of Thomas à Kempis do neither agree among themselves, nor with that of Trithemius. Lastly, that the Continuator of the Chronicle of Mount St Agnes, who wrote the Life of Thomas in 1477. says nothing like this which is in the Life of the Anonymous, and speaks not any ways of the Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ; but only observes that he Composed some Tracts for the Edification of younger People in a plain and easie Style but very considerable for their Sense and Force.

The Fourth is Peter Shot, a Canon of Strasburg, who published in 1488. an Edition of the Works of Gerson, wherein he observes, that he has not added here those Treatises which had been sometimes ascribed to Gerson, and who have certainly another Author, as the Book of the Contempt of the World, which as is manifest, was written by one Thomas a Canon Regular; quem constat esse a quodam Thoma Canonico Regulari editum: But that which seemed manifest to Shot, will not appear so to those who ascribe this Book to Gerson.

The Fifth is John Kunne of Dunderstat, who printed in 1489. a Book of the Elevation of the Soul to God, wherein he ascribes the Book of the Imitation to Thomas à Kempis.

The Sixth is John Mauburne, an Abbot of Livry, the Author of the Spiritual Rosary, printed at Basil, in 1491. who quotes in this Work the Book of the Imitation, under the Name of Thomas à Kempis, and who in another Manuscript Work of the Ecclesiastical Writers, of the Order of Canons Regular, ranks in this Number Thomas à Kempis, upon the account of the Books which he Composed; among which he names that which begins with these words, Qui sequitur me; which some have falsely ascribed to

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A Dissertation about the Author of the Imitation of Jesus Christ. to Gerson. This Author wrote not this till towards the end of the 15th. Century. He owns that from this time this Book had been ascrib'd to Gerson; nevertheless he thinks that it was *Thomas à Kempis's*, but he gives no manner of proof of this opinion, and so his testimony is not decisive in the case.

The seventh at last is *Trithemius*, who in his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, which was finish'd in 1494. places the Imitation of Jesus Christ, which he intitles *De Contemptu Mundi*, beginning with these words, *Qui sequitur me*, at the head of the Works of *Thomas à Kempis*, who flourish'd about the year 1410. But the same Author, in his Book of the illustrious Men of Germany, written some time after, distinguishes two *Thomas à Kempis's*, both Canons Regular of Mount St. Agnes, of Zwoll, whereof one was more ancient, and flourish'd in the time of Gerard le Grand, past for the Author of the Imitation of Jesus Christ, tho' some were not of that opinion: His words are these; *Et notandum quod duo feruntur hujus fuisse Nominis, ambo de Kempis, Regulares in Monte S. Agnetis, ambo varia cudentes Opuscula, quorum primus temporibus M. Gerardi Magni ad Religionem conversus, divinis Revelationibus dignus habitus, ea quæ supra recensuimus Opuscula scripsisse dicitur. Secundus vero adhuc nostris temporibus pene viguit in humanis, & varia composuit quæ ad manus nostras non venerunt, & forsitan primo nonnulla sunt ascripta, quæ secundus fecisse putatur. Libellus autem de Imitatione Christi primi fertur Autoris, quem ante multos annos seniores nostri suos ferunt legisse seniores; quamvis sciam nonnullos in hac re sentire contrarium. Claruit autem Thomas iste senior sub Ruperto Bayaro Cl. Imperatore Anno Domini 1410. Tri-*

themius having learn'd; after he had wrote his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, that *Thomas à Kempis* had liv'd till his time, could not imagine that it was he who flourish'd in 1410. and who wrote the Book of the Imitation, which was more ancient, and had been read, as he says, by his Seniors Seniors. He does therefore distinguish two *Thomas à Kempis's*, the one more ancient, the Disciple of Gerard le Grand, and the other later, confounding *John à Kempis* the Brother of *Thomas*, who had been indeed the Disciple of Gerard le Grand, and Canon Regular of Zwoll, with *Thomas* himself: And therefore this testimony of *Trithemius* seems to prove, that the Book of the Imitation is more ancient than *Thomas à Kempis*, and that in his time it was not certain that it was his.

To these Authors some joyn *George Pirkammer*, Prior of the *Carthusians* of Nuremberg, and *Peter Danhauffer*, who procur'd the Edition of the Books of the Imitation in 1494. under the name of *Thomas à Kempis*; and an anonymous Author, who wrote a manuscript Letter, in the Library of St. German de Prez, in 1496. who quotes the Imitation as *Thomas à Kempis's*, *John Geiler*, of Keiserberg, who quotes it under the name of *Thomas*, in 1499. in his Treatise, intitled, *Navicula sive speculum Fatuorum*; *Philip of Bergamo*, who praises *Thomas à Kempis*, and attributes to him the Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ in his Chronicle at the year 1506. and many other Authors of the 16th. Century, which it were needless to mention, because their testimony is of no authority.

SECTION VI.

The Reasons which are brought to shew, that the Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ is Thomas à Kempis's.

A Dissertation, &c. **T**HE Reasons upon which this opinion is grounded, that the Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ is *Thomas à Kempis's*, are these; 1. The agreement of the Style of this Work with that of the other Works of *Thomas à Kempis*. 2. The agreement of the Thoughts and Sentences. 3. The *Flemish* Expressions which discover that the Author is of that Country. 4. The Doctrines and Maxims of the Canons Regular of the Congregation of Gerard le Grand, which shew that this is one of his Disciples. 5. The name of *Devout*, which he often gives to the Congregations, and among whom he seems to rank himself, which is the title that is commonly given to the Canons Regular of that Congregation.

The agreement of the Style appears, 1st. in the use of certain, extraordinary and barbarous terms, which are in the Imitation of Jesus Christ, and which frequently occur in the Works of *Thomas à Kempis* and his Brethren, such as these, *Regratiari, pensare, querulosum, passionatus, contentare, contranare, compassivus, cordialiter, meliorari, solatiofus, sufferentia*; 2d. by the usage of Interjections, *Eia, O quam, O si*, which is common with them; 3d. by the same manner of expressing himself in low and mean terms, but such as are expressive and moving; 4th. by the use of a short and sententious Style, so that every Phrase is a Sentence and a Maxim.

To this 'tis answer'd, that the Style of the Imitation is more close, more brisk and sententious, than that of the Works of *Thomas à Kempis*, which is more prolix and faint; that there is a remarkable

difference between them in this, that *Thomas à Kempis* cites the Passages of Scripture, and the Fathers at full length, and alledges the Places from which they are taken; whereas the Author of the Imitation takes only the substance and sense of the Books (which he adapts to his purpose, without citing the Places) and not the very Words themselves; which shews, that the former had meditated more upon them than *Thomas à Kempis*, but he did more fully understand their meaning. As to the terms, they are not particular to *Thomas à Kempis*, and the Author of the Imitation; for they are common to him with many other Authors, who wrote in these dark Ages, and the Exclamations and Interjections are ordinarily us'd by all affectionate and spiritual Men; besides, that *Thomas à Kempis* having often read and transcrib'd the Imitation, and fram'd his mind according to it, it is no great wonder, that he should use the same terms in his Works which are in it.

The same Doctrine and the same Morality, are to be found in the Imitation, which are in the other Works of *Thomas à Kempis*, the same Sentiments about the Contempt of the World and himself, about avoiding Pleasures, about Humility, the Vanity of Sciences, about Retirement, the Life of Monks, Mortification, the Resignation of our selves to God, and particularly about the Love of the Cross; there are found in it the same Sentences and the same Maxims, almost in the same Words, which are in his other Works, of which I shall here give you some Examples.

The Book of Imitation.

A Dissertation about the Author of the Imitation of Jesus Christ.

Habitus & tonsura modicum conferunt, sed mutatio morum & integra mortificatio Passionum, Lib. 1. Cap. 7. Numero 2.

Quid prodest tibi alta de Trinitate disputare, si careas humilitate, 1. 1 c. 1 n. 3.

Si non vincis parva & levia, quomodo superabis difficiliora, 1. 1 c. 11 in fine.

Valde vilis quandoque res est unde gravis tentatio provenit, 1. 1 c. 12.

Sancta illa anima quæ dixit, mens mea solidata est, & in Christo fundata, 1. 3 c. 45 n. 3.

Ama nesciri, & pro nihilo reputari, 1. 1 c. 2 n. 3.

Miser es, ubicunque fueris, & quocunque te verteris, nisi ad Deum te convertas.

Omnia vanitas præter amare Deum, 1. 1 c. 11 n. 3.

Domine, hoc non est opus unius diei, nec ludus parvulorum, &c. 1. 3 c. 32 n. 2.

Plures invenit Jesus socios mensæ, sed paucos abstinentiæ, 1. 1 c. 11 n. 2.

Dixit quidam, quoties inter homines fui, minor homo redii, 1. 1 c. 20 n. 2.

In cella invenies quod de foris sæpius perdes, & ibid. n. 5.

Tota vita Christi crux fuit & martyrium, 1. 2 c. 12 n. 7.

Sæpe videtur esse charitas & magis est carnalitas, 1. 1 c. 15 n. 2.

Vita boni Monachi crux est, sed dux Paradisi, 1. 3 c. 56 n. 4.

Thus it appears, that many of the Thoughts and Sentences are certainly alike; but it may be said, that we must not wonder at this, since these are Sentiments of Piety and Devotion, which come from the Spirit, unto all those who write spiritual Books, and that the like Sentences are to be met with, not only in the Works of Thomas à Kempis, but also in those of St. Bernard, of Ludolphus the Saxon, of John Ruysbroek, Denis the Carthusian, and many other spiritual Writers; besides, that Thomas à Kempis being entertain'd a long time with the Thoughts and Sentiments of the Book of Imitation, 'tis no surprizing thing, that he should draw from thence some Sentences, as he often does from the Books of Holy Scripture.

Some Authors, and among the rest, Rosweidus and Heferus, have taken a great deal of pains to collect together all the Flemish or Teutonic Phrases, which they thought were to be met with in the Book of the Imitation; others on the contrary, have imagined that they see in it a multitude of Italian Phra-

The Letter of John of Huesden.

QUI perseveraverit usque in finem hic salvus erit. Dilecte frater habeas præscripta verba ante cordis tui oculos, & persevera usque in finem in sancta Cruce penitentiæ, 1. c. in vita religiosa & monastica, quam propter amorem Jesu Christi suscepisti, Initio. Epist.

Eorum inspice multiplices & pergraves labores, & quam perfecte Deo obdulerunt amicos, & cognatos omnes, & possessiones, temporalia bona, & mundi honores, ibid.

Si ad brevia tempus perseveraveris in hoc exercitio, sanctissime vitæ & passionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ista præcepta & multo majora tibi scribi poterunt quiete & cado adjicientur, p. 3.

Quid dulcius, O dilecte frater, quid securius, quid simplici Columbe salubrius, quam in Petri & Pauli,

The other Works of Thomas à Kempis.

A Dissertation about the Author of the Imitation of Jesus Christ.

NON vestis pulchra perfectum facit Religiosum, sed perfecta seculi abrenunciatio, & vitiorum quotidiana mortificatio, Serm. 14 ad novit. n. 9.

Quid prodest altus status sine humilitate & charitate, ibid.

Si non potes parva vincere, non poteris graviora superare, Hort. Rosar. c. 15 n. 2.

Sæpe valde parva res est, unde homo valde graviter tentatur, ibid.

Beata Agatha ingenua virgo, & spectabilis genere, ait, mens mea solidata est & in Christo fundata.

Ama nesciri, & pro nihilo reputari, Opusc. 5 p. 686.

Quocunque te vertere disponis, dolores semper invenies, & tædia multa, nisi fueris ad Creatorem conversus, Soliloq. anim. c. 12 n. 10.

Omnia pereunt præter amare Deum, Man. Par. c. 7 & alibi sæpius.

O Domine Jesu, quid sic facis? quid est iste ludus? O Pie Jesu, &c. Soliloq. anim. c. 13 n. 4.

Christus multos habet amatores & sodales mensæ, sed paucos sectatores abstinentiæ, Hort. Rosar. c. 7 n. 2.

Dixit quidam expertus, quicquid boni tacendo colligo, hoc fere totum loquendo cum hominibus dispergo, Serm. ad novit. 13 n. 8.

Qui foris sæpius evagatur, raro inde melioratur, &c. Hort. Rosar. c. 10 n. 2.

Tota vita Jesu Christi crux fuit & martyrium, in Cant. Spir. Cant. 8.

Sæpe putatur esse caritas, & est magis carnalitas libenter, &c. de Discip. Claustr. c. 11 n. 2.

Vita boni Monachi crux est, sed dux Paradisi, Opusc. 12.

ses; but neither the remarks of one, nor the other, are a convincing Proof; for the greatest part of the Phrases which they have observ'd, as Teutonismes, or Italian Phrases, are the ordinary ways of speaking, which are us'd by those who do not speak good Latin. Nevertheless, there is one which is wholly Flemish, Scire totam Bibliam exterius, i. e. to get the whole Bible by heart; for the Flemings say, to get a thing without, instead of, to get a thing by heart. But this Expression also is not to be found in the greatest part of the Italian Manuscripts; and therefore it may have been added by Thomas à Kempis in his copy.

The Doctrine, the spiritual Advices, and the Sentiments of the Book of the Imitation, are agreeable to the Spirit and Rules of the Congregation of Canons Regular of Gerard le Grand, to which purpose this Book has been compar'd with the Letter of John of Huesden, one of the first Priors of Windesem, wherein the same Maxims are to be found. Here follow some Instances of it.

The Book of the Imitation.

Domine suscepi de manu tua Crucem, portabo eam usque ad mortem sicut imposuisti mihi: Vere vita Monachi Crux est, sed dux Paradisi—Eia fratres, propter Jesum suscepimus hanc Crucem, propter Jesum perseveremus in Cruce, 1. 3 c. 56 n. 4 & 5.

Intuere sanctorum Patrum vivida exempla, O quam multas & graves tribulationes passi sunt Apostoli & Martyres, Confessores, Virgines, & reliqui omnes,—omnibus divitiis, dignitatibus, honoribus, amicis & cognatis renunciabant, 1. 1 c. 18 n. 1, 2, & 3.

Religiosus qui se intente & devote in sanctissima vita & passione Domini exercet, omnia utilia & necessaria sibi abundanter ibi inveniet; nec opus est ut extra Jesum aliquid melius quærat. O si Jesus crucifixus in cor nostrum veniret, quam cito & sufficienter docti essemus!

Requiesce in passione Christi, & in sacris vulneribus ejus libenter habitu, si enim ad vulnera & pretiosa stig-

The Letter of John of Huesden.

ADifferta-
tion about
the Author
of the Imita-
tion of
Jesus
Christ.

hoc est, in Christi Jesu vulneribus delitescere & requiescere, ibid.

Ad externa officia nullatenus, frater dilecte, aspires, nec aliquam Prælaturam affectes, p. 21.

Libenter, cum potest fieri, solus sis, p. 22.

Nihil penitus agas sine consilio, & plus semper expertis quam tibi ipsi credas, p. 23.

Ama nesciri & ab aliis contemni opta, p. 26.

Lastly, the Canons Regulars of the Congregation of Gerard, were call'd by the particular name of *Devoto's*, devout Clerks, the Congregation of the Devout: This is the name which *Thomas à Kempis* himself gives them in the *Lives of Gerard le Grand, Florence*, and others; this is the name which *John Busch* gives them in the *Chronicle of Windesem*. The Author of the *Imitation* speaks often of the *Devout*, and gives us to understand, that he dwells with them, *God grant that the progress of Virtue may not be hindered among you, who have seen such great examples of the Devout*, l. 1 c. 18 n. 6. *I confess I am not worthy to dwell among your Devoto's*, l. 3. c. 52. n. 2. *I offer you all the pious desires of the Devout*, l. 4 c. 9 n. 5. He speaks of these *Devoto's* in many places, as a particular Society, l. 1 c. 18 n. 6. *Diversity of opinions does often cause dissensions among Friends and Inhabitants in the same City, and Law-suits between the Regulars and the Devout*, l. 2 c. 9 n. 6. *Whether they be good Men, or devout Friars*: From whence it is conjectur'd, that he liv'd at a time and in a Country, where this name

The Book of the Imitation.

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mata Jesu devote confugeris magnam in tribulatione confortationem senties, l. 2 c. 1 n. 4.

Multo tutius est stare in subjectione quam in Prælatura, l. 1 c. 9 n. 1.

Pete secretum tibi, ama solus habitare tecum, l. 3 c. 53. n. 1.

Cum sapiente & conscientioso viro consilium habe, & quære potius instrui à meliori, quam tuas adinventiones sequi, l. 1 c. 4 n. 2.

Ama nesciri & pro nihilo reputari, l. 1 c. 2 n. 3.

was given to the Congregations of Canons Regular, and that he was one of them. To this objection, they think it enough to answer, that the name of *Devoto's* is a general name, which is given indeed to the Clergy of the Congregation of *St. Gerard*, but not as a name which is peculiar to them, and does not agree to any other; that the Word is to be found in a multitude of other Authors, who wrote before there was any Congregation of *St. Gerard*, as in *Richard de sancto Victore*, in *St. Bonaventure*; that even the Author of the *Imitation of Jesus Christ* uses it for all those that are fervent in the Exercises of Piety: Altho' I am not fir'd, says he, with such a Passion to receive you, as those who are your particular *Devoto's*, *Licet tanto desiderio tam specialium devotorum tuorum non ardeo*, l. 4 c. 14 n. 3 and in many other places: In these very Passages which are alledg'd, there is nothing to signify, that the name *Devout* is us'd in them, for persons of a particular Order or Congregation.

SECTION VII.

An Examination of the Reasons which are alledg'd against Thomas à Kempis, viz. Whether there be Authors which mention the Book of Imitation, before he could write it, and whether it be in Manuscripts that are more ancient than he. A List of all the Manuscripts of the Imitation, whereof we have any Knowledge. An Enquiry whether the Author of this Book was a Monk.

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THE first argument which is made use of to shew, that the Book of the *Imitation* is not *Thomas à Kempis's*, is this, that this Book is more ancient than he. 'Tis certain, that if this fact is well prov'd, it cannot any ways be ascrib'd to him. Now here follow the proofs which are brought of it.

First, 'tis said, that the Book of the *Imitation* is cited by *St. Bonaventure*, who was dead before the death of *Thomas à Kempis*. This fact appears notorious; for there are found among the Conferences to the Novices, which are among the Works of *St. Bonaventure*, and go under his name, some Extracts taken out of *Ch. 25. of the Imitation* which the Author cites; *Ut patet in devoto libello de Imitatione Christi*. This testimony alone would be decisive, if it were certain, that these Conferences were *St. Bonaventure's*; but it is maintain'd, that they are none of his, and for this a proof is brought which appears to be unanswerable. The first Conference, say some, is taken out of the Book of a crucified Life, by *Ubertin of Casal*, which he did not write, as he himself observes in the Preface, that it was finish'd in 1305. in the 32^d. Year of his being a profess'd Monk, *Mense Septembri terminavi in vigilia Michaelis Archangeli anni præsentis 1305. à felicissimo ortu veri Solis Jesu, à mea vero vili conversione anno 32 & die 9 Martii in Quadragesima in Festo 40 Martyrum inchoatus est iste liber*. If *Ubertin* did not com-

pose this Work till 1305. and not enter into the Order of Friars Minors till 1273. How could *St. Bonaventure*, who died in 1274. cite this Book? Add to this, that these Conferences are not found in the Editions of his Works at *Strasburg*, in 1489. nor in the Manuscripts of the Libraries of the *Vatican*, of *Sforca*, of *Colonna*, of the Oratory of *Bologne*, and of *Tholouse*; that *Marianus of Florence*, who wrote his *Chronicle* in 1486. is the first that puts them in the Catalogue he made of the Works of *St. Bonaventure*, which was done very carefully; that they are to be found indeed in the Edition of *Strasburg*, in 1495. but in the Edition at *Rome of Zamora*, they are not ascrib'd to him, because tho' they had appear'd in Print under his name, yet it was not done upon the authority of any Manuscript, *Ut in impressis hætenus Opusculis fertur*; Lastly, that the occasion of ascribing these Conferences to *St. Bonaventure*, was this, because he had written 91 Conferences different from these.

Those who in spite of these reasons will still maintain, that these Conferences are *St. Bonaventure's*, do follow *Wadingus*, in saying, first, that *St. Bonaventure* did not take from *Ubertin* what is found in these Conferences, but *Ubertin* took it from *St. Bonaventure*, and that the citation of *Ubertin* (for it is there cited under his name) is not in the original Text, but has been inserted afterwards in some Marginal Note: But this is no ways probable, because the

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the Author of the Conferences is only a Compiler, who compos'd them of passages taken out of 4 or 5 Authors; and therefore they have recourse to another solution of this difficulty. 'Tis said, that *Ubertin of Casal*, wrote, that he had receiv'd the Habit of his Order from *John of Parma*, General of the Friars Minors, who being deposed in 1256. *Ubertin* must needs have been a Regular of this Order, before 1273. and that he might compose his Book since that time. 'Tis true, that *John of Parma* was deposed in 1256. but he liv'd also 30 years in an Hermitage near to *Rieti*, where *Ubertin of Casal* says, that he went to meet him, without observing that he had given himself the Habit. However this be, the time when *Ubertin of Casal* entred into the Monastery, and when he wrote his Book, being certain by his own testimony, 'tis needless to look after conjectures. 'Tis said, that *Marianus of Florence* flourish'd about the year 1400. according to *Rodolphus Tossnian*, or in 1430. according to *Pocciantius*, a Writer of the History of *Florence*, and therefore, that he is more ancient than *Thomas à Kempis*, and consequently, that the Conferences attributed to *St. Bonaventure* were written before *Thomas à Kempis*, which is sufficient. To these Authors some oppose *Mark of Lisbon*, who says, that *Marianus of Florence* died not till after the year 1528. But this is very uncertain, for this Author is not worthy of credit; but 'tis certain, by his Chronicle, that he lived till the year 1480. in which year *Servita*, the Author of the History of *Florence*, places his death. Now supposing that about the year 1480. *Marianus* had seen a Manuscript of the Conferences under the name of *St. Bonaventure*, then he who is the Author of them must have liv'd before that time; and this Author, having, when he wrote, an anonymous Manuscript of the Imitation in *Italy*, 'tis probable, say they, that this Book was compos'd before *Thomas à Kempis* could write it. But this is what those deny who maintain, that the Book was written by *Thomas* in 1410. And so the testimony drawn from these Conferences is not concluding.

'Tis alledg'd, that *St. Thomas* took something out of the 4th. Book of the Imitation, and inserted it into the Office of the Holy Sacrament, viz. that which he says in the Responses of the *Magnificat*, at the Feast of the Holy Sacrament; *O quam suavis est, Domine, spiritus tuus, qui ut dulcedinem tuam in filios demonstrares, Pane suavissimo de Cælo præstato, esurientes reple bonis, fastidiosos divites dimittens inanes*; for the very same words almost are to be found in *Ch. 13. of B. 4. of the Imitation*; *O quam suavis est spiritus tuus, Domine, qui ut dulcedinem tuam in filios demonstrares, pane suavissimo de Cælo descendente, illos reficere dignaris*. But what proof is there, that *St. Thomas* did rather take this from the Imitation, than the Author of the Imitation should take it from the Office of the Holy Sacrament; especially if we consider, that this Author does often take Sentences out of the Offices of the Church, as in *ch. 3. of the same Book*, *O mira circa nos tuæ pietatis dignatio?* Which Words are us'd at the blessing of the *Easter-Wax-candle*; and again in *ch. 55. there is a Prayer taken from the Orison on the 16th. Sunday after Whitsunday*.

Matthias Farinator is also alledg'd, but to this pretended Witness we have already answered; from whence it appears, that it is not demonstratively proved, that the Imitation of *Jesus Christ* was cited by any Author, before that *Tho. à Kempis* could have written it.

There remains only a passage of *Trithemius*, which we have already produc'd, which is, that his Ancestors said, that their Ancestors had seen the Book of the Imitation many years before; *Quem ante multos annos seniores nostri suos ferunt legisse seniores*. *Trithemius* wrote this in 1495. his Ancestors were then between 60 and 70 years of age, and these being young Men, had seen the Book in the hands of their Ancestors, who read it many years ago: This will

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make his age at least to go back to the beginning of the Century; which is the reason also why *Trithemius* ascribes it to a *Thomas* more ancient, and not to him that lived until his time. It may be said, that supposing *Thomas* had written the Imitation in 1410. which *Trithemius* in that place says, may be true, and that the ancient *Thomas* to whom he ascribes it, was no older; then consequently the whole matter depends upon knowing, whether in 1410. *Thomas* was capable of composing this Book, which we shall examine hereafter.

Let us now see, whether there are any Manuscripts of this Book, whether they be anonymous, or have the Author's name, whether they be dated or without date, which prove that this Book was in being, before it could be compos'd by *Thomas à Kempis*.

The first of all which we produce, shall be that which is pretended to have been written with the hand of *John the Abbot of Verceil*, who is said to be the Author, which Manuscript was in the Abbey of that City, if it be true which is written upon an ancient Edition at *Venice* in 1501 under the name of *Gerson*; *Hunc librum non compilavit Joannes Gerson, sed D. Joannes ----- Abbas Vercell. ----- ut habetur usq; hodie propria manu scriptum in eadem Abbazia*; But since it is not known by whom, nor when this Note was first put upon this printed Book, and that it was certainly done since the year 1501. since that *Mr. Naudeus* avers, that this was written even since the Controversy about this Book began; and the *F. F. Benedictines* did not produce this copy, in 1671. nor in 1674. altho' they had it in their hands, I think we need not be concern'd about it.

The Manuscript of *Arona*, which goes under the name of the Abbot *Gersen*, and that in the Monastery of *St. Columbanus of Bobio*, were judg'd in 1687. to be 300 years old, *Scriptura not videtur inferior annis tricenis*; and if so, then they were written at the end of the 14th. Century, and consequently before *Thomas à Kempis* could write them.

Father *Sirmondus* has given the same judgment of an anonymous Manuscript which he had, and which is in the Library of the College of *Jesuits at Paris*. *Mr. Naude* judged it much later, but I shall rather refer my self to *F. Sirmond* than *Mr. Naude*.

There is also alledg'd an anonymous Manuscript in the Abbey of *Grandmont*, together with the Certificate before a Notary, of *Peter Alamaert*, a Monk and Library-keeper of the Monastery of *St. Adrian of Grandmont*, who testifies, that he had seen and read upon the last Leaf of this Manuscript which was torn off some years after, an Inscription which said, that this Book was written by Friar *Louis du Mont*, who died before the year 1403. *Hic liber conscriptus fuit a F. Ludovico de Monte, qui obiit ante annum millesimum quadringentesimum*. But since 'tis not known by whom this Note was added, nor at what time, and that this Manuscript contain'd the Book of the Discipline of those who are in the Cloyster by *Thomas à Kempis*, it cannot be made use of to prove, that the Imitation is more ancient than he.

The Manuscript of the Monastery of *St. James of Liege*, in Paper, wherein is found the 4th. Book of the Imitation, under the Title of a Book about the Sacrament of the Altar, without the name of the Author, has this Note written upon the first Leaf, *Anno Domini 1417 die mensis Octobris 15. indutus fui habitum Ordinis sancti Benedicti, in Monasterio edificato in honore sanctorum Apostolorum Jacobi & Andreæ*. But it is not necessary, that this Note should be written from the time that this Regular was profess'd; and it happens sometimes, that the Regulars set down the day of their being profess'd upon Books, which they had not till a long time after; yet 'tis very probable, that this was not written a long time after.

The first Manuscript which has a certain date, is that which was cited in a Register of the Monastery of *Melice*, written and fram'd in 1517 by Friar *Stephen Purkhardi*, wherein there is mention made

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A Dissertation about the Author of the Imitation of Jesus Christ. of a Volume in Manuscript containing the Treatise of St. *Austine*, of the Visitation of the Sick, the first Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ, and a Meditation upon the Passion by St. *Bernard*, at the end of which it is remark'd, *Explicit Contemplatio B. Bernardi de Passione Domini, finita Anno 21 in die sancti Joannis Baptiste*. This date of 21 can be nothing but 1421, since the Register was fram'd in 1517. It may be said perhaps, that the Imitation of Jesus Christ was by another hand and at another time, than the Treatise of St. *Bernard*; but the Register supposes them both to be of the same time and the same Writing, and in the same Volume, and those who have seen them, have given us no advertisement about them.

The date of the Manuscript at *Weingarten* is yet more certain; for the Manuscript it self is produc'd, wherein are the three first Books of the Imitation, and at the end of the third is written with the same hand, *Explicit liber internæ Consolationis, finitus Anno Domini 1433. secunda Feria ante Festum Assumptionis Beate Virginis Mariæ per me fratrem Conradum Oberlperg, tunc temporis Conventualem in Weingarten*. Here then is a Manuscript in 1433, which is not the Original of *Thomas à Kempis*, and which does not bear his name.

The second Manuscript of *Melice* follows quickly after this, and is dated in the year 1434. It contains the *Manual of St. Augustine*, the *Rule attributed to St. Jerome about the manner of living in Monasteries*, the *Book of the Reformation of Man*, divided into four parts, whereof the first Book is of the Imitation of Jesus Christ, and the *Contempt of the Vanities of the World*; and after the four Books of Imitation, there are some Treatises of *Gerson*, whereof the last is, 25 *Considerations for bearing of Confessions*, at the end whereof p. 120. is written, *Explicit die Kilialani 34*, which denotes the year 1434 because there is mention made of it in the Register, fram'd, as we have already said, in 1517.

Father *Mabillon* assures us in his Journey into *Italy*, that he saw at *Padua* in the Library of the Abbey of St. *Justina*, a Manuscript of the Imitation dated 1436, whereof the ancient Title was raz'd, and instead of it there was written *Gerson*, or rather *Thomas de Campis*. The ancient Title therefore was not by *Thomas à Kempis*; for if it had been so, it would not have been raz'd to write the same again with a later hand.

The Manuscript of the Monastery of St. *Ulric* of *Ausburg*, which contains the first Book of the Imitation without the name of the Author, is written in 1437, at the time of the Council of *Basil*, as is observed at the end; *Et est finis hujus Tractatus scripti in Consilio Basileensi Anno Domini 1437. Et sic cum Dei adjutorio finitus est iste Tractatus per me Georgium de Gottingen, tunc temporis Capellan. in Wiblingen*.

The Manuscript written by *Thomas à Kempis* in 1441, may pass for one that is anonymous, since *Thomas à Kempis* put his name to it as a Transcriber, and not as an Author.

The Manuscript of the House of the *Carthusians* of St. *Barbe* of *Cologne*, wherein the first Book of the Imitation is found written, in 1447, has not the name of the Author; only it is observ'd in the Index, that this Treatise, and those which follow that are *Thomas à Kempis's*, are a devout Regular's, *Cujusdam devoti Regularis*.

The Manuscript of St. *Martin* of *Louvain*, which contains the 3d. Book of the Imitation, dated in 1499. and produc'd by the F.F. of St. *Genevieve*, is anonymous.

The ancient *French* anonymous Version made in 1447, by a Regular of *Marchia*, for *Bernard* of *Ar-magnac*, is printed at *Roan*, in 1498.

Another *French* Version which was found in 1467. in the Study of Monsieur the Count of *Angoulesme*, is under the name of St. *Bernard*.

There is in the Abbey of St. *German de Prez*, a Manuscript of the 4 Books of Imitation, dated in the year 1460. under the name of *Gerson*.

That of *Allatius*, which goes under the name of *Canabaco*, is dated in 1463.

That of *Saltzburg* of the same year, bears the name of *John Gersen*.

There is an anonymous Manuscript of the same year at *Brussels*, cited by *Chiffletius*.

That of *Parma*, which has the name of *Gerson* at the beginning of the 4th. Book, contains, besides the four Books of Imitation, a *Rule of St. Benedict*, written with the same hand, at the end whereof the date is set down, *Die Octo. Aug. 1466*.

There is also one cited which was given in 1468. to a Monk of the Order of *Olivet*, by a Visitor of that Order, and which the Father *Delfau* found in the Cabinet of Monsieur of St. *Hilary*.

Those of *Slusa* and *Padolirona*, which have the name of *Gersen*, were written about the same time, being judg'd to be 200 years old in 1671, and 1674.

That of St. *Peter* of *Dalhem* is anonymous in the first writing, and 'tis only since that, 'tis observ'd, that the Book of the Imitation is *Thomas à Kempis's*.

The first Manuscript which attributes this Book to *Thomas à Kempis* as the Author, is that in 1477, quoted by *Resweidus*, and written by *Offermans*.

The second is that of *James* of *Leyden*, dated in 1482.

The third is a Manuscript of the Holy-Cross at *Ausburg*, which some give out to be of 1440, but is without date, as are also those of *Rebdorf*, and *Lappius*, to which we must joyn the Collections and Catalogues which we have above related.

That which is in the Library of St. *Genovieve*, and which attributes this Book to St. *Bernard*, is without date; it is at least 200 years old.

That of Mr. *Lechassier*, Cited by Mr. *Launoy*, wherein the 4 Books of Imitation are under the Name of *Gerson*, is written before 1497. for it is written by *James Lupus*, who is designed Batchelor of Divinity who was Licentiate in 1497. and Died in 1498.

These are almost all the Manuscripts of the Books of the Imitation, which we could come to the knowledge of. The Reflections which may be made upon them are these. 1st. That there are Manuscripts either Anonymous, or under the Name of *Gersen*, which the most able Men in these matters judge to be written at the end of the Fourteenth Century, and in the first years of the Fifteenth. 2d. That there are some Manuscripts in 1421, 1433, 1434, 1436, 1437. and that during all that time from 1420. to 1441. there is not any Manuscript that goes under the Name of *Thomas à Kempis*, and that these Manuscripts are not the Author's, but the Transcribers, who Copied them out from others which were more ancient. 3d. That the Manuscript of 1441. does not discover him for the Author but for the Transcriber. 4th. That from 1441. until the end of that Century, there are divers Manuscripts which are either Anonymous, or which attribute this Book to *Gersen*, to *Gerson*, or to St. *Bernard*. 5th. That there is never a Manuscript during the Life-time of *Thomas à Kempis*, until the year 1471. which goes under his Name, as the Author. 6th. That after his death, his name is found in Manuscripts and Editions, until the end of that Century; but that there are many other Manuscripts, and many Editions at the same time, which give it to St. *Bernard*, to *Gerson*, or to *Gersen*.

The Defenders of *Tho. à Kempis* answer, that all those Manuscripts make nothing against him, because all those who have a Date, are posterior to the year 1410. wherein they say that *Tho. à Kempis* composed that Work, and that it cannot be proved, that those who have no Date are more ancient. To them 'tis reply'd, that as to the Manuscripts without Date, there are some of them, as those of *Arona*, and *Bobio*,

A Dissertation about the Author of the Imitation of Jesus Christ. Bobio, which appear more ancient than the year 1410. to those Persons who are most expert in matters of this kind. As to those which are Dated, tho' there be none but what are since the year 1410. (in which year it pleases them, without Proof, to place the composing of the Book of Imitation by *Tho. à Kempis*;) yet it may probably be infer'd that this Book was compos'd before this year; for these Manuscripts being taken from other Copies, and being found in Places far distant from the Abode of *Thomas à Kempis*, as in *Italy*, 'tis difficult to imagine that this Book was so lately made. But some go further, and maintain, that in 1410. *Thomas à Kempis* was not capable of Composing this Book. *Thomas* was in 1399. a Scholar at *Deventer*, about the end of that year he entred into the Monastery of *Zwoll*. He was not a Monk profess'd, 'till in 1406. he had Learned to Write and Read the Bible, and to hear Books of Piety, as he himself observes in the Life of *Arnoul of Schonbove*: *Ibi quippe didici scribere, & Sacram Scripturam legere, & quæ ad mores spectant devotosque tractatus audire*. He endured at first much hunger, and had great pain; he set himself afterwards to write out Books for Money, and for the House, *Pro Domo & pro Pretio*; these are the words of the Continuator of his Chronicle of Mount St. *Agnes*. He perfectly transcribed a Missal, and the Prayers of the Office in 1414. The Bible he did not finish till 1439. He was not made a Priest 'till 1423. Which Circumstances do shew, that, 'tis very probable, he was not capable in 1410. of composing the Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ, for he was then young, and had not studied much, nor had made any progress in a spiritual Life. He was not then a Priest, and the Imitation is the Work of an Ancient and perfect Regular, who had practised for a long time what he had Written, who had made great Advances in the Spiritual Life, who had read very much, and meditated upon the Holy Scripture, and the Books of Spiritual Men, and who was a Priest. The Imitation by the Confession of all the World is more sublime and perfect than the other Works of *Thomas à Kempis*; who then can believe that it is his first essay, or one of his first Works? this is no ways probable.

Mr. *Launoy* brings also another Reason; drawn from the advantageous Testimony which the Author of the Imitation gives of the Life of the Monks of his time, *Book 1. Ch. last*; which does not at all agree to the state of the Monks at the beginning of the Fifteenth Century, who lived in great Disorder, as *Nicolas Clemangis* observes. Father *Fronto* Answers this Argument, that there were at this time a multitude of Regulars very orderly, that those of the Cistercians liv'd very Regularly; that the Benedictines were reform'd from the time of the Council of *Basil*, that the Dominicans had been Reform'd in 1400. and the Friars Minors in 1411. that about the year 1350. which is the time wherein it is suppos'd that the Author of the Imitation Liv'd, there were also Regulars Disorderly, as many Authors of that time testify; that *Clemangis* has stretch'd the matter too far, in the Description he has given of the Disorders of the Monks. It must be confess'd, that *Launoy's* Argument is not very strong, because the Author of the Imitation speaks not of the Regulars in general, but only of many Monks who liv'd very Regularly; and 'tis certain that it was then true of some, as the Carthusians, and Cistercians, whom this Author gives for an Example in the same place, and some others. The Author of the Imitation does not dissemble the Disorders among the Monks in his time, *Lib. 1. Cap. 18. N. 5*. 'Tis thought much at present, not to transgress the Monastick Rule; *Ibid. Ch. 3. N. 5*. If Men would take as much pains to Extirpate Vices, and Establish Virtue, as to Debate Questions, there would not be so much Mischief done, nor so great Scandal given to the People; neither would there be so great a

dissolution of Manners in the Monasteries; Nec tanta Dissolutio in Cœnobiiis.

But there is another Argument against *Thomas à Kempis*, which appears much stronger. The Author of this Book declares himself a Monk, *Lib. 5. C. 10. N. 2*. *Ye have shew'd great Mercy*, says he, *to your Servant, and ye have favour'd and gratified him much beyond his merit. What then shall I render unto you for this Grace, for it is not given to all to Renounce the World, by quitting all, and embracing a Monastick Life. And at Ch. 56. N. 4. of the same Book, I have receiv'd from your hand the Cross, I will carry it until Death, as ye have laid it upon me. Yes, the Life of a good Monk is the Cross, it is that which Conducts him to Heaven, L. 1. Ch. last, N. 8. How do many other Regulars, who being lock'd up by the Discipline of the Cloyster, go forth but seldom, live and eat poorly, are coarsely Cloath'd, Labour hard, &c. 'Tis certain that these things agree only to Monks, and not to Canons Regulars. The Author therefore reckoning himself among the Regulars, *tam multi alii Religiosi*, 'tis reasonable to believe that he was a Monk in the same sense. In fine, he proposes always the Rule of St. *Benedict*, the Benedictines and Monks for his Pattern. He says nothing of the Rule of St. *Augustin*, nor of the Canons Regulars, whereof *Thomas à Kempis* speaks in almost all his Works.*

To this, 'tis Answer'd, that the Name of Monk is commonly given to the Canons Regulars as *Mauburne* Remarks in his Book, intitled, *Venatorium, Nam & generali compellatione Canonici Clerici Monachorum nomine compellantur, ut Juristæ notant*. That nothing is more common in the Works of *Thomas à Kempis*, than to give the Name of Monks to his Friars, *Part 2. Sermon. 1. N. 6. Cœnobium Monachorum est sicut salsum Mare. Part 2. Sermon. 4. N. 3. O Frater Monache, qui Sanctitatis speciem geris habitu et nomine. In the same Sermon, N. 7. Beatus Monachus desolatus, cui mundus exilium, Cælum Patria, cella Paradisus, Ser. 5. N. 6. Onus quippe Ordinis diurnum et nocturnum collo Monachi impositum, Part 3. Sermon. 1. N. 12. Hæc est via Sanctæ Crucis; hæc Doctrina nostræ Salvatoris, hæc sapientia Sanctorum, hæc Regula Monachorum. Ibid. O Religiose Monache, et sectator ætioris vitæ, noli ab assumpta Cruce in Ordine recedere, sed sustine et porta Crucem usque ad Mortem. A Passage which is very like that which is cited, *Opusc. 11. Ch. 1. Monache ad quid venisti, quare Mundum dereliquisti?* These are words which he address'd to his Brethren the Canons-Regular, whom he therefore designs by the word *Monks*. It was for them also that he wrote the Books intitled by the same Name; as the Epitaph or Abridgment of Monks, the Life of a good Monk. Not to mention the Monk's Alphabet, which some have attributed to St. *Bonaventure*. There are also some Works wherein he makes no mention of the Canons-Regular, as in his Sixth Tract of the Discipline of these who are in the Cloyster, *C. 3. N. 3. Rete suum (Diabolus) per totum mundum subtiliter texit ac latissime expandit; Monachos & Moniales, subditos & prælatos, solitarios & Officiales circumdat & tentat, Ch. 4. N. 3. Fortissimum vincendi genus est seipsum perfecte vincere, & abnegare propter obedientiam, quæ Monachorum est laus maxima, & omnium Religiosorum Corona pulcherrima, Ch. 6. N. 4. Accipe ergo exemplum bonæ operandi à Christo Jesu, à S. Paulo, à S. Antonio, à S. Augustino, à S. Hieronymo, à St. Benedicto, à S. Francisco, à S. Dominico, & ab omnibus Sanctis Patribus, qui Regulas Monachorum Scripserunt. And therefore tho' the Author of the Imitation of Jesus Christ ranks himself among the Monks, it does not follow that he was not a Canon-Regular; and much less that he was a Benedictine. This is what may be said for and against *Thomas à Kempis*: Let us now see what may be alledg'd for *Gerson*.**

SECTION VIII.

The Manuscripts of the Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ, which go under the Name of John Gerson, Chancellor of Paris.

A Dissertation about the Author of the Imitation of Jesus Christ. IT cannot be denied that the more Common Opinion in France and Italy, about the latter end of the Fifteenth Century, was, that Gerson was not the Author of the Imitation: But the same care has not been taken to Collect all the Manuscripts which are under the Name of Gerson, which has been us'd to gather all those which are under the Name, of Gersen or Thomas à Kempis, because there is no Society concerned for him; tho' 'tis certain there are many such Manuscripts.

There is a very fine one in Parchment, Dated in 1460. in the Library of St. Germain de Prez, which begins with these words: *Incipit Libellus devotus & utilis Magistri Joannis Gerson, de Imitatione Christi, & contemptu omnium vanitatum Mundi.* And at the end of the Fourth Book, *Explicit Liber quartus & ultimus de Sacramento Altaris, Anno Dom. 1460. 13 Kalend. Septembris.*

The Manuscript of Saltzburg in Paper, of the year 1463. contains many Treatises; and in the Table, the Book of the Imitation is thus design'd; *De Imitatione Christi, Joh. Gers.* which signifies Gerson, for Gersen was not then known in Germany; besides, that an unknown Name, as that of Gersen, is not commonly abridg'd; whereas that of Gerson being well known, is often abbreviated. At the end of the Book it is thus written: *Explicit Liber internæ consolationis per Fratrem Benedictum die Sabbati ante Festum omnium Sanctorum, Anno 1463. & Scriptus Saltzburg Monasterii Sancti Petri.*

There is another Manuscript which belongs to Mr. Lechassier, which goes under the Name and title of Gerson, which Mr. Launoy describes after the following manner. This Manuscript is; says he, all of Parchment; it contains 4 Books of the Imitation of Jesus Christ, and afterwards the Treatise of John Gerson, of the Meditation of the Heart; and Lastly, the Synonyma's of Isidore of Sevil. On the backside of the first Leaf is the Picture of Gerson drawn in Miniature, in the Habit of a Doctor writing;

and in the next Page are these words: *Incipit Liber Primus Joannis Gerson Cancellarii Parisiensis de Imitatione Christi, & de contemptu omnium vanitatum Mundi, Cap. 1. Qui sequitur me, &c.* And at the end of Book 4. *Liber Magistri Joannis Gerson Cancellarii Parisiensis de Imitatione Christi, una cum Meditatione Cordis, unicuique Religioso & devoto necessarius finit.* At the end of the Volume, *Expliciunt Synonyma Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi de homine & ratione emendata & summa cum diligentia castigata, per Magistrum Jacobum Lupi Sacre Theologie Baccalaureum formatum, bene meritum.* James of Lupi was Licentiate in Theology, of the Faculty of Paris, in 1497. January the 13th, and died in the Month of March, in 1498. There is no other Title given him here, but that of a Batchelor Formatus; which shews that this Manuscript preceeds the year 1497. in which he was Licentiate.

Those who stand up for Thomas à Kempis, have not any Manuscript more Ancient to oppose against Gerson; but those who assert that this Book is the Abbot Gersen's, ground their opinion upon some Manuscripts which they pretend to be more Ancient than Gerson, or the Manuscripts that are Anonymous, or in which the Name of the Author is not John Gerson, but J^m Gersen, or Gesen, who is designed in the Manuscript of Arona, by the Sirname of Abbot, which does no ways agree to Gerson. The Partizans of Gerson may answer, that there is no Manuscript of which any can be certain; that it is more ancient than Gerson, and that the Name of Gersen which is found in some, is nothing but a Corruption of the Name of Gerson. Others on the contrary maintain, that Gersen is the Name of the true Author, which gave occasion to ascribe it to Gerson, whose Name was better known than that of Gersen. This is a Controversie which can hardly be decided, but by examining the Manuscripts which go under the Name of Gersen, as we shall do hereafter.

SECTION IX.

The Editions of the Book of Imitation of Jesus Christ, under the Name of Gerson.

A Dissertation, &c. I Doubt not but there are many other Manuscripts of the Imitation under the Name of Gerson, which might be discovered; if the same Pains and Care were taken to search after them, which have been used to find out the Manuscripts of Gersen, and Thomas à Kempis. However this be, 'tis very certain that there are many of them, since the first Editions of Italy and France, under his Name.

The Edition of Brescia in the year 1485. is under the Name of St. Bernard; but it is Remark'd, that before that time it was ascribed to Gerson: *Incipit Opus D. Bernardi celeberrimum de Imitatione Christi, & contemptu omnium Vanitatum Mundi, quod Joanni Gersoni Cancellario Parisiensi attribuitur;* from whence it follows, that before the year 1485. the more common Opinion was, that this Work was Gerson's.

There is a very ancient Edition without the Date of the Year, or the Place, and one without the Date of the Year at Paris, by Marnef, which may

have been written before the Death of Thomas à Kempis.

The Editions of Venice in 1486, 1488, and 1501. and that of Milan in 1488. that of Paris in 1489. by Higman, that of 1491, and 1492. by Pygonchet, that of 1500, by Petit, in Latin, and in French by Noir, go under the Name of Gerson.

In the French Edition of 1493. 'tis observed, as we have already said, that this Book was commonly ascrib'd to St. Bernard, or to Gerson. This latter continued in possession of this Title in the next Age, which produc'd also divers Editions under his Name, as those of Paris, in 1513. by Thomas Rede, in 1515, and 1517. by John Petit, and a Version in 1515. at Venice in 1518. by Aribaverius, at Vienna in 1561. at Lyons in 1567, and 1608. at Rome in 1583, &c.

Against these Editions it is Objected, 1. That there are other Editions as ancient under the Name of St. Bernard, and Thomas à Kempis. 2. There is a Catalogue

A Dissertation about the Author of the Imitation of Jesus Christ.
Catalogue of the Books of Gerson made by his Brother, in a Letter written in 1423. wherein the Imitation is not found; as neither is it in the Catalogue of Caresius, made in 1429. 3. There are many Editions of the Works of Gerson, among which the Book of the Imitation is not reckon'd, which is judg'd to be Thomas à Kempis's, according to the Note of Peter Schot, in the Edition of the Works of Gerson, at Strasburg, in 1488. Neither is it to be found in the Edition of some Works of Gerson, printed at Cologne, in 1483. nor in the Editions at Strasburg, in the year 1494, and 1514. at Basil in 1489, and 1518. and at Paris, in 1521, and 1606.

These Reflections may very much weaken the authority of the Editions which are alledg'd, but they do not absolutely prove that this Book is none of Gerson's, for the Catalogues alledg'd do not generally contain all the Works of Gerson, no more than the Edition, in 1483. As to the Edition of Schot, and those which followed, that were made by his copy, these being publish'd in Germany, where the common opinion was, that the Book of the Imitation was Thomas à Kempis's, 'tis no wonder that they did not insert this Book among the Works of Gerson.

SECTION X.

Reasons which may be alledg'd to shew, that 'tis probable Gerson was the Author of the Book of Imitation.

A Dissertation, &c.
Here are not wanting either Reasons or Conjectures, for ascribing the Book of the Imitation to Gerson.

To which purpose it may be observed,

First, that 'tis very probable the Author did not write either in Germany, where there is an Emperor, or in Italy, or in Piedmont, but in a Country which was govern'd by a King, because he says, l. 1 c. 2 n. 1 *Nemo sine tribulatione aliqua quamvis Rex sit vel Papa*; for if he had written in Germany, he would have said, *Quamvis sit Imperator vel Papa*; and if he had written in Italy, or in Piedmont, he would have said, *Quamvis sit Papa, or quamvis magnus Dux sit aut Papa*; which signifies that he lived under the Government of a King, as did Gerson in France.

Secondly, that 'tis very probable the Author of the Imitation was educated in an University, and that he had a great acquaintance and conversation with the Doctors and Canons of his time, who died before him; for this appears from what he says, l. 1 c. 3 n. 5. *Dic mihi, ubi sunt modo omnes illi Domini & Magistri, quos bene novisti dum adhuc viverent, & in studiis florent!* Jam eorum præbendas alii possident: He says not *Ubi sunt omnes Abbates, Priores religiosi?* but he says, *Ubi sunt modo omnes illi Domini & Magistri*: He says not, *Jam eorum Abbatis, Prioratus alii possident*; but he says, *Jam eorum Præbendas alii possident*: He says not only, *Qui fuerunt ante te*, but he says, *Quos bene novisti dum adhuc viverent, & in studiis florent*. He often makes use of these ways of speaking, l. 3 c. 43 n. 2. *Veniet tempus quando apparebit Magister Magistrorum Christus*: He does not say, *Abbas Abbatum*, l. 1 c. 3 n. 2. *Taceant omnes Doctores*: He speaks of the disputes of the School, *ibid.* *Quid curæ nobis de generibus & speciebus?* *ibid.* n. 3. *Quid prodest tibi alta de Trinitate disputare?* He speaks like a Man whose business it was to read and hear, *ibid.* n. 2. *Tædet me sepe multa legere & audire*. He shews what use we should make of our Studies, *ibid.* c. 2 n. 3. *Noli ergo extolli de ulla arte vel scientia, sed potius time de data tibi notitia.* c. 7 n. 1 *Non confidas in tua scientia.* l. 3 c. 43 n. 1. *Nunquam ad hoc legas verbum ut doctior aut sapientior possis videri.*

Thirdly, it may be observ'd, that Gerson had five Brethren, and seven Sisters; that his Father and Mother had lived very piously; that three of his Brethren were Regulars, and that one of them died when he was an Infant, as did also one Sister; and that of the six other Sisters there was but one that married, as he himself testifies in an Epigram which he wrote, with other Poems upon his own Testament; and that in 1428. probably his Sister Paulina, and his Brother Nicholas died of the Plague. He says also in the same place, that his Country was Gerson, Gerson origo fuit. Now all this does perfectly correspond to what we read in the 4th. Book

of the Imitation. c. 9 n. 5. *Offero tibi omnia pia desideria devotorum, necessitates Parentum, Amicorum, Fratrum, Sororum, omniumque carorum meorum.* If we understand the Author as speaking in his own person, then *Necessitates Parentum* may be meant of the spiritual Wants which Fathers and Mothers may have in another Life, for it is not probable that they were then alive, since they were aged 60 years. But these words cannot be understood of Thomas à Kempis, supposing that he speaks in his own person and not in the person of another; for Rosweidus says, that he never had but one Brother, as is reported.

Fourthly, the Sentiments and Doctrine of the Author of the Imitation do perfectly resemble those in the Books of Piety written by Gerson. He inspires the Reader with a great contempt of all vain Knowledge in the whole first Book; and chiefly in c. 1 n. 2, & 3 and speaking of Benefices, l. 3 c. 3 n. 2 *Pro modica*, says he, *Præbenda longa via curritur*. Now Gerson was Doctor, and flourish'd a long while in the University of Paris, in the quality of Chancellor: After the same manner he speaks in his Epistle, *de conversione & perseverentia in bono proposito*, in the 3d. part of his Works, fol. 374. *Recogita ubinam sunt tecum studentes, ubi illi familiares Socii, cum quibus vivere & sapere dulce erat—quam multi jam obierunt, quam multi jam vagi in sæculo remanserunt—audisti alios Romam pergere, & pro Beneficiis laborare; alios Parisiis residere & ad Magisterium tendere.* And what is yet more remarkable, when he writes to his Brother Nicholas, to testify to him the joy he had conceived for his becoming a Regular, he tells him that he had perish'd if he had continu'd in a secular Life, and had taken the Degree of a Licentiate, or Master of Arts; *Ille qui a puero misertus est tibi, dans tibi cor pium & timoratum, & super afflictos compatientem, superaddidit misericordiam ut te repelleret à sæculo nequam in quo jam demergendus pene fueris irrevocabiliter, si Licentiam aut Magisterium in Artibus adeptus fuisses. Et proprias conjecturas ex aliis accipe.* May it not therefore be that it was with respect to this Brother, that he wrote what is in the first Book of Imitation; for he had a great esteem of this Brother; and 'tis he, of whom he says, that he was conceived by the Vows of his Mother: *Denique noli oblivisci misericordiam Domini in Progenitoribus nostris, in Matre præsertim, quæ ineffabilibus Votis etiam Votis etiam ante tui conceptum, te talem aliquem à Domino quesivit, velut Anna altera Samuelem.* Deinde natum & adultum jugibus fere lachrymis, in hoc statu, sicut pie sentio, progenuit. *Meministi, opinor, literarum quæ super hoc præbent indicium, & quæ alteram Augustini Matrem repræsentant, eam erga te reddes ei vicem orationum tuarum, & in te uno nos omnes erga Deum Intercessorem habebimus.* 'Tis to him that he writes thus, *Omnis homo qualis interior est, talis ei exterior adversitas erit—Non est magna Patientia quam*

parva res perturbat—Tu ergo esto libenter reus, ut fias ante Deum innocens, tu primo à teipso incipe, & sic poteris alium sanare. Audeas tamen qui zelum videris habere adversus aliorum defectus—quia recte & prudenter ageres, si zelum tuum etiam contra commotionem tuam exercerēs—Quid enim mihi prodest, si aliquem verbis meis sanaverō, & in propriis meis passionibus mansero? Which is very like to that which is in the 2d. Book of the Imitation, c. 3 n. 1. Tene te primo in pace, & tunc poteris alios pacificare—Habe primo zelum super teipsum, & tunc juste zelare poteris etiam proximum tuum. 'Tis to the same Brother he says, Impedit nos valde quod non audemus violentiam inferre Naturæ—Hodie aliquid inchoare, & cras modicum addere—Perficit hominem virtuosum; which is very agreeable with what is in the first Book of the Imitation, c. 1 i n. 5 Si omni annum vitium extirparemus, cito viri perfecti efficeremur—Si modicam violentiam faceremus in principio, tunc postea cuncta possemus facere cum levitate & gaudio. 'Tis to him that he says, O quantos labores faciunt homines pro terrenis lucrandis, & nos pro æternis bonis marcescimus; which is very consonant to what is in B. 3 of the Imitation, c. 3 n. 2. Pro modica Prebenda longa via curritur, pro vita æterna à multis vis pes semel à terra levatur, 'Tis to him that he says, Considera teipsum quod queris in operibus tuis, quod diligis, & quod non diligis. Secundum desiderium suum fit homo stabilis aut vagus. Qui multum concupiscit, & multa habere vult, quomodo in se manebit? dispergitur in omnem ventum Cœli, & capitur laqueo desiderii terreni. Parva res est sæpe propter quam adipiscendam generatur homini perplexitas magna, sed qui omnia à se expellit, permittens unumquodque stare sicut venit, bene in pace erit—O quanta adhuc discere habet, qui non videt quantum adhuc ille deficit, & O quam longe stat! 'Tis to him that he says, Suscipiamus, carissime, de manu Dei, quicquid voluerit super nos venire Deus, nihil enim sine certa & iusta causa agitur in terris; & ideo nos Deo oportet subicere cor nostrum & sensum nostrum, ut respiciens humilitatem & patientiam nostram, bene disponat desiderium nostrum, &c. 'Tis to him that he says, the Philosophers have not known the truth, but Jesus Christ being come, has said, He that followeth me, walketh not in darkness, which are the first words of the first Book of the Imitation. 'Tis to him that he says, Via crucis via nostra, via electorum, via paucorum—Frangere propriam voluntatem crux est—Memento quan-

tum sancti pro vita æterna laboraverint, in qua nunc cum Christo sine fine regnantes gaudent—Quanto in inferiori & humiliori statu cor fuerit, tanto verius sæpe bona agit, & facilius habitum custodit. Si alii præcedunt nos, quid ad nos, sequamur Jesum humilitate & simplicitate, & non curemus humanam vanitatem—Quæ major gloria, quam cum Christo gloriari in cruce? quæ major consolatio cordis, quam portare viventem imaginem Crucifixi? 'Tis to him that he says, Quam multi divites, nobiles & potentes, quam multi sapientes, literati & famosi adolescentes in hoc seculo miserabiliter fluctuant & abicere jugum Diaboli à suis cervicibus non prævalent, nec illo spiritu adhuc moventur ut seculo renuncient. O vanitas vanitatum mundum deligere & quæ Dei sunt minus curare! Venit tempus, venit cito tempus, quod omnes seculares & carnales voluptates finem habebunt. And lastly, 'tis to him that he says, Denique Frater carissime, noli in vanum gratiam accipere quæ data est in te; audisti carissime, quomodo teipsum debes vincere. All which Sentiments and Maxims are very agreeable to those in the Book of Imitation.

The Style of Gerson's Works of Piety, is not so different from that of the Imitation of Jesus Christ, as may be imagin'd at first. His Style is more dry and harsh in his Books of Doctrine, but in his Books of Piety and Devotion, it is more sweet and soft, and very like to that of the Imitation.

Sixthly, Gerson cites no part of the Book of Imitation; he exhorts the Celestines to read Books of Piety, such as those of St. Bernard, and others, in an Epistle which he wrote to their Provincial. He exhorts likewise an Hermit of Mount Valerian to read Books of Devotion, and he sets down many of them for him; but he never mentions any part of the Imitation, which proves that he had no knowledge of it: Yet you may see in Gerson, sentences and expressions very like to those which are in the Book of Imitation; if you will read the Letter which he address'd to this Hermit, in the fourth part of his Works, P. 51. the Letters which he wrote to his Brother Nicholas in the same part, Fol. 372, 373, 374. the Book de Mendicitate spirituali, Fol. 387. and the Treatise de Considerationibus quas debet habere Princeps, Part 2. Fol. 279. All which gives occasion to conjecture that the Author of the Imitation is not more ancient than Gerson, and that it was he, or some other who had read his Works, who wrote this Book.

SECTION XI.

The Reasons which prove that the Book of Imitation is not Gerson's

There are but two Reasons alledg'd against Gerson, the Profession of the Author, who declares himself a Monk, as we have seen, and the difference of Style.

The first of these Reasons may appear decisive against Gerson; yet it may be said, that he speaks in the person of those for whom he writes, and so Gerson does in the Treatise upon these words, Venite ad me omnes, for says he, Si semel nos Jugo astrinxerimus, non liceat nobis de Monasterio egredi & collum excutere de subjugo Regulæ—Propter quod natus est benedictus legislator noster. And in the Tract, De Solitudine Ecclesiasticorum, written for the Celestines, he says, Hoc jubet supremus Abbas noster Jesus Christus. And in the Epistle, Pro confortatione alicujus tentati, he says, Vita Clericorum, Monachorum & omnium Religiosorum in Cruce, &c. si aliam viam querimus, erramus.

We may also observe, 1st. that Gerson liv'd as an Hermit for the space of 10 years at Lyons before his death; for he died in 1429. And it appears from the Letter of his Brother John the Celestine, to his

other Brother Anselm, written in 1423. that he had then retired for the space of four years, and that he liv'd there in great peace of mind, which made him say, that he never had so clear and vigorous a Spirit. And he adds, that he could hardly prevail with him to put forth some Tracts under his name, except only those which he was obliged to write by reason of his Office as Chancellor, or Doctor; and that he neglected a great number of them, whereof some are lost, as that which he wrote, de Nuptiis Sapientiæ, which was the cause why he could not exactly set down all his Books. 2dly. That Gerson had been desired by the Celestines to write something upon these words: Si quis vult venire post me abneget seipsum, & tollat Crucem suam, & sequatur me. For this he says plainly in a Letter which he wrote to them, which is about the end of the 3d. Part of his Works; and his Brother John the Celestine says also that they had pray'd him to write something for their Edification. It appears also, that he compos'd for them a Treatise upon these words, Venite ad me omnes qui onerati estis, which are the same with which the

the 4th. Book of the Imitation begins. He wrote also other Treatises for them. May it not therefore be, that during this Retreat he applied himself particularly to meditate upon the principal Maxims of renouncing the World, and so compos'd the Book of the Imitation about the end of his Life, that he might send it to them? All this may be made use of to shew, that it is not altogether impossible that *Gerson* should be the Author of the Imitation, altho' the Author speaks like one that had embrac'd a monastick Life.

As to the difference of Style, 'tis true that the Style of *Gerson* is different from that of the Imitation, and that he handles matters in a manner more methodical, and less moving; but this difference is not so sensible in his Books of Piety, and it may be, that having a mind to compose a Work which might excite and nourish Piety, he applied himself so much the more to sweeten his Style, and to fill his Book with affecting thoughts, and so assumed a Style and way of writing, suitable to his design.

SECTION XII.

An Examination of the Manuscripts produced for John Gersen, or Gessen, an Abbot; whether there was one John Gersen Abbot of Verceil, of the Order of St. Benedict; whether John Gersen was taken for John Gerson; or on the contrary, John Gerson, for John Gersen.

Here remains only now *John Gersen*, whose Claim to this Book is chiefly founded upon Manuscripts.

The first and most ancient is that which is found at *Arona* a City of *Italy*, belonging to the Princes *Boromees*, in the Novitiat of the Jesuits, which was formerly an Abbey of St. *Benedict*. This Manuscript came not as *Cajetan* at first believed, from the ancient Library of the *Benedictines* of this Monastery; but was brought thither from *Genoa* in 1579. by Father *Maiolus*, who found it in his Father's house. The Author of these Books is there called in three places *John Gessen* the Abbot, once the Abbot *John Gessen*, and once the Abbot *John Gersen*. The first Title upon the first Leaf is written with red Ink: *Incipiunt Capitula libri primi Abbatis Joannis Gessen, de Imitatione Christi, & contemptu omnium vanitatum mundi, caput primum.* At the beginning of the second Book there is also written in red Letters, *Incipit tabula libri secundi Abbatis Joannis Gessen de interna conversatione, caput primum.* At the beginning of the third Book it is also written in red Letters, *Incipit tabula tertii libri Abbatis Joannis Gessen, de interna Christi locutione ad animam fidelem.* At the beginning of the fourth Book, that which follows is written with black Ink, *Incipiunt capitula quarti libri Abbatis Joannis Gessen, cum quanta reverentia Christus sit suscipiendus, caput primum.* At the end of the Book is written with red Ink, *Explicit liber quartus & ultimus Abbatis Joannis Gersen, de Sacramento Altaris.* After these Books there follows a Treatise of St. *Bernard* to his Kinsfolk, of St. *Ambrose* about Morality and a good Life, and another Fragment of St. *Bernard*. All this is fairly written upon Parchment with one and the same hand, and in the same character, which was judg'd by the Assembly in 1687. to be 300 years old. This is not the original Manuscript of the Author, who would certainly have written his own name every where after the same manner, but it is some copy.

There appears nothing which can be reasonably objected against this Manuscript. It cannot be accused of falsification in five places, neither can any say, that these Titles are later, after they have been view'd and examin'd by unexceptionable Judges: Neither can the Book be thought very late, after the judgment they have given of its antiquity: All that can be said, is, that the Writer may have put the name of *John Gessen*, *Gessen*, or *Gersen*, for that of *John Gerson*. But whence then comes it to pass, that he should always give him the title of Abbot? From whence did he take it? There is no similitude between *Cancellarii* and *Abbatis*. How then should it come into the mind of this Transcriber to give to *John Gerson* the title of Abbot? This is difficult to be explain'd.

The second is the Manuscript of the Monastery of St. *Columbanus* of *Bobio*, which the Assembly in 1687. judg'd to be of the same antiquity with that of *Arona*, which has the name of *John Gersen* at the beginning of the 4th. Book only; for at the beginning and end of the other, there is no name at all. Here follows the beginning, *In nomine Domini, Amen. Incipit libellus de Imitatione Christi, & contemptu omnium vanitatum mundi. Capitulum primum.* And at the end of the three first Books, *Incipit liber Joannis Gersen cum quanta reverentia & devotione sacratissimum dominicum corpus & sanguinem sit sumendum.* And at the end of the fourth Book, *Explicit, Deo laus & beatissimæ Mariæ Virgini.* There is afterwards another Treatise of Piety, which begins with these words, *Quoniam charissime, & hujus miserabilis vitæ fugientis ærumnosa via, &c.*

The third Manuscript is that of the Congregation of St. *Justina*, in the Monastery of St. *Benedict* of *Padolirone* near to *Mantua*, as is remark'd at the end, *Iste liber est Monachorum Sanctæ Justinæ de observantia deputatus Monasterio Sancti Benedicti de Padolirone signatus numero, 451.* Where the name of *John Gersen* is found twice, once in red Letters at the beginning, *Incipit liber Joannis Gersen primus de contemptu mundi & de Imitatione Christi*, and at the end of the Book in black Ink, *Explicit liber quartus Joannis Gersen de sacramento Altaris.* As to this last, there is no suspicion of any changing or razing the Writing, and the name of *John Gersen* is certainly written with the first hand. Mr. *Naude* suspected, that there it ought to have been *Gerson*, and that the *o* might have been changed into an *e*: But he durst not maintain this at last, and the very inspection of the Manuscript which is in the Abbey of St. *German de Prez*, discovers, that there is no change nor rasure in this place, as the Assembly in 1671. judg'd. As to the first Title, there is more difficulty, Mr. *Naude* says in his Report, that having consider'd this Title, *Incipit liber Joannis Gersen primus*, whose Words are not in their natural order, he perceived the footsteps of a former and more ancient Title, all whose traces the new superadded Title could not perfectly cover, but still there appear'd *I. H. O.* and the Moieties of other Letters which might be seen as soon as they are look'd upon with a little attention: Neither can it be said, that they are the strokes of the Letters which are on the other side of the Leaf, because being pierced with the point of a Penknife, they do not hit against them. Lastly, these words, *Liber Joannis Gersen primus*, were written with a red Ink more shining than the following, *De contemptu Mundi & Imitatione Christi*; so that by this difference alone of Red and Vermilion, we may certainly know, or at least more clearly prove the fraud. Wherefore

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This Manuscript being carried to Paris, was viewed and considered in 1652. by the deceased Mr. de Launoy, who made upon it the following Observations, in the Remarks he wrote upon a Work of a Father of St. Genevieve, Part. 3. p. 89. 'Upon this occasion, I will tell what I have observed in a Manuscript of the Book of the Imitation, which is in the Abbey of St. German de Prez, and which is said to be the Manuscript of Mantua. The Title is thus, *Incipit liber Joannis Gersen primus de contemptu Mundi, & de Imitatione Christi*: The end is thus, *Explicit liber quartus Joannis Gersen de Sacramento Eucharistie*. In this end there appears not, that ever any Word was changed, or any Letter alter'd. That which appears, is what was written at first by the Transcriber. This being so, it seems no ways credible, that there ever was or should be any change or alteration in that which is common to the Title and the end, i. e. in *Joannis Gersen*, because there could be no reason to change or alter *Joannis Gersen* in the title of the Book, and not to change or alter *Joannis Gersen* at the end of the Book. I hold this, without dispute, to be reasonable; nevertheless, I have observed three things in this Title: 1st. that these words, *Liber Joannis Gersen primus*, were written with a red Ink a very little more shining than the rest, which I believe proceeds only from the greater abundance of red Ink in the Pen, when these four Words were formed, than when the rest were made. We find by experience, that the Letters which are form'd with much red Ink in the Pen, are more shining than those which are formed with less Ink in the Pen, tho' they be all form'd at the same time. 2^{dly}. that the Line of Paper upon which these Words, *Incipit liber Joannis Gersen*, are written, is a little smoothed and polished, which reaches above the Line; but I believe this happened by the fault of the Transcriber, who beginning to write, and having misshaped the first Words of the first Line, he blotted them out with his Finger, by drawing it over the Line; yet he could not do it so perfectly, but there would still remain some mark upon the Paper, where he begun to write what we now read there. However this be, 'tis not possible to say with any certainty, what the Transcriber had first written. 3^{dly}. that this mark and blot of the Paper, whatever it may have been, goeth above the Word *Gersen*, but cometh not below it at all; so that in this Word there appears no change or alteration which may decide the Question. This Word is written with the same hand which transcrib'd the whole Book, which is very considerable; for if there had been any falsification, it must have been in this Word *Gersen*, and not in that *Joannis*, because *Joannes Gersen* and *Joannes Gerson*, agree in this name of *Joannes*. Moreover, I would very willingly persuade my self, that this Manuscript whereof we are now speaking, is not that whereof the Sieur Naude gives his judgment in his Report, which the R. F. the Abbot of St. Genevieve published in *Latin* and *French*, in the third Part of his Book. The Reasons which I have for this are chiefly four. 1st. that the Sieur Naude says in his Report, that these three old Letters I. H. O. are

to be read, which were in the Title of the Manuscript which he saw, which are not to be read in that which I saw, and any one may see. 2^{dly}. That the Sieur Naude says, the Word *Cancellarii* was in the same Title; which cannot any ways be affirmed of the Manuscript whereof I am now speaking, as every one must believe who will take the pains to consider it. 3^{dly}. that the Word *Cancellarii* is always follow'd by *Parisiensis*, there being no Book, nor Tract of *Gerson*, which goes under this name *Gerson*, wherein there is *Cancellarii* without *Parisiensis*. But this cannot be affirmed of this Manuscript which I saw, not only because there is no appearance that ever *Parisiensis* was there, but also, because there is no room to place it there, in that condition wherein the Title of the Book is. 4^{thly}. That the Sieur Naude makes no doubt, but at the end of the Manuscript which he saw, there had been before *Joannis Gerson*: But in that which I saw these Words had never been.

The Assembly in 1671. judg'd, that the writing of the first Inscription of this Manuscript was entire and unchang'd in the proper Name, and that there was no just suspicion of falsification there, nor yet in the Subscription which is at the end written with the same hand.

I saw this Manuscript a little while after, and when I had well consider'd the Title in question, I judg'd, 1st. that it was written wholly with the same hand. 2^{dly}. That 'tis the same hand which wrote the whole Work. 3^{dly}. That 'tis true, the first Words had been blotted out, and particularly the Word *Incipit*. 4^{thly}. That still some Letters of that which had been written at first might be observ'd, and among the rest the term *Incipit*; and that it might be, the same was also observed at the time when Mr. Naude saw the Letters I. H. O. tho' they do not appear at present, nor yet the Prickings which are said to have been made in that place. 5^{thly}. That these Words were not defac'd by scraping the Parchment, for looking upon it by the Light, it is of the same thickness, and it appears not at all to be diminish'd in that place; besides, that if there had been any such rasure, the ancient Letters would no more be seen, 6^{thly}. I observed after Mr. Launoy, that there remained at the top above the first Line, a speck of dark red, which appear'd to me to proceed from hence, that the Transcriber had dash'd out with his Finger what he had written in red, and to spread the red further, which could not so perfectly be taken off, but that still some speck of it would remain. 7^{thly}. I judg'd from hence, that the Transcriber having begun the first words of his Title, *Incipit liber Joannis*, had dash'd them out again; perhaps, because his Pen being overcharg'd with red Ink, had made a botch, which oblig'd him to blot out the whole. 8^{thly}. The space will not allow, that ever there should have been a longer Title in it. 9^{thly}. The traces of the old Word *Incipit* are yet to be seen, and those of *Joannis* were seen at the time when the Title was view'd by Mr. Naude, and therefore it was the same Title. 10^{thly}. It is of a brighter colour at the beginning, because the Pen of the Transcriber was then more full of red Ink than at the end, but the first Words are not so lately written as the last. Besides, the age of this Manuscript, according to the time that it has been in the Congregation of St. Justina, to which it belongs, is no more than 200 years, according to the judgment of expert Men, and the confession of Mr. Naude.

There is one important Remark to be made upon this Manuscript of *Padolirona*, which is this, that upon the first Leaf there is the Epitaph in verse of *John Gerson*, Chancellour of the University of Paris, the same which is to be found upon his Tomb in the Church of St. Paul, at Lyons express'd in these Words,

*Magnum parva tenet virtutibus urna Joannem,
Præcelsum meritis Gerson cognomine dictum.
Parisiis celsæ Professor Theologiæ,
Claruit, Ecclesiæ qui Consolarius Anno*

*Milleno Domini centum quater atq; viceno
Nono, luce petit superos Julii duodena:*

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Cajetan mentions this Epitaph: The Sieur. Naude never perceived it; for he makes no mention of it in the Report made in 1671. Father Delfau says nothing of it; whereupon his Antagonist crowing over him, he who answer'd confesses, that it was in this Manuscript, but of a late Writing. If it had been written with the same hand which wrote the rest of the Manuscript, there is no doubt but it would have clearly proved, that the Name of *John Gersen* was put in that place for that of *John Gerson*; but since it is written with a much later hand, as the bare Inspection of it discovers, it shews only that a certain Person, into whose hands this Manuscript fell, finding there the Name of *Gersen*, at the top, and imagining that this should be *Gerson*, to whom he knew this Work had been ascrib'd thought fit to write upon the first Leaf being blank, this Epitaph of *Gerson*; and therefore from hence no Consequence can be drawn as to the first Author.

The fourth Manuscript, which is that which the *Benedictines* bought of Mr. *Slusa*, and which they have in their Library, is also 200 Years old, according to the Confession of those able men, who gave their Judgment about it in 1674. There we find at the end these Words written with Red Ink by the first Hand, *Explicit liber quartus & ultimus de Sacramento Altaris Joannis Gerseni*.

The fifth is the Manuscript in the Monastery of St. *John of Parma* in little, which contains a Rule of St. *Benedict* and the Book of the Imitation written with the same hand, whereof the Year is set down at the end of the Rule of St. *Benedict*; *Sanctissimi Benedicti explicit Regula discretionis precipua & sermone luculenta die octavo Augusti, 1466*. At the end of the fourth Book of the Imitation is written with the same hand, *Explicit liber quartus & ultimus Joannis Gerseni de Sacramento Altaris, Amen*. The Name is written in this Manuscript as in that of the Monastery of *Bobio* with an *m* *Gerseni*, and not *Gersen*, as in the rest.

The sixth is the Manuscript of *Leo Allatius*, which belong'd formerly to the Cardinal of *Biscia*, which probably came from *Germany*; for the binding was of that Country, and it contain'd the Works of *Nicholas d' Inkelspuel*, Rector of the University of *Vienna*, and of *John of Tambach*, Regent of the University of *Prague*, and the Bull of a Legate published at *Vienna*, in 1448. 'Tis written on Paper, and has this title in red Letters, *Incipit Tractatus Joannis de Canabaco de Imitatione Christi, & contemptu omnium vanitatum mundi, & dividitur in quatuor libros*. The Bull dated in 1448. written with the same hand, shews that it could not be written before this year. The name of *Canabaco* was added some time after, and above the Line, but still it is done by the same hand, in the same writing, and with the same Vermilion. Mr. *Naude* and the Assembly in 1671. are in this of the same opinion. Mr. *Naude* judg'd, that the writing of the Manuscript was no older than 1480, or 1500. The Assembly gave no judgment of its antiquity. This Surname of *Canabacum* given to *John* the Author of the Book of the Imitation, has been differently explained. Some say, that *Canabacum* was the place of the birth of this *John*, whom they suppose to be the same with *Gersen*; and since *Canabacum* is a place unknown, they have interpreted it *Cavaglia*, which is a Borough in the Country of *Vercel*: This was the opinion of *Quatremaires* and *Walgrave*. Father *Delfau* and those who have written since, seem to have forsaken this opinion, and durst not maintain, that *Canabacum* was the Country of *John Gerseni*, and that this place was *Cavaglia*: And so it is not known, what the Surname is, from whence it was taken, nor what gave occasion to mention it here. Some may conjecture, that the Writer of this Manuscript having copied it from another, wherein *de Gersonio*, was ill

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written, wrote *Canabaco* for *Gersonio*; or rather, that lighting upon a Manuscript wherein there was *Can-cellario* abbreviated, as *Cancrio*, he read it *Canabaco*. Howsoever this be, it cannot be proved by any place, that this *Joannes de Canabaco* is the same who is called *Joannes Gerseni* in the other Manuscripts.

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The seventh is the Manuscript of *Cave*, upon which it is written, *Iste liber est Congregationis Cassinensis*, and a little after, *asservatur in Monasterio Cavæ*. The Book of the Imitation in this Manuscript is written upon Parchment, in fair Characters, and has no name of the Author, nor any date of the time, being imperfect at the end. But in the first Letter Q, there is the Image of a *Benedictine* Monk, having a Cross in his hand; some think that this is the Pourtraiture of *Gerseni*. Afterwards 'tis said, that the Words of l. 3. c. 56. gave occasion to this Picture, I have received from your hand a Cross, and I will carry it until death. It may indeed be, that this Sentence gave occasion to him who wrote this Manuscript to make this Picture at the beginning: But upon what grounds can it be thence concluded, that the Book of the Imitation was therefore written by a *Benedictine* Monk? All that can be thence conjectur'd is, that the Writer of this Manuscript was a *Benedictine*.

The last Piece which is produc'd is a Copy of some Works printed at *Venice* in 1501. among which is the Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ, under the name of *John Gerson*, Chancellor of the University of *Paris*, at the end whereof are to be found these Words written upon design; *Hunc librum non compilavit Johannes Gerson, sed D. Johannes*. This Word *Johannes* has been mended by the confession of Father *Delfau*, and that which followed has been raz'd out, in the room whereof there is still a blank space, and after it there are these Words, *Abbas Vercellensis*: After which there is yet more writing raz'd out, and then at last follow these Words; *Ut habetur usque hodie propria manu scriptus in eadem Abbazia*. This Copy being one of those which were presented at *Rome* in 1641. to Sieur *Naude*, he judg'd that this Manuscript Observation had been falsified, and pretends, that *Joannes* had been made of the name *Thomas*, after so grois a manner, that the Sieur *Vincent Galeotti*, when he came to read this writing, read *Thomas* for *Joannes*. This Copy was not produc'd at the Assembly in 1671. tho' it was at *Paris*, and Father *Delfau* gave no other reason for it, but that it was in the Library among the printed Books without his knowledge. If this had been the only reason which hindred the *Benedictines* from producing it then, they would certainly have shewn it in the Assemblies in 1674. and 1687: But they had reason to suppress it, because they truly judg'd that this Manuscript Note was of no authority: First, because 'tis well known that 'tis much later than 1501. but 'tis not known at what time it was written, nor who is the Author of it: Secondly, because the name of *Johannes* being foisted in, and that of *Gerseni*, or *Gessen* being not there, it was unserviceable to their Cause: Thirdly, because this Note, however very late, yet was falsified by a Forger who put into it all that he pleas'd: Fourthly, because the space might be fill'd up with any other name besides that of *Joannes Gerseni*, or even that of *Thomas à Kempis*, that perhaps he might be call'd *Abbas Windesemensis*, or perhaps even *Abbas Vercellensis*, because there was one *Thomas* a Canon Regular of St. *Victor*, Abbot of St. *Andrew* of *Vercel*, whom some make a Canon Regular upon the credit of an ancient Register of Burials of St. *Victor*'s, and others a *Benedictine*, according to the Picture of a Monk which is said to be upon his Tomb: Fifthly, because 'tis not certain whether these Words *Abbas Vercellensis* are the Forger's, or his who first wrote this Note. And thus the title of the Abbot of *Vercel*, which is given to *John Gerseni*, being founded only upon this Note is a meer Chimæra, since *Gerseni* is not at all nam'd there, and the name of *John* is foisted in, and therefore no regard ought to be had to a Piece of this

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this nature. There are two Abbies at *Verceil*, that of *St. Stephen*, and that of *St. Andrew*: This latter was founded at the expence of *Henry II.* King of *England*, after the Murder of *Thomas of Canterbury*: Whereof the first Abbot in 1227. was *Thomas Gallas*, a Canon Regular of *St. Victor*, or according to others an *English Benedictine*. He was Abbot till the year 1260. Upon which account *John Gersen* is made Abbot of *St. Stephen of Verceil*, and not of *St. Andrew*. This Monastery is more ancient, and was of the Order of *St. Benedict*, until *Paul III.* in the year 1536. gave it to the *Canons Regular*, after which it was destroy'd in 1581. But no ancient Author speaks of this Abbot *John Gersen*. *Francis Augustin* a Clergy-man hath indeed plac'd him in the Edition of his Chronicle at *Piemont* in 1648. among the Abbots of *Verceil*, and ascrib'd to him the Imitation of *Jesus Christ*, but 'tis only upon hear-say from some *Benedictine* since the contest of *Cajetan*, and he durst not mention him in his History of *Verceil*. There is also cited a Manuscript History of *Verceil*, written by *John Baptista Modena*, who says, that we still read in an ancient Manuscript of other Abbots of *St. Stephen*, which were never reckon'd among the rest; among whom is another *John*, who is thought to be the Author of the Imitation of *Jesus Christ*, because this *John*, Abbot of *Verceil* cannot be Abbot of any other Abbey but the Monastery of *St. Stephen*. 'Tis doubted whether this testimony is true; but supposing it were, 'tis plain, that this Author said this only upon occasion of what had been alledg'd since the starting of this controversie by the Abbot *Cajetan*. It muſt be confess'd, that there is no proof that *John Gersen* was Abbot of *St. Stephen's* at *Verceil*, no more than there is, that he was a Native of *Canabaco*, and that *Canabaco* was *Cavaglia*: And it is not at all known who is this *John Gersen*, *Gerssem*, *Gesen*, or *Gessen*, whose name is found in the Manuscripts of the Imitation which we have now mentioned. There is none of them which gives him the title but that of *Arona*, where he is always styl'd the Abbot, *Abbatis*; but 'tis never observ'd, of what Order, or what place he was: And therefore the *Benedictines* have no more right to appropriate him to themselves than the *Bernardins* or any other Regulars, which have Abbies and Abbots. *John Gessen*, or *Gersen*, or *Gessen* an Abbot, is grounded upon nothing but only the Manuscript of *Arona*. *John Gersen*, or *Gerssem*, without a title, is founded upon four uncorrupted Manuscripts worthy of credit, that of *St. Columbanus* of *Bobio*, that of *Padolirona*, that of *Slusa*, and that of *Parma*. *John*, surnam'd of *Canabaco*, is only to be found in the Manuscript of *Allatius*, written since the year 1448. and this Surname is there interlin'd, tho' it be written with the same hand. *John* Abbot of *Verceil*, is founded upon a forgery. But for none of these *John's* can any ancient Author be produc'd who knew him, or has mention'd him, nor any Edition before that of *Cajetan* in 1616. taken from the Manuscript of *Arona*, which is intitled, *Venerabilis viri Joannis Gessen Abbatis, Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*; wherein the Order, of which he was Abbot, is added without proof, and without authority. *Walgrave* has changed the name of *Gessen* into *Gersen*, and has ventur'd to set down his Country and the Place of his Abbey, by causing the Imitation to be printed with this Title in 1638. *Johannis Gersen Abbatis Vercellensis, Italo-Benedictini*. At last, Father *Delfau*, who nevertheless ought

to have observ'd the weakness of the proofs upon which the title of Abbot of the Order of *St. Benedict* of *Verceil* is founded, has carried this matter yet higher, by giving him the name of Abbot of *Stephen of Verceil* in his last Edition of 1674. *Joannis Gersen Abbatis Sancti Stephani Vercellensis Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*. There is nothing of this title but the bare name of *Joannis Gersen*, which is authoriz'd by many Manuscripts, and the title of *Abbatis*, only by the Manuscript of *Arona*: All the rest is without any foundation.

When there want Editions and Authors who give the Imitation to *John Gersen* an Abbot, then the Editions and Authors are alledg'd which ascribe it to *Gerson*, which are said to be favourable to *John Gersen*. For since, as they suppose, 'tis manifest that the Book was not *Gerson's* the Chancellor of *Paris*, and that the Author was certainly a Monk; 'tis pretended that the reason why it is ascrib'd to *Gerson* the Chancellor is the similitude of the name; and that *John Gersen* being less known than *John Gerson*, and almost altogether unknown in *France*, the name of *John Gersen* was taken for that of *Gerson*. That this is much more probable than to say, that the name of *John Gessen*, *Gessen*, *Gersen*, or *Gerssem*, was put for that of *John Gerson*. 1. Because there are Manuscripts of *Gersen*, which are thought more ancient than the time wherein *Gerson* could have compos'd this Work; for there is one of *Melice* dated in 1421. and those of *Arona* and *Bobio* without date are of the fourteenth Century. 2. Because the name of *Abbatis* is in that of *Arona*, a title which no ways agrees to *Gerson*. 3. Because it is no ways credible, that it should be written so many ways, in so many different places, *Gersen*, *Gesen*, *Gessen*, or *Gerssem*, for *Gerson* which was a name well enough known. To this it may be answer'd, that the name of *Gerson* was put there, either because he was the Author of it, or because this Work was joyn'd to the Works of *Gerson* in the same Manuscript as is really found in the Manuscript of *Melice*, in 1434. After the same manner it has been ascrib'd to *St. Bernard*, because it was joyn'd with the Works of this Father, as in the former Manuscript of *Melice*, wherein *Gersen* is put for *Gerson*, because the name of *Gerson* was perhaps abbreviated in the Manuscript from which this was transcrib'd, as in the Manuscript of *Saltzburg* 'tis written *John Gersf.* or rather because the *o* was taken for an *e*. That one Manuscript of that nature, such as that of *Arona*, could never be the cause of the mistake which is found in all the rest; that this mistake is found only in the Manuscripts of *Italy*, which may have been copied out from that of *Arona*; that the name *Abbatis* which is in this, may proceed from the Ignorance of the Transcriber; that the various ways in which this name is written, sometimes *Gesen*, sometimes *Gessen*, and sometimes *Gersen*, all which are found in the same Manuscript of *Arona*, do plainly shew that the name of the Author was not well known to him who wrote it; that he added of his own head the title of Abbot. Lastly, that this Abbot *John Gessen*, *Gessen*, or *Gersen* being wholly unknown, and no person having ever mention'd him before the Controversie arose between the *Benedictines* and *Canons Regular*, about the Author of the Imitation; it is very probable, that he is only a Phantom who never had any real Existence.

SECTION XIII.

A Judgment upon all that has been said in this Question, wherein that which is certainly false is separated from that which is uncertain, and an Attempt is made to discover what has most Probability.

After I have examined and related all that has been said and written by learned Men upon the Controversies about the Author of the Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ, I cannot but apply to them the Words of Terence,

*Fecisti probe
Incertior sum multo quam dudum.*

And I doubt not but the same thought will come into all the minds of those who shall read what we have now written. For in effect, the great number of Manuscripts, Editions, Authorities, and Reasons, which are alledg'd on one side and the other, instead of clearing up the matter, do rather darken it; and instead of discovering the Author of the Book of the Imitation, they render him more uncertain, and more unknown. Nevertheless let us attempt to draw from what has been said some Inferences, and if we cannot conclude any thing that is certain, yet let us discern between what is false, and what is uncertain, between what is probable, and what is not.

First, 'tis certain that this Work is not St. Bernard's, altho it hath been ascrib'd unto him.

Secondly, neither is there any probability that it is Ludolphus's.

Thirdly, there is no convincing proof that it is Thomas à Kempis's, for this proof must either be founded upon the Manuscripts, or the Editions, or the Report of cotemporary Authors, or the Agreement of the Style. The Manuscripts do not at all prove it in a convincing manner, since the first which was in the year 1441. has not the name of Thomas à Kempis as the Author, but only as the Transcriber of the Book, and this may have given occasion to put his name to other Manuscripts, and to Writers who followed him to ascribe it to him. 'Tis very probable that the Passage of Busch was added, and tho' it were not, yet neither he, nor other Authors, nor the Manuscripts nor Editions later than the Manuscript in 1441. are any convincing Proofs, since these are found in conjunction with other Manuscripts, Editions, and Testimonies, even such as are more ancient in favour of St. Bernard, of Gerson, and Gersen. The Agreement of Style, with the other Works which go under the name of Thomas à Kempis is not still a certain Proof, for in general the Agreement of the Style of one Work with another is not commonly sufficient to ascertain who is the Author of it. Besides this Agreement is not entire; and lastly, neither is it certain that all the Works which go under the name of Thomas à Kempis are his; since by the confession of those who favour him, his Humility would not suffer him to put his name to any of his own, and he transcrib'd many Books of others.

Fourthly, there is some probability that the Book of the Imitation is more ancient than Thomas à Kempis, the Manuscripts of Arona, of Sirmondus, and Bobio, tho' without date, are judg'd more ancient, by those who are best skill'd in such matters, which is a Proof of it. The Manuscripts of Italy, dated in the years 1421, 1433, 1434, 1436, and 1437, make it credible. They are indeed later than the year 1410. wherein 'tis suppos'd without ground,

that Thomas à Kempis compos'd this Work, though there is little probability that he did write at that time. But two things are to be observed; 1st. that these Manuscripts are found in different places, far distant one from another. 2^{dy}. That these are not Originals written with the Author's own hand, but Copies written out from other Copies more ancient. Now there is scarce any probability, that in so short a time the Book of the Imitation should have been copied out so often, and carried to so many different places. The same Reflection may be made upon the French Version in 1447. and upon the French Manuscript found in 1467. in the Library of the Count Angoulesme; and this may be confirm'd by the Testimony of Trithemius, who says plainly in 1494. that the Seniors of his Seniors had read this Work, which carries us up to the beginning of the Century.

Fifthly, 'tis certain that in the Life time of Thomas Kempis, the Book of the Imitation was ascrib'd to St. Bernard, to Gerson, and Gersen. The Manuscripts and Editions are a proof of this; which is a strong argument that Tho. à Kempis was not then own'd for the Author of it.

Sixthly, 'tis also certain that the most ancient Manuscripts are either anonymous, or else go under the name of Gerson; which is a good reason why it cannot be ascertain'd that Thomas à Kempis is the Author of this Book.

Seventhly, John Gerson Chancellor of the University of Paris, among the three Competitors, seems to have the best right to this Book: If we consider only external Testimonies, he was in possession of it before Thomas à Kempis. All the Manuscripts which are for John Gersen, or Gersen, except only that which gives him the title of Abbot, may be understood of him by a corruption of his name. The common opinion of France and Italy was for him in the fifteenth and sixteenth Century: He is a solid Author, and of great Reputation, who has written Books of a like nature. But there are two things which counterpoize these proofs, the title of Monk which is given to the Author of the Imitation, and the difference of Style.

Eighthly, The titles of Abbot of St. Stephen of Vercell, of the Order of St. Benedict, which are given to the pretended John Gersen, are not built upon any good ground, nor upon any testimony worthy of credit. There is only the title of Abbot in the Manuscript of Arona, and in the rest he appears naked and divested of all titles, sometimes under the name of Gersen, sometimes under that of Gersen, or Gessen, or Gersem, an Author unknown to this very day.

Lastly, 'tis not easie to decide, whether John Gersen, Gessen, Gersen, or Gersem, is really the name of an Abbot, or whether it be only the corruption of the name of John Gerson. There are conjectures pro and con, which have their probability on both sides.

After all, the Author of the Book of the Imitation remains still uncertain, as he was at the beginning of this Discourse, and each of the three Pretenders may still preserve the probability of his right, tho' he be not able to establish it by uncontestable evidence.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
C H U R C H
I N T H E
Sixteenth C E N T U R Y.

The division of this History.

THE Ecclesiastical History of the Sixteenth Century is naturally divided into four Parts. The first contains what passed from the Beginning of the Century to the Schism of Luther, which happened in 1517. in which is related, what was done in France and at Rome about the Pragmatical Sanction, and the Concordate; as also the History of the Councils of Pisa and Lateran.

The second contains the History of the Rise and Progress of Luther's Schism, and the Sects that it produced, to the calling of the Council of Trent, in which are related the Troubles which were raised in Germany about Religion, the Councils, Conferences, Confessions of Faith, Edicts, Disputes, and other Writings about it;

as well by Catholics, as Sectaries. The Original of the Heresies of the Sacramentarians, and the Contests they had with Luther and his Disciples.

The third Part contains a large History of the Council of Trent, and such things as happened in Europe, relating to Religion, from the calling of that Council to the end of it; that is to say, to 1564. The History of the Revolutions in England is delivered in a Chapter by it self.

The last Part contains a Relation of what passed from the rising of the Council of Trent to the end of the Century, and in this the Troubles of France and Holland, for which Religion was made use of for a pretence, are a principal Subject.

B O O K I.

The History of the Church, from the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century, to the Time when *Luther's* Heresy arose.

C H A P. I.

The Articles of the Pragmatical Sanction, composed at the Council of Bourges, in 1438. taken out of the Decrees of the Council of Basil, with the Limitations added by that Assembly.



The Articles of the Pragmatical Sanction.

WHILE Pope *Eugenius* us'd his utmost endeavours to dissolve the Council of *Basil*, and to destroy its authority, the Fathers of that Council sent their Deputies into *France*, to present the Decrees and Constitutions which they had made for the reformation of Ec-

clesiastical Discipline, to King *Charles VII.* and the Church of *France*, that they might be received in that Kingdom. The King, not willing to do any thing in a matter of that importance, without mature deliberation, thought it convenient immedi-

ately to call a Council of the Bishops, and Clergy of his Realm, to examine those Decrees. It was held in the Holy Chappel of *Bourges*, in *July*, 1438. and the King himself, with all the Princes of the Blood, and his Council were present. Here the Deputies of the Council were heard, its Decrees were examined, and judged very expedient to obviate the abuses of *Gratia Expectativa's*, Reservations and other things of that nature, which were brought into the Church of *France*. Some they approved of absolutely, but others with such Limitations, as the Bishops judged fit to make; not that they denied, (as they then declared) the power or authority of the Council of *Basil*, which made those Decrees, but because the time and manners of the people of that Kingdom required it should be so.

The Articles of the Pragmatical Sanction.

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Of those Decrees contained in the 23 Articles, there were but two made after the second division between the Council and the Pope; so that the other 21 were expressly approved by the Pope's Bull, at the accommodation he made with the Council at the 16th Session. The two Decrees which were made after the second division, were that about Collations to Benefices, and that about hearing of Causes, which were made in the 31st Session, the same day that *Eugenius* was deposed; but they were mollified and moderated in the *Pragmatical Sanction*, where *Eugenius* is acknowledged for lawful Pope.

The first Article approved by the *Pragmatical Sanction*, is the Decree of the Council of *Constance*, concerning the usefulness of General Councils, which was re-inforced in the first Session of the Council of *Basil*, appointing that they should be held every ten years, and at the end of every Council, the Pope should call the next; and should have no power to put off the time of calling it, tho' in cases of necessity, he might call it sooner, or remove it to another place, with the advice and consent of the Cardinals. In obedience to this Decree, a Council was call'd at *Pavia*, by the Council of *Constance*, and after it was begun there, was removed to *Sienna*, whither the Council which was held at *Basil*, had been summoned.

The 2d. Article of the *Pragmatical Sanction*, is another Decree of the Council of *Constance*, which was renewed in the Council of *Basil*, in the 2d. Session, about the supream power of a General Council above the Pope. These two Constitutions were received by the Synod of *Bourges*, without restriction or limitation.

The 3d. Article contains two Decrees about Elections, one of which is in the 12th Session of the Council of *Basil*, and the other in the 23d. Session. In the first it is declared, that general Reservations of the Dignities in all Metropolitane and Cathedral Churches, Monasteries, and other places by the Pope, is a great abuse, except those, which are mentioned in the Body of the Law, and are within the Precincts of those Countries, which are either mediately, or immediately subject to the Church of *Rome*; and it is ordained, that when those Dignities are vacant, they should be filled by Election, if it may be done without any derogation to former reasonable rights and customs, or such Postulations as are settled by the common Law. In it the Electors are advised to chuse such persons as are duly qualified to take the vacant Dignity, and not to proceed to an Election, 'till they have heard the Mass of the Holy Ghost, received the Sacraments, and taken an Oath before the President of the Assembly, as the President doth from the second, to chuse such an one only, as they believe in their Conscience, will be most serviceable, as well to the spiritual, as temporal interests of the Church, and not to give their Vote for any one of those whom they shall know to have directly, or indirectly sought to be chosen by gifts, promises, or petitions. They are enjoined to chuse a Man of a suitable age, a good life, learned, in Holy Orders, and fit for the canonical Functions. If they chuse any other, or the Election be found simoniacal, 'tis declared, *pleno jure*, void; and they that are guilty of the Simony, are to be punished not only according to the Law, but deprived of their Votes in such Elections for ever. The persons elected by Simony, and all their accomplices, are also declared excommunicated *ipso facto*, never to be absolved, 'till they quit their Preferments so obtained. Then the Council exhorts Kings, Princes, Communities, Magistrates and all Ecclesiastical and Secular Powers, not to write any Letters of recommendation to the Electors, nor use any requests, much less menaces, to cause them to chuse any person; and in case such things should happen, it enjoins the Electors to have no regard to them when the Election is made, and presented to the person, who has a right to confirm it; if there be another co-elected, or any that opposes

the Election, it is enjoined, that he shall be summoned to debate the Election; and in the mean time the Decree of the Election shall be set up in the Church, where it was made; and the person, whose Office it is to confirm the Election, shall examine both the form of it, and the abilities of the person elected. He is forbidden to take any thing of the person elected, upon any pretence whatsoever, except it be a moderate Fee to be paid to the Notaries for their attendance, which shall be rated according to the trouble they have been at, and not the value of the Bishoprick. Confirmations made any other way, are declared *null*, and the confirmers guilty of Simony, deprived of their right, and excommunicated. The Pope, who ought to be a precedent for others, is also exhorted not to require, or receive any thing for the confirmations of such Elections as belong to him, and threatned that if he do, he shall be informed against in a Council.

The 2d. Canon about Elections is to prevent any particular Reservations of any Dignities, and all attempts which the Pope hath, and may make against the former Decree. It is there ordain'd, that Elections shall be free in those Churches, and if it happens that any canonical Election cause any trouble in Church or State; the Pope, in such a case of absolute necessity, may, with the advice of his Cardinals, reject it, and order the Chapters, or Convents to proceed to a new Election, which is not subject to the like inconveniencies.

The Council of *Bourges* adds to this Decree, that the Pope shall be obliged to send those who are promoted by himself, or by his authority, to their immediate Superior, to be consecrated by him, or blessed by his authority, unless they be at the Court of *Rome*, and are willing to be consecrated there. In which case he shall send them to their Superiors to take the Oath of canonical obedience. They that shall receive their consecration from any other than their immediate Superior, whatever commission they may pretend from the Pope, shall be fined an hundred Crowns of Gold, one moiety of which shall be given to the Bishop, and the other employ'd about the Buildings of the Church. Yet the Council adds, that it shall not be prohibited to the King or the Nobles of the Realm, to recommend persons of merit, and zealous for the common good, provided they do not make use of threatnings or force.

The 4th. Article is a Decree for the *Abolishing of Reservations* according to the 23d. Session of the Council of *Basil*.

The 5th. is about *Collations*, made in the 31st Session of that Council. In it *Gratia Expectativa's* of Benefices are detested, and the Pope is forbidden to use them for the future. Particular Reservation of Benefices made by the Pope or his Legates, are declared *null*. However it allows the Pope to reserve during his Papacy, the Collation of one Benefice in those Churches, where there are 10, and two where there are 50. Nevertheless, the Collations that are made by way of *Præ-election* are approved by it, and they dispose of some Benefices to Graduates. It says, that every Cathedral Church shall have a Divinity Professor, and that every Collator shall to that end be obliged to give a Prebend to a Doctor, or Batchelor of Divinity, who has taught and studied 10 Years in some University, who shall be obliged to reside and read Lectures once or twice a Week, and that a 3d. Part of the other Prebends shall be assigned to Graduates, and so the first vacancy shall be for a Graduate, and every third turn afterwards, and so on. These Graduates shall be either Licentiates and Batchelors of Divinity, who have studied 10 years in some privileged University, or Doctors of Law, or Physick who have studied seven years in some such like University; or Masters and Licentiates in Arts, who have studied five years in some University after their Logic course is finished, or six years in Divinity, or Batchelors of Civil and Canon Law, who have studied three years, if they are Noblemen, or five years if they are not.

It is ordained that these Graduates shall prove these qualifications to the Collators by credible Testimonials; that the Collators in bestowing of Benefices, and especially Dignities, shall prefer Doctors, Licentiates, and Batchelors in Divinity. That the same order shall be observ'd in all elective (a) Dignities with a Benefice annexed, Administrations, and Offices of Churches. That those Graduates who have two Prebends, or one Dignity, and one Prebend, or one or more Benefices, which require residence, shall have no title to those third Benefices which are assign'd to Graduates; that the Cures of wall'd Towns shall be given to Graduates; that all Graduates shall be obliged once a year in Lent, to give in their names to the Collators of Benefices, or Cures; otherwise the Presentation, or Collation made to them, shall be void. Lastly, this Decree enjoins the Collators of Regular (b) Benefices to give them only to Regulars.

The Council of Bourges added these following clauses to this Canon; 1. That the *Gratia expectativa's* and *Nominations* which were allowed the Pope, of which the *Instructions* were already drawn, should be tolerated till *Easter*, in the mean time the Council should judge whether they are to be absolutely allow'd, and as for *Gratia expectativa's* (c) and *Nominations*, the *Instructions* of which were not then dispatched, when the Canon was made, they are declared null. 2. That they shall be punished severely by the secular Power, who shall obtain and receive such *Gratia expectativa's*. 3. That the Council in the *Lateran* having given time to Collators, and Patrons to collate, 'tisthought fit, that the Council declare, that the Pope shall not prevent the Ordinaries, in that time. 4. That the Collation of the 3^d. part of the Benefices to the Graduates, shall be made by turns, provided nevertheless, that a Prebend of one Cathedral shall not be changed, but for a Prebend of the same nature only; a Cure for a Cure, and a Chappel for a Chappel, that so the Benefices of collegiate Churches, which are in the gift of the same Patron, may all have their turns together. 5. That the Universities shall name a certain number of their Graduates to the Collators, who shall have liberty to chuse whom they please out of the persons named, but not to bestow them on any other; and the first named shall be preferred before such as are named afterward. 6. That the Universities shall be obliged to declare the Degrees of those they nominate, and Benefices for which they name them. 7. That all Benefices which shall be vacant, except those which are vacant by exchange, or resignation, shall have their turn. 8. This Assembly ordered, that none should have their Degrees but such as were of a good capacity and virtuous; and that none should be rashly and carelessly promoted to them. For nothing, (say they) is more ridiculous, than to see several have the name of *Masters*, who ought to be *Scholars*. 9. That the Reservation of Benefices, which are allowed to the Pope, should be made by an apostolical Mandate directed to the ordinary Collator, and with a true date. 10. This Council granted to the present Pope the disposal of the Benefices of such as are promoted to other Benefices, in the time of their promotion, wherever they are consecrated, and of those which are quitted by the persons promoted, but this they granted only to the present Pope, without any prejudice to the liberties and rights of the *Gallican Church*, and

not allowing it to pass to his Successors. 11. The Assembly desired the Council to make a Canon to hinder the Popes from making Canonries in those cathedral Churches where the number of Canons is already limited, unless he be obliged to provide a person of such a Dignity or Office, according to the form prescribed, which requires a Prebend.

The 6th. Article, which concerns Causes, is taken out of the 31st Session of the Council of *Basil*, and imports, that in those Provinces, which are distant from *Rome*, above four days Journey, all Causes, except the (d) *Causæ Majores* which are expressly reserved in the Law, and those of Cathedral Churches, and Monasteries, which by their immediate subjection devolve of course to the Apostolical See, shall be concluded and determined by those Judges, who either by Law, Custom lawfully prescribed, or any other Privilege, ought to take cognizance of them; and lest under a pretence of Appeals which are very often trivially and frivolously at the first Instance introduced, the Process should be prolonged, the Synod orders, that if any Person that is injur'd, can't obtain Justice before his proper Judge, he shall Appeal to the immediate Superior, and shall not apply himself to any other; no, not to the Pope, if he passeth over any one Degree of Persons in Power. It also prohibits Appeals from any preparatory Determination given before the Definitive Sentence, unless the Grievance be so great, as that it cannot be repaired by the Definitive Sentence: That if any one Appeal to the Holy See from the Sentence of the Judge to whom he is immediately subject, the Cause shall be sent back again to the Judges upon the Place till the Suit is at an end, unless Justice be denied, or something else is to be feared, even in the Neighbourhood, which shall be expressed in the Letters of Commission; and by other ways than by an Oath, in which Case the Cause may be retained by the Holy See. Lastly, the Council appoints particularly that as to such Causes as concern the Fathers of the Council, or the Decrees made by them, they shall be determined only by the Council, so long as it continues sitting.

The Council approved also of the Decree which orders that no Appeal shall be made to the Pope *O-misso Medio*; that the Pope shall be obliged, when any Appeal is brought to him, to nominate Judges upon the Place, and that there shall be no Appeal made from them before the Definitive Sentence, and the other Clauses of the Decree be passed. But it made these following Limitations: 1. That if the Court of *Rome* be on this side the *Alps*, it shall receive only those Causes at the first Instance, which shall happen in Places within two days Journey of it; but that those that happen in Places more distant, shall be determined according to the Decree. 2. That the Benefices which belong either to Monks, or Seculars, or to privileged Places according to the Canon of the Council of *Constance*, *Attendentes*, shall not be included in those Places, which this Canon exempts from the Jurisdiction of the Ordinary. 3. That they would bear with the Constitution which appointed that the Causes of the Members of the Council should be determined there; but that the King's Ambassadors should remonstrate to them, that 'tis not the Business of General Councils to attend upon so many Causes, and of that Nature; that it would be a way to perpetuate the Council, and to swallow up the Authority of the Pope, and all other Bishops,

[(a) THE French Word is *Personatus*. *Personatus* in the Canon Law, is a Benefice which the Beneficiary holds entirely in his own right. *Personage*. The French Academy define *Personat* thus, *Benefice dans une Eglise Cathedrale ou Collegiate, qui donne preface sur les simples Chanoines*, i. e. A Dignity with a Benefice annexed.]

[(b) Regular Benefices where those of which Monks only were capable, who in the Church of *Rome* are always called Regulars.]

[(c) *Gratia Expectativa* was a Reversionary Nomination to

a Benefice by the Pope in prejudice to the ordinary Patron, where the Beneficiary was alive. It is easie to judge how crying such an Abuse must needs be; since hereby the Patron's Friends or Clients were effectually barred of any Hopes, not only of obtaining Benefices actually void, but even of others which might be void hereafter, which by this Practice were filled before the Incumbent was dead.]

[(d) *Causæ Majores* were those Causes which by the Canon Law the Popes were supposed particularly to reserve to themselves.]

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and would in the issue be a mighty prejudice to the Faith and Church, and that if the Council would not provide against it, the King and the Church of his Realm would provide against it, as they had done against the Pope. 4. That all Causes, which according to their Nature, and the Holy Canons ought not to be carried to the Apostolical See, or the Court of Rome, or to General Councils, if the Cause be not already enter'd, should be referred to their proper Judges, to whom their Cognizance doth ordinarily belong, and if there be any Appeals made from their Judgment, Commissioners should be appointed upon the place, according to the Constitution of Boniface VIII. called *Statutum*, and that they should have Letters of Prohibition from the King to the Parliament, and to other Officers and Judges of the Realm.

The 7th. Article is against those, who bring frivolous Appeals: It forbids also to appeal from a preparatory Sentence, which has not the Effect of a Definitive one, and to appeal a second time from the same Sentence. This Article is accepted, as it was set down in the 10th. Session of the Council of Basil.

In the 8th. Article, 'tis ordained, that the Person, who has had the peaceable Possession of a Benefice three Years under a colourable Title, shall not be molested, but the Bishops are enjoined to take great Care, that no Man get Possession of a Benefice without a good Title.

The 9th. which limits the number of Cardinals, to 24. only, and is taken out of the 23d. Session approved by this Assembly, was never put in Execution.

The 10th. is a Decree against *Annats* (d), which forbids the Exaction of any thing as well in the Church of Rome, as elsewhere, for the Confirmation of Elections, Admissions of Postulations or Presentations, Dispositions, Elections, Postulations, Institutions, Installments, Investitures into Cathedral and Metropolitane Churches, Dignities, Benefices, Monasteries, and other Ecclesiastical Offices, no more, than for Holy Orders, the Benediction, the Pall, as well before the *Grace* as after, or under a pretence of dispatch of Letters, or Bulls, or Seals, or common Annats, or petty Services, or first Fruits, or *Deports* (e), or any other Title, Colour, or Pretence whatsoever directly, or indirectly, excepting all such reasonable Fees as are due to Secretaries, Makers of Briefs, or Registers for their Labour. They who break this Canon, by promising, exacting, or giving, are liable to the same Punishments, as Simoniacs, and all Censures, Obligations, or Promises made contrary to this Decree, are declared Null, and it is Ordered, that if the Pope shall oppose this Regulation, he shall be informed against to a Council, and all others shall be punished by their Superiors according to the Laws of the Church.

This Council limited this Article in favour of Pope *Eugenius*, and granted him during his Life a Tax upon every vacant Benefice, except by Resignation, or Exchange, according to the Tax Granted by the Council of *Constance*, for every ten *Livres*, which a Benefice was then rated at, a fifth part of that Tax, and for other Benefices, which were not rated, two Tenths of the Fruits, one Tenth to be paid the first Year, and the other the second, upon condition nevertheless, that it shall be looked upon as a free Gift, and shall be no prejudice to the Rights and Liberties of the *Gallican* Church, nor shall take place in Benefices belonging to Lay-Patrons, or which are disposed of by the King in right of the *Regale*, or otherwise; and lastly, such as are to pay a 5th. part, shall not upon that account be forced

to go out of their Dioceses, or elsewhere, unless before their Ordinary Judges; and if they be privileged Persons before their Superiors; and if they have none in the Diocese; or if those that are in it are negligent, before the Bishops of the Places, who may do them justice by the Authority of the Pope or Council. They add, that if one Benefice be twice vacant in the same Year, there shall be but one 5th. part paid, one Moiety of which shall be levied upon the Goods of the last Incumbent, and the other shall be received of his Successor. Lastly, it is ordained, that all other Exactions, which the Court of Rome shall make upon the Account of Vacancies, the Pall, petty Services, and other Pretences shall entirely cease, under the Penalty of losing the Benefice by the Person promoted to it, if he does otherwise. The Assembly thought it necessary likewise, that the Council should annex a Penalty, and a quickning Clause to stir Men up to observe these Decrees.

The 11th. Article, which is taken out of the 21st. Session directs how to celebrate Divine Service in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, and orders, that it shall be done at convenient hours, of which notice shall be given by ringing of Bells; that it shall be read distinctly, making a pause at the middle of every Verse; observing the Differences between Solemn Feasts, and working Days; that such as read the Prayers, shall wear Cassocks, Surplices, and other Habits of the Quire, according to the custom of the Places; that they shall carry themselves with that gravity, which becomes their Place and Office, without prating to One another, without busying themselves in reading other things, and singing, as they are obliged; that they should rise up at the *Gloria Patri*, and bow their Heads at the Name of *Jesus*. They are forbidden also to read, or say any private Service, when the common Service is celebrating; and the Deans, and others in Office are commanded to observe, that nothing be done contrary to this Order.

The eight following Articles contain several Regulations, concerning Divine Service and Churches, to suppress divers Abuses; which the Assembly accepted wholly and fully, as they are laid down in the 21st. Session of the Council.

The 20th. Article is against such Clergy-men, as kept Concubines publickly. It deprives them of the Profits of their Benefices, and declares them incapable of being promoted to any Honours, Dignities and Benefices, without a Dispensation from their Superiors, and if they relapse after such Dispensation, they shall be out of hope of ever having another. It also Orders, how such Superiors shall be proceeded against, who are not careful to punish them, and as to those, who ought to be deposed by the Pope, the Provincial Councils, or their Superiors may inform against them, or send Informations to the Holy See. It is declared, that a Person, that keeps Concubines publickly, is not only he, that is so declared by a Sentence of Law, or by his own Confession made judicially, or by the Notoriety of the Fact, which can't be concealed; but he that keeps a suspicious, or infamous Woman in his House, and being admonished by his Superior, doth not put her away. The Council also Decrees the Punishment of those Ecclesiastical Judges, who shall commute with those that keep Concubines, or that suffer, or neglect to punish them. It enjoins Superiors to force their Inferiors to cast off their Concubines, and forbids Secular Judges, yea, Kings themselves to hinder the Proceedings of Ecclesiastical Judges against them. It also advises the Laity to marry, and not live in Concubinage. This Canon

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[(d) The Duties which Ecclesiastical Persons paid to the Pope, when he confirmed them in their Archbishopricks or Bishopricks, were properly called *Annats* or *First Fruits*. They were taken away by that name in England, by Act of Parliament in 23 of Hen. VIII.]

[(e) *Deport* was a Right in the *Gallican* Church, which the Bishops claimed in several Sees, of one Years Profits of a Benefice vacant by Death, serving the Cure. It was somewhat like the *Fines* which Lords of a Mannour with us claim of their Tenants, to the value of one Years Rent of their Copy-Hold, upon an Alienation.]

was accepted by the Assembly without any Limitation.

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The 21st. Article is taken out of the 20th. Session, and appoints, that for the future none shall be obliged to avoid Persons Excommunicated, or observe any Ecclesiastical Interdict, unless the Sentence of Excommunication, Interdict, or other Censure be pronounced expressly against some Person, or Place; or at least, if it be not so particularly pronounced, unless it be so notorious, that such a Person has incurred the Sentence of Excommunication, that it can't be concealed by any evasion, excuse, or other Reason allowed in Law.

The 22^d. Article is taken out of the same Session, and forbids that an Interdict should be pronounced against a Castle, City, Village, or any other Place, unless it be for the fault of the said Places, or of the Lord, the Governour, or his Officers, and not for the fault of a particular Person, unless when he has been Excommunicated, and Sentence declared and published in the Church of the place, the Lord, or his Officers being required by the Judge to eject him, they will not do it within two days, and in that Case two days after he is withdrawn, they may begin to say Divine Service.

The 23^d. Article is to abolish, that *Clementine* Constitution, *Literis*, which was abolished in the 23^d Session of the Council. It is there appointed contrary to the Order of this *Clementine*, that although it be declared in Apostolical Letters or others, that any Man hath renounced his Dignity, Benefice, or Right, or is deprived of it, or hath done any thing, whereby he is outed of his Right, these Letters shall not prejudice such a Person, although, the Favour obtained, or the Intention of the Donor be founded upon that Declaration, unless it be proved by Witnesses, or Authentic Records. The Assem-

bly received this Decree, as it did the former without Restriction or Limitation, and concluded, that the Articles, which they had received fully, and wholly, should be immediately put in Execution, and the rest according to the Limitations they had made, hoping that the Council would agree to them: They resolved to request of the King to approve and receive those Decrees, as they had modelled them, and to order his Court of Parliament and other Judges to execute them in every particular, and cause them to be executed every where-else, and punish those that opposed them severely.

Upon this Remonstrance, the King after he had consulted with the Princes of the Blood, and the Lords and others of his Council, knowing that their request was reasonable and just, and agreeable to the Judgment of the Holy Fathers, approved their Consultation, gave his Royal Consent, and ordered that their Resolutions should be executed and kept in the Kingdom of *France*, and in *Dauphiné*, and that they should be in full force from the Day of the Date thereof, and should be published and enrolled in the public Registers. To this end he enjoined all his Counsellors in his Courts of Parliament, and other Judges, to observe them, and so Judge such Causes, as should be brought before them according to them, to hinder such as disturbed those that should observe them, and punish such, as should oppose them of what quality soever they were. This Proclamation of King *Charles* is dated at *Bourges*, July 7. 1438, published by the King in his Council, at which were present, the *Dauphin*, the Dukes of *Bourbon* and *Angou*, the Earl of *Maine*, Peter Son of the Duke of *Bretagne*, the Earls of *March*, *Vendosme* and *Tancarville*, and several Noblemen and Prelates Ecclesiastical, and Secular, and Signed *N. Firbois*.

The Articles of the Pragmatical Sanction.

C H A P. II.

A Relation of what passed concerning the Pragmatical Sanction in the Assembly held at Mantua, by Pope Pius II. The History of that Assembly. The Protestations of the Procurer General, John Dauvet, against the Discourse of Pope Pius II. about the Pragmatical Sanction.

A Relation, &c.

The Approbation, and Execution of the Pragmatical Sanction.

THE *Pragmatical Sanction* having been thus received in the Kingdom of *France*, was immediately carried to *Basil* by the King's Embassadors, who were commanded to require the confirmation of it, but the Council would not expressly agree to that, because they would not make the Decrees so limited and modelled, to become a general Law, but they would not hinder the execution of it in *France*; and because it put a stop to many abuses of the Court of *Rome*, and was conformable to the ancient Liberty of the *Gallican Church*, and maintained the Jurisdiction of the Bishops, the Elections, and Authority of General Councils, King *Charles VII.* caused it to be exactly observed as long as he lived; on the other side the Court of *Rome*, whose Pretensions it utterly destroyed, endeavoured all they could to change those Articles, which were most hurtfull to their Interests.

Pope *Eugenius IV.* propounded some accommodations to the King about that Matter, and gave him the Articles; which the King answered without mitigating the Observation of the *Pragmatical Sanction*. On the contrary, hearing that it was not very strictly observed, he made a Decree in 1454. to enforce it.

Things continued in this State, till the time of Pope *Pius II.* who was no sooner raised to the Pope-

dom, but he laboured to destroy the *Pragmatical Sanction*, and to promote that design he called a Council at *Mantua*, which he held in 1459. where were present the Embassadors of the Emperor, and of several Kings, Princes, and Common-wealths, who were invited thither, to consult about the Means to make War against the *Turk*. He went thither himself in *June*, which was the time to which it was called, but the Council could not meet till *September*. In it he made a long Speech about a War with the *Turks*, in which he endeavoured to shew. 1. That it was necessary. 2. That they had great encouragement to undertake it, because they had almost certain Hopes of Success. 3. That the Conqueror would have great advantages by the Victory. Cardinal *Bessarion* made a Discourse to the same purpose. The next day, when the Embassadors of the Princes came to meet the Pope, he told them, that 'twas his Opinion, that the Clergy should give the tenth part of all their Revenues for three Years toward the War, the Laity the 30th part, and the Jews the 20th. part of all their Possessions. They all consented and subscribed to these Proposals, except the *Venetians* and *Florentines*.

When this was done, the Ambassadors of the King of *France* were not yet arrived, nor did they come to *Mantua*, till *November 16*. These Embas-

A Relation, &c.

The Council of Mantua under Pius II.

The Speech of the King of France's Embassadors to the Pope.

A Relation of what passed concerning the Pragmatical Sanction, &c.

fadors were the Arch-bishop of *Tours*, the Bishop of *Paris*, *Thomas de Corcellis*, and the Bailiff of *Rouen*. They were accompanied with the Ambassadors of *René Duke of Anjou* and King of *Sicily*, of the Dukes of *Bretagne*, and the *Genoefes*. They had a public Audience the 21st day of the same Month. The Bishop of *Paris* was their Speaker, and made a long Discourse, in which he extolled the Pope and the Holy See; the Piety of the Kings of *France* and especially him, that was upon the Throne, who had given many Testimonies of his Filial Obedience to the Holy See. He also recommended to the Pope, *René Duke of Anjou* and King of *Sicily*, and the *Genoefes*, and lastly assured his Holiness of the King's readiness to comply with the War against the *Turks*.

The Pope's Answer to their Complaints.

The Pope made answer to all these Points, by a Discourse divided into six parts. He spoke very modestly of himself, but enlarged much upon the commendations of the Holy See, and his Authority; he liked the King's Submission, and said, he would take care of *René King of Sicily*, and the People of *Genoa*, he made a fine Encomium on the King, on his Predecessors and his Realm, of which he spoke many excellent things, and particularly in praise of the Faculty of Divinity at *Paris*. The Ambassadors of *Ferdinand*, opposed the title of King of *Sicily*, which the Pope gave to *René Duke of Anjou*, and would have left the Assembly, but the Pope enjoined them Silence, and received the Obedience of the Ambassadors of that Prince and of the *Genoese*.

The second Speech of the same Ambassadors.

Some days after the Ambassadors of the King of *France* went to the Pope, and told him, that they had certain things to propose to him concerning the Kingdom of *Sicily*, in the presence of the Ambassadors of some of the other Princes. The Pope told them, they might call whom they would; and when they came to their Audience they complained, that the Pope had crowned a Bastard of *Arragon* King of *Sicily*, and desired, that he would revoke what he had done, and acknowledge *René* for the lawful King. The Pope replied, that he had done nothing in that affair but by the Counsel of the Cardinals, and that it was just, that he should consult with them again, before he took any new Resolutions, which he would do, and then return them an answer.

The Pope's Reply.

Soon after, the Pope fell Sick. The *French* thought, he only dissembled, and urged him to give an answer, which he resolved to do, though he was indisposed, and having summoned all the Ambassadors to an Audience, he gave the *French* Ambassadors an answer, by a Discourse of three hours long. He first complained of the Reproaches that those Ambassadors had made him; he answered to the Business of *Genoa*, that he would be very favourable to that People, but that the Holy Canons did not allow the translating the Arch-bishop of that City, to any other Church without the Arch-bishop's consent. That he could not silence the Heirs of *Perrinus*, heretofore Duke of *Genoa*, in the Suit which they had with the Merchants of *Avignon*, but that he would suspend for a while the Excommunication denounced against them, and that in the mean time he would examine the affair, and do them Justice. As to the Cause of the King of *Sicily*, he said that he neither approved, nor disallowed of *René's* Right; that if he had any title, there was no Man, that he should more heartily favour; that he had not driven the *French* out of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, but found them expell'd before; that he approved of all the Ambassadors had said of the Piety of the Kings of *France*, and the Services they had done the Church and Holy See, but he was troubled, that they should accuse the Holy See of Ingratitude; whereupon he relates all, that the Holy See had done for *France*, and particularly for the Kingdom of *Sicily*. He added, that Pope *Eugenius*, after he had a long time supported the Interest of *France* in that affair, was forced to make Peace with King *Alphonfus*, and acknowledge him King of *Sicily*; that *Nicholas V.* had approved of the Settlement, which had been made by *Alphonfus*, upon

V O L. III.

Ferdinand his Natural Son, whom he had Legitimated; that *Calixtus* had renewed the Alliance upon that condition, and that as to himself he was constrained by force of Arms to invest *Ferdinand*, who was in Possession of that Kingdom, not being able to resist him, and despairing of any assistance from the King of *France*; he complained in his turn of the proceedings of *René*, and particularly, that he had sent a Fleet into *Sicily*, while the Assembly was held at *Mantua*. As to the demands of the Ambassadors, that he should revoke what he had done for *Ferdinand*, and should declare *René* King of *Sicily*, he said, that he could not do it, till he had heard *Ferdinand*; that if they would act justly, they must lay down their Arms, and every one must shew his right; this was what he wished for, and was most convenient to be done at that time, that they might unite in a War against the *Turks*, and he exhorted the Ambassadors to be of the same Opinion. Lastly, he declaimed vehemently against the *Pragmatical Sanction*, which he looked upon to be a great blow to the Church of *France*, and an injury to the Supreme Authority of the Holy See, taking away the power of Religion, destroying the Liberty and Union of the Church, by making Lay-men Judges of the Clergy, and giving the Sheep the Cognizance of the Causes of their Pastors; he maintains, that it had lessened the Authority of the Priesthood in *France*; that the Pope had no more Power, than what pleased the Parliament; that he could not now punish Sacrilege, Incest, or Heresy, even in a Church-man, but with consent of Parliament, to whom they gave so much Authority, as to stop the Censures of the Pope. He says, that if this take place, the Church will become a Monster, an Hydra with 100 Heads, and the Unity of it will be utterly destroy'd.

A Relation of what passed concerning the Pragmatical Sanction, &c.

The Pope's Declaration against the Pragmatical Sanction.

The King's Ambassadors found fault with several things in the Pope's Discourse, which they took notice of in their answer. 1. That the Pope had said, that *Zachary* deposed *Childeric*, and gave the Kingdom of *France* to *Pepin*, which might seem to insinuate, that the Kingdom of *France* was at the Pope's disposal. They affirm, that *Pepin* was of the Race of *Clovis*, to whom the Lillies and Oil, with which their Kings are Consecrated, were sent from Heaven, and to whom God gave the Gift of curing the King's Evil, and they maintain, that the Kings of *France* are subject to no Power upon Earth. 2. They defend the *Pragmatical Sanction*, and declare that it is no prejudice to the Privileges of the Holy See, which *France* Honours and Respects, having constant Recourse to the Pope as the Vicar of *Jesus Christ* and his Pastor, that they had not usurped any thing that belonged to the Pope in *France*, but had opened their Purfes to give to his Legates. 3. That the Parliament, of which he complained, was composed of Church-men, as well as Lay-men; that it contributed much to the preservation of the Rights of Churches, and that it would do them Justice against the King's Officers, and Grandees of the Realm; and lastly, that the King might consult with his most able Men, in both the Divine and Humane Law, about what was convenient to be done in that Case. After this they deliver themselves more particularly about the Kingdom of *Sicily* and the *Genoese*.

The Ambassadors Answer.

The Pope seeing, that the Ambassadors of *France* did not yield at all in the Case of the *Pragmatical Sanction*, made the Constitution, *Execrabilis*, against those that should appeal from the Holy See to a General Council. He also made a Bull to oblige Kings, Princes, and private Men, to raise Troops for a War against the *Turks*; and a Decree, in which he ordains, that the thirtieth part of all Mens Revenues should be raised in *Italy* for three Years to be spent in that War; and after he has reckoned up the assistance which was promised, and he might hope for the War, he dismissed the Assembly at the end of January, 1460.

The Pope's Constitution called Execrabilis.

The Protestation of the King's Procurer General against the Pope's Speech.

Pius II. resolving to abolish the *Pragmatical Sanction*, writ to the King, threatening to Excommunicate

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The Articles of the Pragmatical Sanction.

The Articles of the Pragmatical Sanction.

cate him if he did not revoke it; whereupon the King was obliged to protest by his Procureur General against the Pope's Speech, and all that he acted. We have this Protestation, in which *John Dauvet* (a) the Procureur General, demands in the King's Name, that for the Execution of the Canons of the Council of *Basil*, contained in the *Pragmatical Sanction*, the Pope would call a General Council in a place safe and free, and not in the *Lateran*, but, if it could be, in *France*; he declares also, that he did not think, that the Pope by his Decretals, *Execrabilis & Inauditus*, which he published at *Mantua*, did forbid the Recourse, which Princes might have to a General Council, about the Wrongs the Popes might do them. Then he declares, that till a Council should be called, the King in his Dominions

would observe the Canons of the preceding Councils. And because the Pope complained of the Parliament, he says, that the Assembly did not meddle with any Causes, but what they had an immemorial custom to plead for. And if the Pope would molest the King with his Censures for observing the Canons, he protested against them, as null; yet promising to submit all to a General Council, to which he appealed about the wrongs he had proposed, and sent Letters of his Appeal to the Abbot of *Braines*, of the Order of *Premonstratenses*, and the Prior of *St. Saviour* near *Braines*, in the presence of whom he made this Act, who drew up an Act of his Appeal in the best form they could. This Act is dated *Feb. 10. 1460.* according to the Account then in *France*, that is to say in 1461.

[(a) Bishop *Burnes* in his History of the Regale, page 236. calls this Procureur General *Danesius*, and he takes

his History of this Affair from *Pinsonius* his Account of the *Pragmatical Sanction*, and the *Concordat*.]

C H A P. III.

The Revocation of the Pragmatical Sanction, by Lewis XI. The Declaration of Parliament against the Revocation. The Refusal of the Parliament to confirm it.

The Revocation of the Pragmatical Sanction, &c.

The Attempt of the Pope to abolish the Sanction.

King *Charles VII.* dying *July, 1461.* *Lewis XI.* his Son succeeded him. This Prince had a Favourite named *John Godfrey*, Bishop of *Arras*, Native of *Franche-Comté*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Albi*, and at last, Cardinal of *Abbeville*. This Man the Pope found a way to engage in the abolishing the *Pragmatical Sanction*, by promising him a Cardinal's Hat. This Bishop proposed to the King that the Pope should send a Legate into *France* to dispose of the Benefices, that the Money might not go out of the Kingdom, and being a little after sent into *Italy* to perform obedience for the King, and treat about the business of *Sicily*, he received advice by the way, that he was made a Cardinal. He thereupon immediately wrote to the Pope, about the design which the King had upon *Sicily*, for *René* Duke of *Anjou*, and promised, that if he would be easie in that matter the King should be more tractable, and he believed he could cause the *Pragmatical Sanction* to be abolished.

The Bishop of *Terni* also, the Pope's Nuncio, wrote to him, that he had discoursed with the King about that matter, and had obtained a promise that the *Pragmatical Sanction* should be abolished, provided he were gratified in the business of *Sicily*, and *René* put into possession.

Letters of Revocation of the Pragmatical Sanction carried to Rome.

The King's Ambassadors being arrived at *Rome*, after they had paid obedience to the Pope, treated with him about it. The Pope received them very graciously, and promised them all manner of satisfaction, knowing, that they had brought the Charter of the *Sanction* with them, with Letters for the abolishing it.

These Letters were dated *Novemb. 27. 1461.* and were directed to the Pope. The purport of them was, that tho' there was a Law in his Kingdom called, *The Pragmatical Sanction*, which was made by the advice of a great number of Prelates, and after mature deliberation, had been received, and observed, yet because he understood by his Holiness's Letters, that he desired the abrogation of that Law, because it was prejudicial to the Holy See, and made during the Schism between the Popes, tho' he was advised not to abrogate it, yet being desirous always to satisfy his Holiness, he had commanded, that things should be settled again in the same state they

were before the Promulgation of the *Sanction*, and that the Pope should have the same authority in his Realm, which his Predecessors had enjoy'd, *cum jure dictio libero, & potestate non coarctata*, and that he should exercise his power as he pleased; and promised, that all the *French* Bishops, and his other Subjects should obey him, and if they refused, he would force them to it.

The Letters, and the original Draught of the *Sanction* being put into the Pope's hands, he shewed much joy, and sent the King a Sword set with Jewels, with Verses in his commendation, to thank him for his favour, and for fear he should change his mind, he caused the Revocation immediately to be published, and the *Pragmatical Sanction* it self, to be drawn through the Streets of *Rome*.

This Edict of the Revocation of the *Pragmatical Sanction* had no great effect, because it was neither published in *France*, nor ratified by the Parliament of *Paris*; nor did the King himself take much care to have it observed, because the Cardinal of *Arras*, who was the Author of it, was discontented, because the Pope had refused to give him the Archbishoprick of *Besançon*, and Bishoprick of *Albi*, and so did not concern himself any farther with the execution of it. Yet it caused some troubles in *France*, some being for the observation of the *Pragmatical Sanction*, and others making suit to the Court of *Rome* to be provided of Benefices, and to obtain *Gratia expectativa's*. The Pope also raised several Taxes upon the Clergy, as he had formerly done, especially by the spoils of Bishops Commendams, Benefices incompatible, and other things, and to that end sent his Officers into *France*. By these means the Church of *France* was in a little time brought into great confusion. The Pope's Officers raised vast sums of Money, took cognizance of Ecclesiastical causes, disturbed the Clergy by citations to the Court of *Rome*. The Pope also disposed of the Benefices, and gave them to his creatures, and licensing Abbies to be held in Commendam, gave the best of them to the Cardinals, that resided at *Rome*, and granted *Gratia expectativa's* to all, that asked for them. These disorders which continued three years, till the death of *Pius II.* stirred up the complaints of all good Men in *France*, whereupon the King

The Revocation of the Pragmatical Sanction, &c.

The Troubles caused by the Revocation.

The Revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction, &c.

An Address of Parliament against the Revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction.

consulted with the Parliament about the disannulling of the Sanction.

The Parliament drew up a long remonstrance to the King, and appointed *John Loselier*, and *John Henry* Presidents of the *Chamber of Inquests*, to carry it to the King. The intent of it was to shew, that four great evils would attend the abrogation of that Sanction. 1. The confusion of the Ecclesiastical Order. 2. The ruin of the King's Subjects. 3. The loss of their Money, and 4. The desolation of the Churches. The first, because 'tis certain, that by taking away Elections, and Collations from the Ordinaries, Reservations, and *Gratia expectativa's* would take place, causes would devolve to the Holy See at the first instance, Annates and Dues upon Vacancies would be levied without any moderation, and the Clergy would be put into confusion, because no Man's jurisdiction would be preserved entire. And here they shewed the necessity, and use of Elections, and the inconveniencies, that would arise by depriving the Ordinaries of their Collations, which belong to them, and carrying causes to *Rome* at the first instance. The second ill consequence which follows upon the Revocation, is that the King's Subjects will be obliged to make journeys to *Rome*, to the hazard of their Lives, and ruin of their Estates; that the Universities will be dispeopled, all their Members being obliged to go to *Rome* to obtain Benefices, and to plead there. The third inconvenience is the loss of their Money, for if the *Pragmatical Sanction* did not take place, there would go to *Rome* more than a Million of Money a year, for Annates, Taxes, Imposts, *Gratia expectativa's*, Processess, and Journeys. The Revenues also of the great Abbies, which would be given to the Cardinals, would be carried thither; all which they proved by examples, and so shewed what vast sums of Money would go to *Rome*, if the Revocation took place. They reckoned, that the Pope received above 200000 Crowns out of the Kingdom, by what was granted him by the *Pragmatical Sanction*, for Vacancies and other Expeditions, and 100000 Crowns for the Revenues of such Benefices in *France*, as belonged to persons residing at *Rome*, and if the *Pragmatical Sanction* did not take place, he would get every year 2800000 Crowns. The last inconvenience is the desolation and ruin of the Churches, which follows from the precedent Articles, for if beneficed persons were forced to go to *Rome*, the Revenues of their Benefices, which should be employ'd in reparations, would be carried thither, and those that remain in *France*, would have need of their whole Revenue to pay the Vacancies, and consequently, the Churches and buildings which depend upon them, would fall to decay, Divine Service could not be performed, and the people for want of Clergymen would leave the Country. The Reservations also would multiply the Commendams of Abbies, of which the best would be given every day to the Cardinals, so that the Revenues of these Preferments would be carried out of the Realm. Monastick Discipline would cease, Benefices run to ruin, and Divine Service not be performed as it ought. This would be a prejudice to the Rest of the Souls of their founders, and the benefactors of the Monasteries, the buildings would fall to decay, and Monks depart from their Rule. Whereupon the Parliament concluded, that the King ought to

observe the Holy Decrees and Constitutions of the Councils about Elections, Collations and Causes; that to do the contrary were to wrong his own conscience; and that in making Laws and Edicts agreeable to those Decrees, to hinder Reservations, and other prejudicial *Graces*, he would imitate the piety of the Christian Kings his Predecessors.

It was in all probability upon the account of these Remonstrances, that *Lewis XI.* published two Declarations, in 1464. one to stop the exactions of the Officers of the Court of *Rome*, and the other, by which he declared, that there should be no regard had to *Gratia expectativa's*, and forbade, that any should obtain them from the Pope, or send to obtain any Bishopricks, Abbies, Dignities, or Benefices without the consent of his Majesty.

Paul II. who succeeded *Pius II.* being desirous to finish what his Predecessor had begun, and to cause the *Pragmatical Sanction*, utterly to be abolished in the Kingdom of *France*, sent to *John Balue* Bishop of *Evreux*, and promised to make him a Cardinal if he could bring it about. *Balue* not being backward to undertake it, the Pope sent a Legate into *France*, in 1467. to make *Balue* a Cardinal, provided he would cause the *Pragmatical Sanction* to be revoked.

King *Lewis XI.* at the request of *Balue*, granted the Pope's desire, and caused authentick Letters to be drawn for the abolishing of the *Pragmatical Sanction*, and that he might fully effect it, he endeavoured to have them confirmed by Parliament, and to that end, *Balue* was sent to *Paris* with the Legate. There he caused the Letters of Revocation of the *Pragmatic* to be read, and published in the *Chatelet* at *Paris*, and met with no opposition, but carrying them to the Parliament, and imparting them to the *Gens du Roi*, *John de Saint Romain*, the King's Procureur General, an honest, and bold Man, declared, that he would formally oppose the verification of those Letters, and alledged the same reasons, which the Parliament had given 3 years before in their Remonstrance.

The University of *Paris*, whose great advantage it was that the *Pragmatical Sanction* should be in force, joyned with the King's Procureur General, and by their Rector declared to the Legate, that from him, and the grant, effect and execution, of those Letters, the University would appeal to the next Council, and all other ways, and accordingly they drew up an Act of Appeal. They also appealed from the publication of it made in the *Chatelet*, and so the thing was at a stand for a time.

In 1471. *Lewis XI.* sent two Ambassadors to *Rome*, to hinder the Pope from giving the Duke of *Guienne* his Brother a Dispensation, to marry the Daughter of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and gave them instructions to get a Bull, by which all Dispensations, that could be gained for that end, should be declared null, ordering them to promise the Pope, that upon that condition, he would not suffer the *Pragmatical Sanction* to be observed in *France*.

In the year 1472. *Sixtus IV.* made a Bull, by which he reserved six Months to himself, and left six Months to the Bishops exempted from *Gratia expectativa's*, and Reservations of Collations of the Benefices of *France*. This Bull is amongst the *Extravagants*, but it never was of any force in the Kingdom of *France*.

The Revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction, &c.

Paul II. endeavours to abolish the Pragmatic Sanction.

Lewis XI. grants, but the Parliament refuses the Revocation.

The University appeals.

Lewis XI. sends to Rome.

Sixtus IV's Bull.

C H A P. IV.

The Decrees of the Council of Orleans, in 1478. and of the Estates of Tours, in 1483. The Attempts of the Pope's Legate, about the Collation of Benefices, and raising Money. The Oppositions of the Parliament and University. The Re-establishment of the Pragmatical Sanction, by Lewis XII.

The Decrees of the Council of Orleans, &c.

The Council of Orleans in 1478.

King Lewis XI, changing his mind according to his interests, after he had abolished the Pragmatical Sanction; to obtain his desires of the Holy See, talked of restoring it, when-ever the Pope did not favour his designs. By this means he made the War, which the Pope had with the Florentines to cease, in 1478. He called an Assembly of his Bishops, and the Deputies of the Universities of his Kingdom to Orleans, where he resolved to send Ambassadors to the Pope, to require him to make peace in Italy, and enter into a League against the Turk, and call a General Council, and in case he refused, to tell the Pope, that he appealed to a General Council, and exhorted the Cardinals to call one. He also consulted with this Assembly, how he might restore the Pragmatical Sanction, and to that end, the King sent a famous Embassy to the Pope, of which Guy d'Arpajou Lord of Lautrec, was the chief, to acquaint him with the declarations and protestations, that had been made in the Assembly, and which were contained in the Letters which he gave them, dated Nov. 20. 1478. As to the establishment of the Pragmatical Sanction, there was nothing resolved upon in that Assembly, but that matter was referred to an Assembly, which was shortly to be held in May following, at Lyons.

The Assembly at Tours under Charles VIII.

Lewis XI. dying in August 1483, Charles VIII. his Son, who succeeded him, called an Assembly of the three Estates of the Realm, in the beginning of his Reign, at the City of Tours, where he earnestly desired the verification of the Canons of the Councils of Constance and Basil, according to the meaning and limitations, which had been made at Bourges. King Charles was President of this Council; and this was the result of the deliberations of the three Estates, who yet offered to refer themselves to what should be ordained by a General Council. Nevertheless the Bishops, who had been promoted by Lewis XI. contrary to the Form prescribed by the Pragmatical Sanction opposed them, but the three Estates stood to it, and the King's Procureur General defended their advice. However, through the opposition of the Prelates and Cardinals, the thing remained undetermined, till the difference fell.

The Attempts of Cardinal Baluc.

Some time after Cardinal Baluc, being sent by Sixtus IV. a Legate into France, undertook in that Station to dispose of the vacant Benefices, and raise Taxes upon benefic'd persons. This attempt obliged John de Nanterre the King's Procureur General, to appeal from the Legate, his Legatine power, and all things consequent upon it; yea from the Pope himself ill-advised, to the Pope better advised, and to them, to whom Appeals did of right belong. This Act of Appeal was presented, Aug. 20. 1484. to the Bishop of Tournay, who gave the Procureur General his Letters of Appeal. In it he speaks of the Pragmatical Sanction as a sacred Law, which ought to be observed for the good of the State. Thus in the Reign of this King Charles, the Bishops were chosen according to the Pragmatical Sanction, and if there happened any debate about the Election, the Parliament was Judge, as it appears by the

Arrest given in 1485. concerning the Bishop of Tulle, which ordered the Archbishop of Bourges to name two Commissioners to confirm, or null his Election; by the Arrest, which maintains Claudius Doiac chosen by the Chapter, to the Bishoprick of St. Flour, against Charles de Joieuse; and by a third Arrest of September 7. 1489, which commands, that the Election made by the Chapter of Beauvais of Lewis de Villars of Ville-Adam, to the Bishoprick of Beauvais shall be confirmed, or nulled, notwithstanding the two Briefs of Pope Innocent VIII. who had forbidden the Chapter to proceed to that Election, and the King's order to chuse Anthony de Bois, who was condemned to procure a revocation of these two Briefs. But notwithstanding this Pope Innocent VIII. in the instructions, which he gave his Nuncio in 1488. represents that Law to be prejudicial to the Realm, and chargeth him to urge Charles VIII. to execute, what his Father Lewis XI. had done in that case.

The Pope went farther, for he imposed a Tax of a Tenth of all the Revenues upon all the Benefices of France, and named Commissioners to raise it; but the University opposed it, and put in two Acts of Appeal, in September 1491. from that order of the Pope to the Pope better advised, and to the next Council.

The Chapter of Notre-dame also appealed in 1501. from the like Imposition made by Alexander VI. and the Faculty of Divinity of Paris being consulted, about the Censures threatened to those that would not pay this Tenth, declared, that they were null and not to be feared; and that none ought to abstain from celebrating the Holy Mysteries, or performing their Ecclesiastical Functions upon that account.

Altho' the Pragmatical Sanction was not abrogated in the Kingdom, and the Parliament conformed to it, yet when any elective Benefices became vacant, the Pope did not cease to nominate to them, and those that he nominated kept themselves in them by his authority. This obliged the Parliament of Paris to make a Remonstrance to the King about this matter. John le Maitre, Advocate General, was ordered to do it, and accordingly did it, Aug. 8. 1493. and besought his Majesty to make a Law, and an Order for the future, that they might be certain when Vacancies offered, what provisions should be made. The King answered them by the Mouth of Mr. Adam Fumee, that he was resolved upon that Head as well as others, to hear what Remonstrances they would make to him, and would make all necessary provisions in that case. To this end it was that in 1494. it was agreed by the Parliament, which met Aug. 28. to send to the King Minutes of the Letters Patents, which forbade all persons to send or carry Gold or Silver to the Court of Rome, for Vacancies, Annates, Provisions, or other things prohibited by the Pragmatical Sanction. And by another Arrest it was forbidden to all persons to procure Bulls of the Popes for Reservations of all the Fruits and Resumptions (a) as contrary to

[(a) **R**egrez. This Word which is here rendered Resumptions, comes from Regressus: It is a Term in the Canon-Law, and signifies an Action by which any one that has

resigned, or made an Exchange of a Benefice, may recover it again, in case the person to whom such Resignation or Exchange is made, shall be found to have acted fraudulently.]

the holy Canons, Decrees of the King, and the Pragmatical Sanction. Lewis XII. succeeding to Charles VIII. declared himself more zealously than all his Predecessors for the Pragmatical Sanction, and commanded in 1499. that it should be inviolably observed. After this

we find several Arrests issued out against particular persons for having obtain'd Bulls from the Court of Rome, in prejudice to; and against the holy Decrees of the Council of Basil and the Pragmatical Sanction.

CHAP. V.

The Assembly of Tours against Pope Julius II. The Grievances of the German Nation exhibited against the Court of Rome.

Pope Alexander VI. dying Aug. 17. 1503. by the Poison which he had prepared for another, loaden with the iniquities of himself; and his natural Son *Cæsar Borgia*, whose name will ever be accursed, the Cardinals entering the Conclave; chose, Septem. 22. *Francis Piccolomini*, Nephew of *Pius II.* who took the same name with his Uncle, but being old, infirm and sickly, he died at the end of twenty six days. After his death *Julian de la Rovere*, Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, Nephew of *Sixtus IV.* who had much courted the Place, was chosen by the Cardinals the same day that they entered the Conclave, and took the name of *Julius II.* This Pope being of a martial temper, formed a design of making himself Master of Italy, and driving out the French. At first he stirred up the Italians against them secretly, and then openly declaring himself their enemy, made use both of material and spiritual Arms to attack them.

King *Lewis XII.* willing to defend himself against whatsoever *Julius* might do against him, called a Synod of the Gallican Church at *Tours*, about the end of September, to know what he might do lawfully and with a good conscience, and to that end propounded to them eight Questions which the Assembly resolved.

The first was, whether the Pope may make War with such temporal Princes as have nothing to do with the Patrimony, or Demesnes of the Church? The Answer was, that he neither could nor ought.

The 2d. was, whether a Prince, who defends himself and his Country, may not only revenge the injuries done him by Arms, but also invade the Lands belonging to the Church, which are possessed by the Pope his notorious enemy; however not with an intention to keep them, but only to hinder the Pope from bringing his Forces to attack that Prince and his Subjects? It was resolved that a Prince might do it in such cases, and under the conditions mentioned in the Article.

The third Question was, whether that Prince, whom the Pope openly hates, and attacks unjustly, may not withdraw his obedience from him, especially if it shall be found that he has stirred up other Princes and Republicks against him, and obliged them to invade the Lands and Dominions of that Prince, who rather deserved the Kindness of the Holy See? The Assembly resolved, he might do it, yet not absolutely and without distinction, but so far, as concerns his temporal Rights.

The 4th. Question was, supposing such a withdrawing lawful, what shall the Prince and his Subjects, both Laity and Clergy, do in such Causes, wherein they were wont before to have recourse to the Holy See? The Synod answered, they must use their ancient Right, and observe the Pragmatical Sanction of the Kingdom, which is taken out of the Decrees of the Holy Council of *Basil*.

Question 5. Whether one Christian Prince might defend another his Ally, whom he had taken into his protection lawfully, by way of Arms? The Assembly concluded, that he might.

The 6th. Question was, If the Pope pretends, that a Right belongs to the Patrimony of the Church of Rome, and a Prince on the contrary maintains that it belongs to the Empire, and the Prince offers to refer it to Arbitrators, whether the Pope in that case may make War with that Prince, and if he does, whether the Prince may resist him by Arms, and other Princes may assist him, especially such as are under the bonds of Kindred and Alliance, especially if it should so happen that the Church of Rome has not been in possession of the Right it contends for, above an hundred years last past? The Answer was, that in that case the Prince might oppose him by violence (b) and other Princes might assist him.

The 7th. Question was, If the Pope will not accept what that Prince offers him juridically and honourably, and on the contrary, without observing any Right, pronounceth Sentence against that Prince; whether he ought to submit to it, especially since 'tis not safe for that Prince to go, or send to the See of Rome, or defend his Right by the Civil-Law; or reason there? It was declared, that that Prince is not obliged to obey such a Sentence.

The 8th. is, If the Pope without precedent, or observation of Order of Law, with Sword in hand pronounce and publish any Censures against those Princes who oppose his designs, and against their Allies and Subjects, whether they need to regard those Censures, and what remedy they ought to take? It was resolved by the Assembly unanimously, that such a Sentence was null, and obliged not either in Law or otherwise. The Assembly nevertheless judged it convenient to send Ambassadors to Pope *Julius*, to admonish him in brotherly Charity, and with such a reproof as is prescribed by the Gospel, and to desist from his attempts, and embrace the peace, which the Princes offered him. And if he would not hear them, they would request of him to call a free Council according to the Canons of the Council of *Basil*; and when this was done, and his Answer had, they might provide as they should see convenient.

At the same time the Emperor *Maximilian*, who joyned with the King of France against the Pope, drew up ten Grievances of the German Nation, and of the Empire against the Court of Rome. 1. That the Popes did not look upon themselves obliged to observe the Bulls, Treaties, Privileges and Letters published by their Predecessors: But would act contrary to them at the requests of the meanest persons by Dispensations, Suspensions, and Revocations. 2. That they sometimes rejected the Elections of Prelates. 3. That they made null the Right which the Chapters had bought dear, to elect their own Heads. 4. That they reserved the Benefices and chief Dignities to their Cardinals and Prothonotaries. 5. That they granted *Gratia expectativa's* without number. 6. That they exacted Annates without delay and mercy, and sometimes more than they ought. 7. That they committed the Government of the Church to very unfit persons, more fit to govern Mules than Men. 8. That they granted new

[(b) *Resister de fait; de fait* here is opposed to a legal Dispute, and signifies Force of Arms.]

The Assembly of Tours, &c. Indulgences, and revoked and suspended the old ones, merely to squeeze out Money. 9. That they exacted Tenth's under a pretence of making War against the *Turks*. 10. That they drew to their Tribunals at *Rome*, Causes which might have been ended in *Germany*.

Advice given about these Grievances.

These Grievances were followed with advices how they might be prevented; that it should be proposed to the Pope, that *Germany* was not able to bear these expences, nor to pay the Annates, which amounted to such exorbitant Sums; that it should be remonstrated that *Germany* is exhausted with Wars and Diseases, so that the Lands lie untill'd; that the Emperor has need of Money, and that he must expend much to maintain the Poor, &c. and for these considerations the *Germans* ought to be used with more moderation. As to Benefices, they remonstrated, that 'twould be convenient that no person have above two Prebends or Vicarages in two different Churches; that in every Chapter there should be two Prebends, which should not be subject to *Graves* for two Divines, or for one Divine and one Canonist: That the Monasteries and Communities should afford a Revenue sufficient for the Parishes that depend on them, that there may be able Curates to speak the Word of God, put into them. They advised the Emperor to cause the *Concordate* of the *German* Nation to be strictly observed, and to know how Benefices are conferred in *France*, and to conform to it, it being to be presumed, that so many Bishops, and Doctors, and so many worthy Men as live in *France*, and in the University of *Paris*, will approve of nothing contrary to the Glory of God, and Justice. They also advertised his Imperial Majesty to take care, that the Archbishops Electors should not act contrary to his design; to hinder the Mendicants from preaching against it, because they are devoted to the Court of *Rome*, from

which they hold their privileges; to beware of the Clergy; to have a care lest the Pope stir up his Subjects and Neighbours against him, thunder out his Centures, and use several pretences to justify his Exactions. At last they remonstrate, that he could not do any thing more well-pleasing to God, or profitable to the Nation, than to stop the Vexations of the Court of *Rome*; to take the Churches out of the hands of the Pope's Courtiers, who are both ignorant and incapable to govern them; to maintain the Right of Collations and Nominations for Ordinaries or Patrons in the Months, which they belong to, that they may be given to the Natives of the Country who study in the Universities. 'Tis this that has made *France* to flourish so much, and raised up such a Number of famous Men in all Sciences.

The Assembly of Tours, &c.

Upon these Remonstrances the Emperor *Maximilian* put out an Edict, in which he declares, that for the good of the Church and State, he had forbidden, that for the future any Man who had a Prebend, or Vicarage in one Church, should enjoy a Prebend in another, unless he quit it within a Year, in favour of a person capable of filling it. He forbids those who are not the Pope's Domestic Servants to take upon them that title to obtain Benefices in prejudice to the Right of the Collators, or Lay-Patrons. He Ordains, that small Prebends should not be charged with Pensions, and condemns all sorts of Frauds made use of to obtain Benefices, and particularly *Simony* and *Resurrections*.

Maximilian's Edict.

The Emperor also consulted about making a *Pragmatical Sanction* like that of *France*; or rather to admit that, and wrote to *Jacobus Wimphelingius*, professor at *Schlestadt*, to make an Extract of some Articles of the *Pragmatical Sanction* of *France*, with Observations upon the Preface, to serve as a Memorial to draw one by for *Germany*.

A Pragmatick for Germany proposed.

C H A P. VI.

The Calling of the Councils of Pisa and the Lateran. The History of what was done in the Council of Pisa.

The Councils of Pisa and Lateran, &c.

A Council appointed at Pisa by the Cardinals.

IN pursuance of what was done at the Assembly of *Tours*, the Pope was summoned, as well by the King of *France* as the Emperor, to call a General Council according to the Canons of the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*; but because he was averse to a compliance with their Desires, they sent their Ambassadors to *Milan*, to the Cardinals of *St. Croce*, *Narbon*, and *Cosenza*, carrying Edicts from these two Princes to engage them to call a General Council. This Proposition was made by the Ambassadors, May the 16, 1511. and the Cardinals consented to call one upon these three conditions; namely, that the Emperor and King should engage, 1. To protect and defend the Council and all that should assist at it as long as it sat. 2. Not to consent to the Dissolution, or Translation of the Council, unless it be first agreed to by the major part of the Assembly. 3. To make the Council free and safe, and observe the Form prescribed by the Council of *Constance*. These conditions being promised, and agreed to by the Ambassadors, in the Name of their Masters, the three Cardinals above-named, with six others, called a Council at *Pisa*, Septem. 1. following, and caused the Summons to be published. The Emperor's, and King of *France*'s Ambassadors also published an Order for calling a Council in the Name of their Masters; and these Princes approved of it by their particular Letters sent to the Cardinals that were at *Milan*.

The Pope to avoid this Blow, called a Council at *Rome*, by his Bull dated July the 17. in which he complains of the conduct of the Cardinals who had left him to retire to *Florence*, and appointed a Council at *Pisa*. He there declares, that he was ever inclined to call a general Council, and ready to do it. He accuses the Cardinals of Schism and Rebellion, for calling one without imparting it to him. He observes, that the time of three Months and fourteen Days, which was all they allowed, was not enough for the Bishops to meet at a General Council: That the City of *Pisa* was not large enough to entertain, and lodge all the Bishops, who were to come to the Council: And that they could not come to it in Safety, because of the War in *Tuscany*. He pronounces this Summons and Call which the Cardinals had made, Schismatical, and their Council, if they held it, a Conventicle and Synagogue of Satan, and their Call to it void and null, as was also that which the Emperor and King of *France* had made, because none of them had Authority to do it: He forbids the Cardinals and Bishops to go to it, and lays an Interdict upon the Place where it was to be held. Lastly, he appoints himself a Council in his Palace of the *Lateran*, April 19. 1512. invites all the Bishops to it, and promises them free Liberty of coming to, and returning from it. He also Summons those Cardinals who had appointed the Council at *Pisa*, to appear before him within 65. days, and in default

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The Calling of the Council of the Lateran.

default of it, he threatens to degrade them of their Dignity, and deprive them of their Benefices. These Cardinals not being concerned at this Bull, sent their *Procurators* to *Pisa* to open the Council upon the day appointed, in their Names, and sent an answer to the Bishop of *Alexandria*, who had written to them in the Name of the Cardinals that were at *Rome*; that they wished them well, though they had reason to complain of them, because they had consented to the Admonitions and Censures which the Pope had used against them, to make them come to a place, where they could not safely venture their persons; that it was none of their Fault, that they did not continue in their filial Obedience to the Pope; that they retreated to *Florence* for the good of the Church; that they were satisfied, that the calling of the Council of *Pisa* was very just, and that they had a right to do it, and join themselves with those Princes who required it, and would have done it by their own Authority; that they believed, that the Pope should have answered them with more Charity upon the account of the Admonition they had given him; that they omitted to speak of what concerned the Court of *Rome*, till the Pope should come in Person to the Council, and they could meet in a safe place for it to be holden in; that the City of *Rome* was not at that time a place where either themselves or the Princes Ambassadors could have Security or Liberty; that two General Councils could not be held together; and in short, that they would protest against whatsoever the Pope did in prejudice to the Meeting of the Council of *Pisa*. They also charged two Persons to signify to the Pope in their Name, an *Act of Appeal* from his Citation, and the Prohibition he had made against holding a Council, that they might meet in an indifferent and peaceable Place. These *Procurators* being arrived at *Rome*, could get no other answer from the Pope and Cardinals, but that they would allow them eight days more for their Appearance, and then would forbid a-new, that the Council of *Pisa* should be held.

All these things did not prevent the opening of the Council at *Pisa*, *Novemb. 1. 1511*. It was made up of four Cardinals, who were there in person; namely, *Bernardinus Carvajal*, Bishop, and Cardinal of the *Holy Cross*; *William Brissonnet*, Cardinal, Bishop of *Palestina*, and Arch-bishop of *Narbonne*; *Renatus de Prye*, Cardinal, Priest of *St. Sabina*, Bishop of *Baioux*, and *Amaneus D'Albert*, Cardinal, Deacon of the Title of *St. Nicholas*; the *Procurators* for the Cardinals of *Mans*, *Cosenza*, and *St. Severin*; the Arch-bishops of *Lyons* and *Sens*, thirteen Bishops of *France*, five Abbots, some Doctors of Law and Divinity, and the Deputies of the Universities of *France*.

After Mass and Sermon the first Session was Pro-
1 Session. rogu'd to the 5th. of November. Then it was Decreed, that the calling of the Council of *Pisa*, for the Reformation of the Church both in its Head and Members, was just and lawful, and that the City they had chosen, was proper to celebrate it in; and that whatsoever was, or should be done, or attempted against it, was null; they also ordained, that such Beneficed persons as were present at the Council, should enjoy the Revenues of their Benefices so long as they continued there. *Bernardinus de Carvajal*, Cardinal of the *Holy Cross* was appointed President of the Council, and the Lord *Lautrech* was ordered to protect him. They also chose Officers to carry on the proceedings of the Council.

The 2d. Session was held on the 7th. of the same
2 Session. Month, and was spent in giving Rules for the Order of the Council. For a Rule for the modest Behaviour of all that were present, a Canon of the Council of *Toledo* was proposed, which declared that

the places which the Bishops took here; should be no prejudice to the Rights of any of them, and that the Council should not be accounted separated, when any of the Bishops departed from it. They appointed Judges to hear the Causes, that should be brought before the Council, and forbid any Members of it to go to *Rome* upon any pretence of any Process that was moved, or should be moved in the Court of *Rome*. Lastly, they appointed Scrutators, Apparitors, and a Seal.

On the 10th. day of the same Month, was held 3
the 3d. Session, which was hastened for urgent Reasons. In it it was Decreed, that the Council should not be dissolved, nor could be dissolved, till the Church was Reformed, as well in its Head, as Members; till Schisms and Heresies, which were growing up, should be suppressed, and Wars stopp'd; that it might nevertheless be removed to a safe place, especially if the Pope and they could agree. They there renewed the Decrees of the Council of *Constance*, concerning the Authority of General Councils. Lastly, in this very Session the Council was removed to *Milan* to be there continued, till another place should be agreed upon with the Pope; and the next Session was appointed on the 13th. of the said Month, in the Cathedral Church of *Milan*.

When the Bishops of the Council were met at *Mi-*
lan, they put off the next Session to Jan. 1. 1512. The Cardinals of *St. Angelo* and *St. Severin* were there, with six French Bishops and some Abbots. They drew up some Acts in which they named 11
The Coun-
cils of Pisa
and Lateran, etc.
cil remo-
ved to Mi-
lan.
4 Session. Cities, any one of which the Pope might chuse as he pleased, to hold the Council in; and offered him to name 10 Cities in *Italy*, which were not in his own nor the *Venetian* Dominions, that the Council might chuse one, and gave him 30 days to consider of it. They also proposed an amicable Treaty about the Differences of *Bononia*, and *Ferrara*, and exhorted the Pope and Princes to suspend the War. They made a Decree also against those, who either begged, or accepted the Benefices of those, who were present at the Council, and forbid the Bishops Servants to depart without their Master's leave, under the pretence of a Monitor thundred against them by the Pope.

In the 5th. Session held Feb. 11. they renewed a 5
Decree of the Council of *Constance*, against those that abused or robbed those that came to, or went from the Council, and added to the punishments mentioned in that Decree, those of Deprivation of their Benefices, Offices and Privileges. They appointed the Cardinal of *St. Severin*, Legate of *Bononia*, and resolved upon a new leaden Seal.

In the 6th. Session held March the 24th. the Pro- 6 Session
motors (a) of the Council accused the Pope of contumacy; the Council also published several Regulations of Government, and confirmed all that had been done hitherto, and made null all that the Pope might attempt against the Emperor or King of *France*. Lastly, they made a Decree, by which they enjoined the Pope to retract within 24 Days all that he had done against the Council of *Pisa*, and if he did not answer their Desire, they would proceed against him after that time.

The time being passed, the Promoters in the 7th. 7 Session
Session demanded, that it should be declared, that the Pope being contumacious, had deserved to be suspended *ipso facto*, from the Spiritual as well as Temporal Administration of the Popedom, which was devolved *pleno jure* upon the Council. They caused him to be called three times, and no Body appearing for him, they took time to consider of the Promoters demand. In this Session also they regulated the Number of Deputations, and the manner of proceedings.

[(a) **P**romoteurs. Promoteur in an Ecclesiastical Court, is the same Officer that Procureur is in a Civil. Procureur is he that has Power to act in another's Affairs in his

Name. It somewhat Answers to our Attorney. The word is retained to prevent Mistakes.]

The Councils of Pisa and Lateran, &c.

April 21. the Promoters presented a new petition against the Pope in the 8th. Session of the Council. He was called again, and no Body appearing for him, the Council declared him a notorious disturber of the Council, contumacious, the Author of Schism, incorrigible and hardened, and judged, that as such, he had incurred the penalties inflicted by the Holy Decrees of the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, and being suspended from the Administration of the Papacy, it was devolved *pleno jure* upon the Council, and thereupon they forbade all Bishops, Clergy-men and Christians to own him, or obey him.

This was the last Decree of the Council of *Pisa*; for a little time after, the *French* being forsaken by the Emperor, were forced to leave the *Milaneze*, and the Bishops of the Council retreated to *Lyons*, where there was but the shadow of a Council, which vanished soon. But the Sentence of Suspension was received in *France*, and the King put out his Letters Patents June 16. by which he accepted it, and ordered it to be executed in his Dominions, and forbade all his Subjects to obtain any provisions of the Pope, or to have any regard to the Bulls that he might send. Thus ended the Council of *Pisa*.

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C H A P. VII.

The History of the V. Council in the Lateran, as far as the Eleventh Session.

The V. Council of Lateran, &c.

While these things were doing at *Pisa*, the Council of *Lateran*, which was called by the Pope, and prorogued twice, was opened at last on May 10th. 1512. It was made up of 15 Cardinals, 79 Arch-bishops and Bishops, all *Italians*; six Abbots, or Generals of Orders. In the first Session were read the Bulls of calling, and proroguing the Council, Officers were appointed, and some Discourses made, but nothing else considerable.

The 2d. Session was held on the 17th. of the same Month. In it was read the Declaration of *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, by which he approved the calling of that Council, and the Bull for the prorogation of it to November 3d. In it Cardinal *Cajetan* made a Speech against the Council of *Pisa*.

The 3d. Session was held Decemb. 3d. The Bishop of *Gurcke* appeared there, in the behalf of the Emperor *Maximilian*, and brought with him a Revocation made by his Master, of all that had been done in the Assembly of *Fours*, and Council of *Pisa*, and approved of the calling of the Council in the *Lateran*. The Pope published a Bull in which he disannull'd all that had been done at *Pisa*, *Milan* and *Lyons*, renewed the Interdict pronounced against the City of *Lyons*, and Kingdom of *France*, and removed the Fair of the City of *Lyons* to *Geneva*.

In the 4th. Session held the 10th. of December, the Pope ordered the Letters Patents of *Lewis* XI. to be read, by which he abrogated the *Pragmatical Sanction*, and immediately after, the Advocate of the Council made a Discourse against the *Pragmatical Sanction* to demand the Revocation of it, and a Monitory was read against all the Bishops, Chapters, Princes, Parliaments, and other persons of the Kingdom of *France*, to Summon them to appear before the Council, and alledge the Reasons which they pretended to have to oppose the abrogation. The Pope also published a Monitory in the nature of a Request, Ordering, that all the Favourers of the *Sanction*, of what condition soever they should be, should appear within sixty days.

Pope *Julius* falling sick, could not be at the 5th. Session, held Feb. 16th. but the Cardinal of *St. George*, Bishop of *Ostia*, presided in his place. In it they confirmed the Constitution of *Julius* II. against all Simoniacal practices in the Election of the Pope, and ordered a new Monitory against the Church of *France*, to answer about the *Pragmatical Sanction*.

Pope *Julius* died Feb. 26. 1513. The Cardinals entred into the Conclave, March 4th. and on the 4th. of the same Month. *John de Medicis*, Cardinal Deacon, was chosen and proclaimed Pope, and took the Name of *Leo* X. After he was crowned on the 19th. he prorogued the 6th. Session of the Council, and the citation of the *French* about the *Pragmatical*

Leo X. chosen Pope.

Sanction, to April 27. This prorogation was afterwards continued to May 23. and in the 7th. Session to December 17.

In this Interval the King of *France* being sweetened by the Death of *Julius*, sent the Cardinal of *St. Severin*, *Claudius Seiffel*, Bishop of *Marseilles*, and *Lewis Fourbin*, as his Ambassadors to the Council, with power to approve it. Being arrived at *Rome*, they told the Pope, that tho' the King had good Reasons to call and maintain the Council of *Pisa*, and had no ill Intention in so doing, yet being sensible that since the Death of *Julius* II. Pope *Leo* X. did not approve of it; and being admonished by the Letters, that his Holiness had written to him, to renounce the Council of *Pisa*, and adhere to that of the *Lateran*, as the only lawful Council, especially since Pope *Julius* being dead, the cause of their Hatred, and Quarrel was at an end, and that the Emperor, and some Cardinals, who had maintained the Council of *Pisa*, had renounced it, and accepted that in the *Lateran*. They, in the name of their Master, renounced the Council of *Pisa*, and accepted that of the *Lateran*, as the only true and lawful Council; promising, in his name, never to maintain the Council of *Pisa* more, and within one Month to dissolve the Council that was sitting at *Lyons*, and to force them that opposed it, to retire. They added, that he would send to the Pope six Bishops and four Doctors, of those who were present at the Council of *Pisa* to beg Absolution for themselves and those who had joined with them, and to acknowledge the Council in the *Lateran*. This Deed was ratified by the King's Letters Patents, dated October 26. 1513. and read in the 8th. Session held December 17. The Pope also published a Constitution in which he forbade any to Study Philosophy more than five years, without applying themselves to Divinity or Law. The 9th. Session was fixed upon May 5. 1514.

It was held upon the day appointed, but the Bishops of the Council of *Pisa* could not come thither, though they were upon their Journey to *Rome*, because they could not obtain a passport either of the Emperor *Maximilian*, or of Duke *Sforza*, whereupon they sent an Address to the Council to excuse themselves, and beg their Absolution. The Pope made a General Bull, by which he enjoined the Bishops a-new to come to the Council, and strictly forbade any persons to hinder them. There were also published several Regulations of Discipline for the Bishops, Officers, and other Ecclesiastical persons in the Court of *Rome*. The following Session was put off to December 1.

The Regulations of Discipline, or of Reformation made in that Session, were, 1. That there should be provided for Bishops Sees and Abbies, none but persons worthy of those places, of a suitable Age, and

The V. Council of Lateran, &c.

The Council of Pisa renounced, and that of Lateran confirmed.

and of a good Life and capacity. 2. That Bishops shall be at least 27 years old, and Abbots 22. That the Cardinal who should make the Report of the Election, Postulation or Provision of any person to a Church or Monastery, before he spoke of it in the Consistory, should make it known to the ancientest Cardinal of each Order, who should examine briefly the Provision, Election, or Postulation, hear the party that opposed it, if there were any, and the Witnesses of credit, that he might make his Report of the whole to the Consistory. 2. That no Bishop or Abbot should be deprived of his Dignity for any crime of which he is accused, unless the crime be notorious, unless the parties are heard, and that none should be translated against his Will, unless it were for just and necessary reasons. 3. That *Commendams* being very prejudicial to Monasteries, as well in relation to their Temporal, as Spiritual concerns, after the death of Regular Abbots, their Abbies should not be given in *Commendam*, unless it were to preserve the Authority of the Holy See, and that those that are given in *Commendam*, shall cease after the death of those Abbots who have them so, or shall not be given to any in *Commendam*, but Cardinals, or other persons qualified; that those who hold Abbies in *Commendam*, if they have a Table distinct from the Monks, should give a fourth part out of it, to the maintenance of the Monks; but if their Table be in common with the Monks, they should appropriate a third part of the whole Revenue for the maintenance of the Monks and Monastery. 4. That those Cures and Dignities, whose Revenues are not above two hundred Ducats, shall not be given in *Commendam* to Cardinals, unless they are Vacant by the death of their Domestic Servants, in which case they may yet continue them in *Commendam*, upon condition, that within six Months they shall put them into the Hands of suitable persons. 5. That there shall be no dividing, or uniting of Churches unless it be in cases permitted by the Law, and for a reasonable cause; that no dispensation shall be granted to hold more than two Livings incompatible, unless it be to persons qualified, or for urgent Reasons; that those, who have more than four Benefices, Cures, Vicarages, or Dignities, even in *Commendam*, or under the title of Union, shall be obliged within two years to confine themselves to four, and resign the rest into the Hands of the Ordinary. These were the general points of Discipline, and to them were joined some particular Rules for Cardinals, and other Officers of the Court of Rome. As to the first, it is said, that their Dignity was the most eminent in the Church next to the Pope himself, and therefore they ought to live an exemplary Life, attend at Divine Service, avoid Pride, content themselves with a Modesty agreeable to Priests, receive kindly such as come to the Court of Rome; use the Clergy with respect, that are near them, and not put them upon any mean or base Services; not to be partial, but take an equal care of the Business of the poor as that of Princes; to visit every year once in person, if they are at the Court, or by a Deputy, if they are absent, the Churches, whose title they bear, and have a care of the Goods of the Clergy, and people that depend upon them; to assign a Fond to Maintain one Priest, or make some other Foundation: Not to expend the Revenues of the Church improperly, but to put them to good use; to have a care of the Cathedral Churches, which they hold in *Commendam*, that they be supplied by Vicars, or suffragan Bishops; that they have a sufficient number of Monks in their Abbies, and that the Buildings of the Churches be kept up well; to avoid

Luxury, and suspicion of Avarice in their attendance; that their Clergy wear their proper Habits and live like Clerks; that Legates be obliged to go to the place, where they are to exercise their Legatine power, and reside there the greatest part of the time.

As to other Officers, it enjoins School-Masters to teach their Scholars carefully, what belongs to Religion and good Manners. That Blasphemers, Concubinaires, and Simoniacs, be condemned to suffer the punishments due. It obliges all those, that have Benefices, six Months after they have obtained them, to read Divine Service upon the penalty of losing the profits according to the proportion of time that they have neglected it, and also their Benefices, if they refuse to do their Duty; but to deprive them of the title of their Benefices, they must at least neglect twice reading in fifteen days.

It forbids Kings, Princes, and in general all Laicks to Sequester, or seize upon any pretence whatsoever, the Revenues of Clergy-men without the Pope's permission, to whom the Administration, and disposal of such is supposed to belong. It renews the Laws concerning the Exemptions of the persons, and Goods of Church-men from the Jurisdiction of Lay-men, and forbids the Imposition of Taxes upon Clerks. Lastly, it ordains that Heretics and Judaiizers should be proceeded against by Inquisitions. Those were the Rules made by Pope Leo X. and published in the 9th. Session of the Council in the Lateran, for the Reformation of the Clergy of Rome, who regarded not the Grievances, of which France and Germany complained.

The 10th. Session which should have been held in December, 1514. was put off to May 4. 1515. and was held as before in the Church of the Lateran. In it the Pope published four Constitutions. In the first he approves of the (a) Banks of Piety, and declares, that they are not Usurers, and tho' they receive more than the principal of their Money, which they have lent in consideration of the Expense they are at to maintain their Banks, yet it was not unlawful, though it were better to establish such Banks as could lend Money without Use.

The 2d. Ordains, that Chapters exempt, shall not make use of their exemption to commit any disorders without punishment, that those to whom the Holy See hath committed that care shall punish the Guilty and if they neglect to do it, they shall be admonished by the Ordinary of their Duty, and if after they are admonished, they still neglect, to punish the Guilty, the Ordinaries may proceed against them, and remit the Process to the Holy See. It allows the Diocesan Bishops, to visit once a year the Nunneries which are immediately subject to the Holy See. It declares, that the exemptions which shall be hereafter made without any just cause, and without acquainting those who are concerned in them, shall be Null. Yet grants the Right of exemption to Protho-Notaries, and to the chief Officers (b) of Cardinals. It appoints that Causes, that concern Benefices, provided they be not reserved, and their Revenue doth not exceed twenty four Ducats, shall be judged at the first Instance before their Ordinaries, and that none shall Appeal from their Judgment, till the Definitive Sentence be passed, unless their preparatory Sentence be such a Grievance, as can't be repaired by the Definitive; that if one of the Lawyers fear the Reputation of his Adversary, or has some other particular reason of which he can make no other proof, but by Oath, such Causes shall be carry'd at first to the Court of Rome. It forbids Princes and Lords to molest Clergy-men, to seize on the

[(a) *Monts de Piété*. These Banks, or Mountains as the Italians call them, are frequent in several Popish Countries. They are intended for the Service of the Poor. Their Method is this. A Man that wants a small Sum of Money (in some Banks they must not exceed Twenty five Crowns) goes to the Bank, and leaves for the Money he takes a Pawn of more worth. If he restores his Money at the time prefixed, he has his Pawn exactly returned, paying down an inconsiderable

Sum for the Charge of the House. If he brings not the Money at the time, the Bank sells the Pawn, and pay themselves, and return the overplus, with great Fidelity to the persons concerned, or their Heirs.]

[(b) *Commensaux*. The great Officers of the Household, in France, are called *Commensaux de Roi*, and as such have particular Privileges. The *Commensaux* here therefore are the principal Officers of the Cardinals.]

The V. Council of Lateran, &c. Goods of their Churches, or to oblige beneficed persons to Sell or Assign them for a term of years, reserving to themselves an inconsiderable Rent. Lastly, it enjoins Metropolitans to hold Councils in their Provinces, according to the appointment of the Holy Canons.

The third Constitution concerns the Printing of Books, and orders, that those that are Printed at Rome, shall be examined by the Pope's Vicar and

Master of the Holy Palace, but in other Cities by the Bishop and Inquisitor.

The last concerns the Business of the *Pragmatical Sanction* and Decrees; a peremptory and final Citation before the first of *October* is decreed for all those who are concerned, after which time a Definitive Sentence should be past about it. The next Session was put off to *December* 14.

The V. Council of Lateran, &c.

C H A P. VIII.

The History of the Concordate between Leo X. and Francis I. How it was made at Bononia, and received in the Council of Lateran.

The History of the Concordate, &c. *A Meeting of Leo X. and Francis I. at Bononia.* **L**ewis XII. dying the first day of the Year, Francis I. succeeded him. *Lewis de Soliers*, this King's Ambassador at Rome represented to the Pope, that the Bishops of France could not come to Rome, because of the troubles in Lombardy, and so pray'd his Holiness to dispense with their absence, or obtain a safe passage for them. The Pope replied, that they might come by Genoa, and he would order the Genoise to allow them to pass safely through their Country, and so the Constitution might remain in force.

Francis I. having afterwards passed the Alps with his Army, routed his Enemies, and taken the City of Milan; Leo X. was forced to come to a Peace with him, as to Temporal Matters, and to propose an Interview at Bononia, to settle the Business of the *Pragmatick Sanction*. The Pope came thither, December 9. and the King two days after. He lodged in the same Palace with the Pope, and went to meet him after Dinner in the Room where he held his Consistory; when he had saluted him, the Chancellor *du Prat* made a Speech, to assure him of the King's Obedience, to which, when the Pope had answered, he took the King by the Hand; and led him into his Chamber, where they conferred together about the *Pragmatical Sanction*. The King requested the Pope to give over his endeavours to abolish it, and to confirm it, but the Pope refused it, yet propounded to make a Concordate, and named the Cardinals of Ancona, and *Sanctorum Quatuor*, to draw it up, and the King appointed his Chancellor. The King soon after left Bononia, leaving his Chancellor there to agree upon the conditions of the Concordate, which was concluded on in a few days, and signed by the two Cardinals and the Chancellor.

The King's Reasons for the Concordate. The Reasons, which the King alledged for the Concordate, are, that the Council of Lateran having summoned himself, the Parliaments and Church of France to abolish the *Sanction*, and it being to be feared, that if it were not done, the Church of France would fall into the same disorders it was in before, namely, that the Money of the Kingdom would be carried to Rome, ordinary Patrons would be deprived of their Right, Benefices be given to Strangers, *Gratia expectativa's* granted to all Benefices, Causes carried to Rome, and his Subjects forced to go thither to plead them, he thought it convenient to yield to the present time, and make use of this opportunity to regulate the Discipline of the Church, which was in danger, and reform greater inconveniencies by parting with some things less considerable: That being therefore come to Bononia, with his Court to pay his Duty to the Pope Leo X, he had earnestly importuned him utterly to abolish the very name of the *Pragmatical Sanction*, which if he would do, he would allow him to draw up Laws and Conditions which he might use in his own Realm; that the Pope had allowed him to draw up a Concordate, which should supply the place of the *Pragmatical Sanction* in France; and that the Articles, in which they had agreed, were so composed,

and ordered, that the principal Articles of the *Pragmatical Sanction* still remained in force, namely, those against Reservations both in general and particular, as also about Collations, Causes, cluding Appeals, the abolishing of the Constitution of Pope Clement, called *Literis*, peaceable Possessors, Keepers of Concubines, and some others, which are not at all repealed, tho' they are changed and interpreted as seemed most advantageous to the publick Interest: As for Elections he could not obtain his desire, for the Reasons set forth in the Concordate, and after he had obtain'd a delay of six Months, and consulted about the matter with the wisest Men, he had by their advice resolved to publish the Concordate, since the difficulties of the times, and the necessity of the affairs required that it should be so.

The Pope did not speak so favourably of the *Pragmatical Sanction*, but said, that altho' Lewis XI. had abolished it by his Letters Patents, at the earnest request of Pius II. as made in a time of Sedition and Schism, yet the Bishops and Clergy of the Realm not receiving those Letters, and always adhering to the *Pragmatical Sanction*, Julius II. brought that affair before the Council of the Lateran, and summoned the French to appear at the Council, and alledge the Reasons why they defended the *Pragmatical Sanction*: That after his death, Process was continued against them, but considering that peace was the most profitable thing, which he could procure, he had himself remonstrated to Francis I. King of France, when he came to pay his obedience to him in person, that he ought to renounce the *Sanction*, and live according to the Laws of the Church of Rome; that the Elections to cathedral and metropolitical Churches being the cause of great evils, because they were usually obtained by Simony, Friendship, or Kindred, which often made the Electors perjured, the King yielding to these Remonstrances did agree to the Rules and Constitutions comprized in the Concordate, to be used instead of the *Pragmatical Sanction*, and the Articles therein contained.

The Concordate follows the Order of the Articles of the *Pragmatical Sanction*, of which some are abolished; others omitted, as the Articles of the Authority of Councils; others are changed in parts, and some are transcribed word for word.

The first Article of the Concordate, which concerns Elections, is directly contrary to the *Pragmatical Sanction*. It appoints, that for the future, the Chapters of cathedral and metropolitical Churches, which shall happen to be vacant, shall not proceed to the Election, or Postulation of a Bishop, but that the King shall nominate to the Pope in six Months, which shall be counted from the day of the Vacancy, a Doctor, or Licentiate in Divinity, of twenty seven years of age, who shall be promoted by the Pope to the vacant Church; and in case the person, nominated by the King, shall not have the requisite qualifications, the Pope shall not provide another person, but the King shall be obliged to name another within three Months, which shall be counted from

The History of the Concordate, &c.

The Pope's Reasons for the Concordate.

The Articles of the Concordate.

The History of the Concordate, &c.

from the day of the refusal; otherwise the Pope shall provide: Who likewise shall provide without the precedent Nomination of the King, to the Bishopricks, which shall be vacant by death at the Court of Rome. That the Elections, which are made contrary to this Treaty, are declared null. Nevertheless the Pope may dispence with the rigor of this Treaty for the King's Relations, Persons of Quality, and begging Friars of great learning. As to the Abbies, and conventual Priories, which are really elective, the same Orders are to be observed, save that the age is reduced to twenty three years. Yet the Churches, Monasteries, and Priories, which have obtained this privilege of the Holy See to chuse their own Head, are excepted from this Law, and they are freely allowed to proceed to an Election, according to the Form prescribed in their privileges, or if they have none, according to the Form prescribed in the Chapter, *Quia propter*, provided, that they prove, that those privileges were granted by the Pope's apostolical Letters, or some other authentick title, all other proofs being deficient.

The second abrogates throughout *France* and *Dauphiné*, *Gratia expectativa's*, and Reservations general or special to Benefices, which shall be vacant, and declares them null. Yet the Pope reserves to himself a power to erect a Divinity Lecture, in every cathedral or collegiate Church, which the Ordinary Collator shall be obliged to give to a Doctor, Licentiate, or Batchelor in Divinity, who has studied ten years in the University, and has taught or preached there. That this Professor shall read Lectures, at least twice a Week, and shall be reputed present at Divine Service, tho' he be absent, that he may have time to attend upon his Studies.

The third Article concerns Graduates, and appoints, that Collators shall be obliged to give the third part of their Benefices to Graduates, that is to say, the Benefices, which shall be vacant in the first, and seventh Month after the acceptation and publication of this Law, to such Graduates as have registred the Letters of their Degrees, and times for their Studies; and in the fourth and tenth Months to such Graduates, as are nominated who have registred the Letters of their Degrees, Nomination and Studies; the rest of the Months remaining free to the Collators, to give the Benefices in their Collation to all sorts of persons qualified to enjoy them. The necessary time of their Studies is thus fixed, namely ten years for Doctors, Licentiates, and Batchelors in Divinity; seven years for Doctors, or Licentiates, in the Civil or Canon Law, or Physick; and five years for Masters, or Licentiates in Arts; six years for mere Batchelors in Divinity; five for Batchelors in Canon and Civil Law; and if they are Noblemen, three years only. It says, that they shall be obliged to notify the Letters of their Degrees, Nomination, and the time of their Studies once before the Vacancy of a Benefice, by the Letters of the University where they have studied, and the Noblemen shall be obliged to prove their Nobility, and all Graduates to give every year in *Lent* the copy of the Letters of their Degrees, Nomination, and Attestation of their Studies, to Collators, or Ecclesiastical Patrons, or to their Vicars, and to register their Names, and Surnames; and in case they do not do it thus every year, they shall not demand a Benefice that year by vertue of their Degree, or Nomination; that if a Graduate be not registred, the Collation shall be free to the Collator, provided that the Vacancy be not between the first Registring and *Lent*; that the Collators may chuse out of those Graduates, who have registred their Letters, such as they please, for the vacant Benefices in the Months for *simple* Graduates; but as for those, which shall be vacant in the Months for the Graduates *nominated*, they should be obliged to give them to the oldest of them; and in case of an equality in that respect, Doctors shall be preferred before Licentiates, and Licentiates before Batchelors, but Batchelors in Di-

vinity, shall be preferred before Licentiates in the Canon or Civil Law and Physick; and Batchelors in Canon and Civil Law before Masters of Arts; that Licentiate Doctors being Competitors, they shall observe the order of the Faculties of Divinity, Canon or Civil Law, and Physick; and in case the Competitors have like Degrees in the same Faculty, the Ordinary may gratify whom he pleaseth. It is required, that Graduates shall express in their Letters of Nomination the Benefices which they possess, and their value; and if they have Benefices of the value of two hundred *Florins*, and which requires Residence, they shall obtain no other Benefices, by vertue of their Degrees, or Nomination. It is ordained, that *Regular* Benefices shall always be given to *Regulars*, and *Secular* ones to *Seculars*, and the Pope shall have no power to dispense; that *Resignations* and *Permutations* shall remain free for Graduates Months, and that the Cures of Cities shall be given to Graduates. Lastly, the Universities are forbidden to give *Letters of Nomination* to any but such as have gone through the course of their Studies.

By the 4th. Article it is agreed, that no Pope shall send an apostolical Mandate, above once in his Papacy to a Collator, who shall have ten Benefices in his Gift, and twice to a Collator that has fifty, provided, that these two Mandates shall not be for two Prebends in the same Church; that those persons who have Mandates shall be preferred before Graduates. The Anticipation of all Benefices is granted to the Pope in general, and it was agreed, that in all provisions of Benefices, the true annual Value should be expressed.

The 5th. Article of *Causes*, agrees with that of the *Pragmatical Sanction*. It says, that they ought to be judged upon the places by the Judges, to whom they do of right appertain either by custom, or thro' some privilege to determine them, except such greater *Causes*, as are expressly named in the Law, with a prohibition of appealing to the Lay-judges, *omisso medio*, nor to bring an Appeal before the definitive Sentence, unless the Grievance of the interlocutory Sentence can't be repaired by the definitive. As to the Appeals of those, who are immediately subject to the Pope of Rome, 'tis said that Judges shall be appointed upon the place till the end of the Process, that is to say, till three agreeing Sentences are passed, including that of the Appeal; or to neighbouring Judges, in case of a denial of Justice, or a lawful Apprehension, which shall be proved by some other ways, than by Oath. But the Decrees of Cardinals and Officers in the Court of Rome, who actually exercise their Offices, are excepted. The Judges are enjoined to end the Causes brought before them, within two years, and it is forbidden to appeal above twice from an interlocutory Sentence, and more than thrice from a definitive one.

The 6th. Article is about *Peaceable Possession*, the 7th. about such as keep Concubines, the 8th. about conversing with Persons excommunicated, the 9th. about *Interdicts*, and the 10th. concerning the Abrogation of the Clementine Literis; which all agree with those of the *Pragmatick*. But the Articles which concern the First Fruits, and the Number of Cardinals are quite left out.

The Pope undertook to get the *Concordate*, to be received in the first Session of the Council of the *Lateran*, and the King to have it read, published, and registred in his Courts, to be received within six Months, and ever after to be observed in his Kingdom.

This Treaty being signed by the King's Chancellor, and the two Cardinals appointed by the Pope, *Roger de Barne*, the King's Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, was sent to Rome to finish it, and solicit the Ratification in the Council of the *Lateran*, the Pope having put off the eleventh Session, to *Decemb. 12. 1516*. In it he published a noble Constitution about Preachers; by which he ordained,

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A Florin is about 2 shil. sterl.

The eleventh Session of the Council of the Lateran.

ed, that none should be admitted into the Ministry, who was not first approved of, and examined by his Superior, and whose capacity and probity was not well known. In it he admonisheth Preachers to explain the Holy Scriptures, and the evangelical Truths according to the Judgment of the Fathers, who are approved and received in the Church; to teach nothing either different or contrary to the true Sense of Scriptures, and the Interpretation of catholick Doctors; not to determine the exact time of the Judgment, or coming of Antichrist; not to undertake to foretel things to come, as if they knew them by Revelation, but to teach the Gospel according to the Precepts of Jesus Christ, to detest Vice, teach Virtue, recommend Charity, and not to speak evil of their Superiors.

The Publication of the Concordate.

After this he published the *Concordate* entire, and a Bull by which he approved it, and confirmed it with another Bull, by which he abrogated the *Pragmatical Sanction*, which he called the corruption of the Kingdom of France. He declares, that the Council of *Basil* ought not to be of any authority, because the *Pragmatical Sanction* was not made, till after the Translation of the Council by *Eugenius IV.* and that the Pope hath a full authority above Councils, and full power to call, remove, or dissolve them, as he will, which he endeavours to prove by several Examples. He renews also the Constitution of *Boniface VIII.* called *Unam Sanctam*, yet without any prejudice to *Clement V's* Constitution, call'd *Meruit*. Lastly, he strictly forbids all sorts of persons to use the *Pragmatical Sanction*, or even to read it or keep it by them.

These Bulls and the *Concordate* being read in full Council, were approved by all the Bishops, except the Bishop of *Tortona*, who said that he could not approve of the Revocation of those things, which had their original in the Councils, or Conventicles of *Basil* and *Bourges*. *Quod non placebat sibi revocatio illorum, quæ habuerunt originem à Basileensi, & Bituricensi Conciliis, seu Conventiculis.* Lastly, the Pope caused a Constitution concerning *Regulars* to be read in that Session, in which he appoints, that the Bishops shall have right to visit the Parish Churches which belong to *Regulars*, and to celebrate Mass in the Churches belonging to Monasteries; that *Regulars* shall be obliged to come to solemn Processions, when they shall be sent for, provided the Houses be not distant above a Mile from the Suburbs of the City; that Superiors shall be obliged to present to the Ordinaries or their Vicars, such of their Members as they shall employ to hear Confessions; that

The Pope's Constitution about Regulars.

the Ordinary shall have power to examine them as to their learning, and their use of the Sacrament. That those who shall confess to these *Regulars* approved by the Ordinary or refused without reason, shall be accounted to have satisfied the Canon, *Omnis utriusque Sexus*, as to Confession only; that these *Regulars* may hear the Confessions of Strangers, but cannot absolve Laymen, or Secular Priests from the Sentence, *ab homine*, nor administer the Sacrament of the Eucharist, nor Extreme Unction to the Sick, unless they are refused without just cause, and such refusal can be proved by Witnesses, or by the Inquisition of some Notary; that they may administer to their domestick Servants, being actually in their service; that the Treaties, which they have made with the Bishops, or Curates, for a time shall oblige, unless they are revoked by the General, or provincial Chapter; that they may not go with the Cross into the Churches of Curates, to take from thence the Bodies of those who desire to be interr'd among them; unless it be with the consent of the Curate, or they be in actual possession of that right; that those *Regulars* who are to receive Holy Orders, shall be examined by the Ordinaries, or their Deputies; that Churches may not be consecrated by any other, but the Bishop of the Diocese, unless being prayed and entreated three times they refuse it; that they may not ring their Bells upon *Easter-Eve*, till the Cathedrals, or Mother Churches have begun to ring; that they shall refuse to absolve those who will not pay their Tythes; that they shall not absolve persons excommunicated, who have a mind to enter into their Order, where the interest of a third person is concern'd: That the Friars, or Nuns of the third Order, may choose their burial in the Churches of the Mendicants; but they can't receive the Eucharist there at *Easter*, nor Extreme Unction, nor the other Sacraments, except that of Penance. The Bishops of the Council, were not all of one opinion about this Bull, but it passed by plurality of Votes.

The 12th. Session, was appointed for the 2d. and after prorogued, to *March 16. 1517.* The Pope having renewed the prohibition to pillage the Houses of the Cardinals, when they are chosen Popes, confirmed, and published a Bull by which he approved what had been done, and ordered in the 11 preceding Sessions, and having exhorted them to a War against the *Turks*, put an end to the Council, and gave the Bishops leave to return to their own homes.

The History of the Concordate, &c.

12th. Session of Lætan V.

CHAP IX.

The History of what passed in France, for and against the Execution of the Concordate.

THE Pope sent the *Concordate*, and Bull of the Revocation of the *Pragmatical Sanction*, by the Bishop of *Bajeux* his Nuncio, who presented them to the King, and desired of him, that they might be published in the Parliaments of France. The King, who was only ingaged to publish the *Concordate*, would not have the Revocation of the *Pragmatical Sanction* mention'd, but resolved to cause the *Concordate* to be received, and to that end he went himself to the Parliament at *Paris, Feb. 16. 1517.* and calling together a great number of Bishops, Prelates, the Chapter of *Nostre Dame* in *Paris*, the Doctors of Divinity, and the Members of the University, caused his Chancellor *du Prat*, to deliver to them the Reasons, which induced him to consent to the *Concordate*, and to command them in the King's name to publish and confirm it.

The History of what passed in France about the Concordate.

The Concordate proposed to the Parliament.

When the Prelates, Canons, Doctors, and Members of the Universities had heard the proposals, they retired, as did also the Presidents and Counsellors. The Churchmen made answer, by the Mouth of Cardinal *de Boisy*, and said, that the matter concerned the *Gallican Church* in general, and they could not receive the *Concordate* without it. The King being angry, reply'd, that he commanded them to do it, or would send them to *Rome* to contest it with the Pope. The President *Baillet* answered for the Parliament, that he would make his Report to the Court, who would manage themselves so, as to please both God and the King.

May 13. 1517. the King caused his Letters Patents to be published, containing the *Concordate* in them, by which he enjoined the Parliament, and all the Judges of the Realm, to keep and observe it, and

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Letters Patents to confirm the Concordate.

The History of what passed in France about the Concordate.

and judge according to that Rule, and put it in execution. Some days after the Duke of Bourbon, Mr. J. D. Albert, and the Chancellor were sent to the Parliament, to carry these Letters Patents, and the Chancellor presented them, and required, that the *Concordate* should be read, published, and registred. The Court ordered, that they should be shewn to the (a) *Gens du Roy*. June 5th. the Chancellor delivered the *Concordate* and Revocation of the *Pragmatical Sanction* to the Court, and le *Lievre*, the King's Advocate shewed the inconveniencies of it, and besought the Court not to allow it, because by that means, the Liberty of the *Gallican Church* would be destroyed, and the Kingdom impoverished by the *Annates*, which the *Concordate* restored, and required, that the Court would appoint a Committee of Counsellors to examine it. The Court committed it to three Counsellors, who after ten days made their Report to the Court, that they had view'd the *Concordate*, and the Revocation of the *Pragmatical Sanction*, and that it being a matter of great consequence, they desired some other Commissioners, and so they added four more to the first.

The Addresses and Oppositions of Parliament to the Concordate.

On the 22^d. of the same Month, the Advocate required, that notwithstanding the Revocation of the *Pragmatical Sanction*, they should continue their Judgments according to that Law, and declared that he would persist in the Appeal, that he had already put in against the Revocation of the *Pragmatick*. On the 26th. of June, the King sent the *Bastard of Savoy*, his Uncle, to the Parliament, to be present at their consultation about the publication of the *Concordate*. This Proposition offended the Parliament, who address'd the King about it; but that Prince being fully resolv'd, that his Uncle should be present at their deliberations, the Parliament obey'd, and the conclusion was, that that Court neither could, nor ought to publish, or register the *Concordate*, but keep and observe the *Pragmatical Sanction* as formerly, give audience to the University, which had demanded it, and appeal against the Revocation of the *Pragmatick*; and if the King persisted in urging the publication of the *Concordate*, it was necessary to call a Council of the *Gallican Church*, as Charles VII. had done, when he made the *Pragmatical Sanction*. The King not being able in six Months to get the *Concordate* published, as he had engaged, obtained of the Pope a new delay for six Months longer by his *Breve*, July 1. 1517.

The King having commanded the Parliament to appoint some of their Members, to acquaint him with the Reasons of their Decree, the Court ordered *Andrew Verjus*, and *Frances de Loynes*, to carry their Remonstrance in writing, or deliver it by word of mouth. These Men went to the King at *Amboise*, Jan. 14. 1518 and gave him in their Reasons by writing, but could not gain an Audience of him, till the end of February, and then he told them, that he had seen their Memorial, and his Chancellor had answered it. They desired to see his Answers, but the King refused to communicate them, telling them, that 'twas his Will that the *Concordate* should be published, and order'd them to depart the next day.

The Commissioners being return'd, related to the Parliament, what had passed, and three days after, the *Seigneur de la Trimouille* was sent by the King, to that Court about the same affair, and told them, that his Orders from the King were to command them, to publish the *Concordate* without debating any more about it. The chief President answered, that the Court would deliberate. March 16. le *Lievre* the King's Advocate said, that he had received an express command from the King by the *Seigneur de la Trimouille*, that they should consent to the publication of the *Concordate*, otherwise he would proceed against them. He told them also in the name of the *Procureur General*, that the Form which the King us'd, did not please them, but they must have

some respect to the King's Anger; that the *Concordate* in question was a voluntary Contract between the King and the Pope alone, about the Rights of the *Gallican Church*, which they had no power to diminish; that the publication of that Treaty could be no precedent, because the Church had neither been heard, nor appeal'd; that the evil, which might arise by the publication might again be repaired; whereas that which was produced by the refusal was irreparable; that they ought to give place to the rigor of the time; that in the time of *Lewis XI.* and *Pius II.* the *Pragmatical Sanction*, having been revoked for some time, there happen'd so great inconveniencies by it, that the King order'd his *Procureur General* to call an Assembly of the chief Men of the Universities, and of his Council, who resolv'd upon an Act of Appeal, which was found in the Registers; and that they might repair any evil, which might hereafter happen by the publication of the *Concordate* after the same manner.

Upon these considerations the *Gens du Roi* required, that if the Court would proceed to a publication of the *Concordate*, it should be done under these two conditions. 1. That it was done by the express Commandment of the King several times repeated. 2. That the Court did not intend to approve the Revocation of the *Pragmatical Sanction*, but only to publish the *Concordate*, and because 'tis said in the *Concordate*, that such as sue for any Benefice shall be oblig'd under the penalty of losing it, to give in the true value of it, and that the Court shall be oblig'd to judge agreeably to the *Concordate*, they required that it should be kept, *in mente Curie*, that they should judge after the accustomed manner, without insisting upon the Declaration of the true value.

On the 18th. of March the Court and Chambers assembled made a Decree, by which upon the credit of the *Sieur de la Trimouille*, who had told the Court of the King's intention about the said Publication, it was ordain'd, that the Decree of July the 24th. last past, should have its full and entire effect; that the reading and publication of the *Concordate*, should be made by the Ordinance and Commandment of the King, and not of the Court, which protested against it, that they did not intend in any manner to authorize or approve of the said Publication, and the Causes about Benefices should be judged by the said Court according to the *Pragmatical Sanction*, as they had been before the *Concordate*. Lastly, that the King would be intreated to send a person of Quality to be present at the reading of the *Concordate*, and that it should be thus subscribed, read, published and registred by the express Order and Commandment of the King several times repeated in the presence of such a person sent on purpose, upon that account. The Duke of *Trimouille* excusing himself from writing to the King about it, the Court considering the Menaces of his Majesty, fearing the ruin and dissolution of their Company, and that if they made any farther delays, he would look upon them as the causes of the War, which was then beginning, having made their protestations before the Bishop of *Langres*, that they were not at liberty; that the Publication of the *Concordate* was not by the order and deliberation of the Court, but by the King's appointment; that they did not intend to approve the *Concordate*, nor that the Publication should have its effect, or that Judgment should be given agreeable thereunto; but that their intention was to keep the Holy Decrees, and the *Pragmatical Sanction*; and that the Decree of July 24th. should have its effect, declared, that they did appeal from the Revocation of the *Pragmatical Sanction* made by the Council of *Lateran* to the Pope better advis'd, and to the next General Council, and they demand and obtain Letters of Appeal. After all these cautions they offered to write upon the *Concordate* what is set down

The History of what passed in France about the Concordate.

(a) *Gens du Roy* in France, come near to what we call the King's Council. All the *Procureurs* and *Advocates de Roi*, i. e. his Attorneys, and Solicitors, come under this Denomination.

above, as done in the presence of the Duke *de la Trimouille*, who was sent on purpose about this matter. The day appointed by the Duke *de la Trimouille* for this matter, was the 22^d. of *March*, who said at the same time, that if there were any Articles in the *Concordate*, which were not reasonable, the King would take care, that the Pope should reform them. On the 21st. the Rector of the University assisted with eleven of his Members, presented a Petition to the Court, saying, that he was informed, that they pursued the Publication of the *Concordate*, which tended to the ruin and destruction of the Churches Liberty, and the Universities of the Realm, which also they opposed; and though the Court had made no Decree upon *their Opposition*, yet they did not cease to press the Publication, wherefore he desired to be heard, before there was any thing done in that matter. The Court received the University opposing, and declared, that they would hear their Reasons in a proper time and place, and told them, that tho' they had made a Publication of the *Concordate*, yet it could not prejudice the University; that their Court would judge causes according to the *Pragmatical Sanction*, as they had done heretofore; that they should keep this matter secret, taking an Oath among themselves, and speaking cautiously of it to the Members of the University.

On the 22^d. day of the same Month, the Dean of the Church of *Paris*, accompanied with several Prebendaries of the same Church, came to the Parliament, and having made a Discourse upon the *Pragmatical Sanction*, demanded, that the *Gallican Church* might be called together, to deliberate upon the *Concordate*, and declared, that he would oppose its Publication, and protested that whatsoever had been done in that respect, ought not to hurt or prejudice the Church. This Act was delivered in writing. Then the Duke *de la Trimouille* came to the Court and shewed them the King's Letters, by which they were ordered to assist at the Publication of the *Concordate*, and accordingly it was published, and endorsed thus, *Lecta, publicata, & registrata ex ordinatione, & præcepto Domini nostri Regis, reiteratis vocibus, facta in præsentia Domini de Trimouilli primi Cambellani dicti Domini nostri Regis ad hoc per eum specialiter missi. Parisiis in Parlamento 22^o die Martii, Anno Domini, 1517.*

The Parliament continuing always in this resolution, renewed the Protestations, *March*. 24. and declared, that whatever Publications had been made of the *Concordate*, they neither authorized nor approved them; and then again renewed all their former Appeals, and demanded the Letters of their Appeal made to the Bishop of *Langres*, who granted them, declaring, that whatsoever Act the Court should make for the future, they would never recede from their former Protestations and Appeals: But of all the Bodies none opposed the *Concordate* so fiercely as the University of *Paris*. The Rector forbade all Printers and sworn Booksellers to print it under penalty of being ejected out of the Body of the University, and published in the name of the University an Act of Appeal against the Revocation of the Canons of the Council of *Basil*, and of the *Pragmatical Sanction*, to the Pope better advised, and to the next lawful Council held in a safe and free place; this Act bearing date *March* 27. was received by the Dean of the Church of *Paris*, being printed and set up in the publick Streets. It was drawn up in very hard Terms. Some Preachers made also Reflections in their Sermons upon the King and Chancellor: The King being certified of these Proceedings of the University, wrote to the Parliament to order them to restrain those Liberties they had allowed themselves. He sent two Commissioners to cause the *Concordate* to be printed. The Commissioners caused the Bills

of the University to be pull'd down, and forbade them publishing any thing for the future, which might disturb the people. This begat some Tumults, which caused the King to publish his Letters Patents in form of an Edict, *April* 25. by which he forbade the Rector and Members of the University of *Paris* to meet for the future about such matters as concern'd the State, Policy, and Government of the Realm, or about the Edicts, and Decrees made and approved of by his Majesty, upon pain of forfeiting their Privileges. This Edict was brought to the Parliament to be registred, but the Court delaying to do it, and giving their Reasons to the King's Commissioners, they obtained the Original of the *Concordate*, which was put into the Chancellor's hands.

The King considering that the Article which engaged them to express the true value of a Benefice in their *Provisions* (b) under a penalty, that they should be otherwise null, might cause divers Suits, obtained of the Pope, that all *Provisions* procured within a year of the first *Provision* to every Benefice, founded upon a Supposition that the true value was not express'd, should be null. The Pope granted his desire, and promised those that had not express'd in their *Provisions* the true value of their Benefices, that they might reform it in a year, and that the *Provisions* obtain'd by others in the first year, founded upon the defect of the expression of the true value, should be null; this Rescript was dated *Oct.* 1. 1516. and was published and printed with the *Concordate*. At length the Article of Expression of the true value was quite abrogated, and the Annates restrained to (c) *Consistorial Benefices* which are in the King's Gift, and as to other Benefices, that clause was answered to appearance, by declaring in all their *Provisions* of Benefices, that the Revenues and Profits did not exceed the Sum of 24 Ducats of Gold, to avoid the payment of Annates which would have been due, if the annual Profits of the Benefice had been more than 30.

The Article of the *Mandate* is no longer observ'd in France, nor are there any footsteps that ever it was. It had been the cause of several abuses, which the King was resolved to remedy by an Edict, dated *March* 29. 1528. which ordered, that there should be no regard had to *Mandates* according to the form contained; and inserted in the *Concordate*, and from that time that Article was entirely set aside.

The *Concordate* having only been published by the King's express command against the liking of the Parliament and Clergy, who protested against it and opposed it, was not executed without resistance. The chief Article was about the Elections of Archbishops, and this caused the most Quarrels. *Tristan de Salazar*, Archbishop of *Sens* dying, *Feb.* 11. 1519. the Chapter proceeded to an Election, the King forbade them, and commanded them to wait till he should name an Archbishop. The Prebendaries answer'd, that they had a right to chuse by *Common-Law*, and by a particular Privilege granted them by the Pope and King. Nevertheless all that they could do, was to chuse *Stephen Poncher* Bishop of *Paris*, whom the King had nominated Archbishop of *Sens*, who received the Pope's Bulls. At the same time the Bishoprick of *Albi* being vacant, the Chapter chose one person, and the King named another. The nominated person had Bulls from the Court of *Rome*, and attempted to take possession, whereupon there was a Tryal in the Parliament of *Toulouse* which was removed to that of *Paris*, which contrary to the King's express Order, adjudged the Archbishoprick to the Elect. The Election made by the Chapter of *Bourges*, to the Archbishoprick of that City was confirmed by the Holy See, upon supposition that the Chapter should prove their Privilege of Election.

[(b) *Provisions* signifie those Instruments by which a Beneficiary is put into possession of the Benefice to which he is presented.]

[(c) *Consistorial Benefices* are those whose Bulls are dispatch'd and demanded in a Consistory; such as Bishopricks, and Abbies, and other Benefices of great value.]

The History of what passed in France about the Concordate.

They kept their privilege after the death of this Elect, and proceeded to a new Election in 1524. in which the Votes were equally divided between *du Breuil* and *Frances de Tournon*, who was afterwards Cardinal; and Pope *Clement VII.* gave Sentence in favour of the latter.

The King being about to go into *Italy* in 1524, appointed *Madam Louisa of Savoy*, his Mother, Regent of the Kingdom, and the Parliament in their Remonstrances to her, *April 10. 1524.* inserted a particular Article for the restoring of the *Pragmatical Sanction.*

The same year the Archbishoprick of *Sens*, and the Abby of *St. Bennet* upon the *Loyre* being vacant, the Chancellor *Du Prat* got the Regent to nominate himself to them. The Chapter of *Sens* notwithstanding the Regent had forbidden them, proceeded to an Election, and chose *John de Salazar.* The Abby of *St. Bennet* chose no body; but *Francis Poncher*, Bishop of *Paris*, had a mind to get himself chosen: and the Parliament favouring him, sent Councillors to the Abby to reject those whom the Regent had sent. The Abby of *St. Euverte* of (*d*) *Orleans* becoming vacant not long after, the Regent named one *Chantereau*, but the Regular Canons chose another, and the Parliament defended the Elect. The great Council, to whom the Regent referred these Causes, was for the *Nominees.* This set these two Bodies at odds, and they made Decrees upon Decrees one against the other. These Quarrels happened while *Francis I.* was Prisoner in *Spain.*

The Nomination of the King to all Elective Benefices.

After his return he put out two Edicts, forbidding the Parliament in one of them, to take cognizance of Causes relating to Archbishopricks, Bishopricks and Abbies: And in the other, gives it to his great Council, and then published an Order of Council *December 10. 1527.* which disannull'd and made void the Decrees of that Court, published about the Business of *St. Bennet* on the *Loyre.*

The King foreseeing that the Chapters would maintain their Right of Elections by the clause, which secured it to those who had the privilege to do it, and by that means he should be deprived of the Nomination to the greatest part of the Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, and Abbies, addressed Pope *Clement VII.* in 1531. in full consistory, to grant him a power of nominating to all the Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, and Abbies, which pretended to a privilege of Election. The Court of *Rome*, which uses to gain by the Favours she doth, answered, that she would grant him that power during his Life, and would suspend the Right which the Church had to choose, for that time, but upon condition that the King would put in Execution the clause about the Expression of the true value of Benefices; that the Suits that should happen thereupon, should be determined by the Ecclesiastical Judges, and that he should give in a Memorial of all the Churches and Monasteries, that had a right of Election; that the King should nominate to these Churches within ten days after the Vacancy, and should present the persons nominated within two Months to the Pope, otherwise the Pope would provide within one Month; and in case of a default, the Chapters and Monasteries might choose for that turn; that if this Article was not agreed to, the King should give the Pope the Goods of the Bishops and Abbots deceased, and the Fruits of their Churches, till they were provided for; that the Causes of the Cardinals, and other Officers of the Court of *Rome* about Benefices, should be decided at *Rome*; that the King should submit to the Judgment of the *Rota*, as to what concerns the Execution of the Concordate. The Cardinals appointed by the Pope for this Business, having given their Advice to the Cardinal of *Grammont*, he sent it to the King, who gave a very ample Answer.

He set forth, that the same Causes which obliged him to abolish the Elections in several Churches of

his Kingdom, obliged him also to abolish them also in those Churches which pretended to this Right; that those Churches had never chosen upon the account of their privileges, but upon the account of their common Right; that the Churches to which he nominated, were in peace, but the others in perpetual contentions; that their pretended privileges were only allowed them to maintain the Liberty of Elections; that they were bare protections, and not privileges; that as to the demands of the Court of *Rome*, the King would not hinder the expression of the true value; that the Cognizance of the Causes about the possessors of Benefices had belonged to the King's Judges time out of mind; and that he could not take it from them; that the List demanded of the Churches which have a privilege of Election, is needless; that he could not accept the new Form proposed of nominating to the Benefices of those Churches whose privileges were suspended. He also rejected the Pope's demands of the Goods of the Bishops, which belong to their Heirs, as those of the Abbots do to their Successors. As to the Article of the Cardinals, he consented, that the Concordate should be executed; but he declared, that he could never consent that the Causes which concerned him, should be determined in the Court of *Rome.* The Pope also spoke to him about the privileges which the Orders had of choosing their Heads; the King agreed, that their privileges should be continued, provided he should name three persons of that Order, and the Chapters should be obliged to choose one. The Chancellor *Du Prat* made another answer containing much the same things.

Notwithstanding the King's refusal to consent to the conditions proposed by the Cardinals, *Clement VII.* granted him a *Breve*, by which he suspended, during the Life of his Majesty, all the privileges of Election, which some Churches and Monasteries had, and permitted the King to nominate according to the Form prescribed by the Concordate. The King published his Letters Patents to accept this Bull, and they were registred in Parliament, in *May 1532.* Pursuant to this Bull the great Council put out an Order in *February 1533.* in which it was said, that in all Elective Benefices, no other provisions should be received by resignation, or otherwise, but those that were disposed of by the King's Nomination.

Some Authors have believed, that the Chancellor *Du Prat*, Legate of the Holy See in this Kingdom; being desirous to abolish the Memory of all these privileges, caused the King to command all the Churches, which had, or pretended to have any, to bring their titles by a certain time; and when he had got them into his power, he threw them all into the Fire. But however that was, these pretended privileges were never spoken of since; and so the Kings of *France* have continued in possession to nominate to all the Archbishopricks, Bishopricks and Abbies of their Kingdom.

There were however several Addresses made to the King from time to time for the Restitution of the *Pragmatical Sanction*, but without effect. The Parliament presented very earnest ones *July 15. 1560.* to *Francis II.* The States of *Orleans* did the like the same year to *Charles IX.* who by his Edict, granted the Election of Archbishops to the Bishops of the Province, and the Chapter of the Metropolitcal Church; and of Bishops to the Archbishop and Bishops of the Province, and the Prebendaries of the Cathedral Church joining with them, twelve Gentlemen chosen by the Nobility of the Diocese, and twelve eminent Citizens, who shall be chosen in the Archiepiscopal or Episcopal Palace, who shall choose three persons of Ability, and fitting Qualities, of thirty years of Age, and present them to the King, who shall have power to nominate one of the three to the vacant Archbishoprick or Bishoprick. He

Addresses made to the King for the Restitution of the Pragmatic.

[(*d*) *Euverte* in Latin *Evortius*, was Bishop of *Orleans*, in the latter end of the fourth Century.]

also forbids, by the 2^d. Article of the same Edict, the Exportation of Gold or Silver out of the Realm, under the pretence of Annates, Vacancies, or other Rights. And by the 3^d. he Orders, that the triennial Abbesses should be chosen by the Nuns of the same Nunneries. The Parliament reserved to themselves a power to make some Remonstrances upon some Articles of that Edict, particularly to comprize the Abbies in the Form of the Election of Archbishops and Bishops.

This Ordinance of Orleans being drawn up, the King sent the President *du Ferrier* to Rome, to demand the abolishing of the Annates, and the right of prevention. He also charged him to declare, that the Concordate was received and executed in his Kingdom, rather for fear of disobeying *Francis I.* than out of good will, and that neither the *Gallican Church* nor Parliament had ever approved of it. *Du Ferrier* discharged his commission well, and made very passionate Remonstrances, but to no purpose, no more than the Ordinance of Orleans, which was

revoked by the Ordinance of *Blois*, which was drawn up according to the Council of *Trent*, and the Concordate.

Pope *Pius IV.* sent in 1564. to King *Charles IX.* Bulls, by which he abolished, and suspended the Right which some Churches and Monasteries had to choose, and gave him power of nominating to all Elective Benefices as well in *France* and *Dauphiné*, as in *Bretagne* and *Provence*. This Right was not then allowed by the Province of *Bretagne* but for a time, but after that it was settled for ever.

The Assemblies of the Clergy in 1579. and 1585. made their petitions to King *Henry III.* for the Restoration of their Elections. The same things were desired by some Provincial Councils, namely that of *Rouen*, in 1581. and that of *Rheims*, in 1583. and that of *Bourdeaux*, in the same year, but notwithstanding these attempts, the Concordate was followed and executed, and is still in force in the Kingdom.

BOOK. II.

The HISTORY of the Original, and Progress of the Heresie of *Luther*, and the several SECTS it produced, to the Calling of the Council of *Trent*.

CHAP. I.

The Publication of Indulgences in Germany. Martin Luther an Augustine Friar Preached, and Maintained several Positions about them. Tetzelius, Eckius and Silvester Prierias Confute him. This Dispute became the Occasion of great Contests.

THE Schism which was feared upon the account of the differences between the Pope and the Princes about the Collation of Benefices, was no sooner appeased, but there arose in the Church a new contest, which seemed of little consequence at first, but became very considerable in a little time, and begat one of the greatest Schisms that ever divided the Church.

Leo X. who succeeded *Julius II.* in March 1513. being of a rich and powerful Family, and naturally proud and lofty, entertained a design of building the sumptuous Church of *St. Peter's*, which was begun by *Julius II.* and required very large Sums to finish. The treasure of the Apostolic Chamber was very empty, and the Pope was so far from being enriched upon the account of his Family, that he had contracted many Debts before his Pontificate, wherefore finding himself not in a condition to bear the excessive expence of so great an Edifice, he was forced to have recourse to some extraordinary means to gather so large a Sum of Money, for which he could pitch upon no way so ready and effectual, as the publication of Indulgences, which the Court of *Rome* had formerly upon several occasions experienced to her advantage in raising Troops and Money against the *Turks*. *Leo X.* therefore in the year 1517. pub-

lished general Indulgences throughout all Europe, in favour of those who would contribute any Sum to the building of *St. Peter's*, and set several persons in divers Countries to preach up these Indulgences, and to receive Money for them.

Albert of *Brandenburg*, Archbishop of *Mentz* and *Magdeburgh*, who was soon after made a Cardinal, had a commission for *Germany*. *Luther* assures us, that he was to have one half of the Money that was raised, though it was not all credible (a): But however that was, *Albert*, instead of employing the *Augustine Friars* in that affair, as they had formerly been, and who had laboured above all the Religious Orders to make them pass both by their preachings and writings, gave this commission to *John Tetzelius* a *Dominican*, and to other Friars of the same Order, because he had lately collected great Sums for the Knights of the *Teutonic Order*, who were at War against the *Muscovites*, by preaching up the like Indulgences, which the Pope had granted to these Knights. This preference angered the *Augustine Friars*, either because they looked upon it as a contempt of their Order, or because they were troubled at the loss of a part which they should have gained of the Money that the people gave for those Indulgences, if they had been the dispensers of them.

[(a) *Luther's* Assertion seems very probable. *Albert's* Court was at that time very luxurious and splendid; and he had borrow'd 30000 Florens of the *Fuggers* of *Augsbourg*, to

pay the Pope for the Bulls of his Archbishoprick; this he was bound to repay them. *Seckendorff's Hist. of Lutheranism*, p. 16. col. 1.

They had for their Vicar-General, *John Staupitius*, a person of Quality, (b) Allied to the House of *Saxony*, and a Man fit for Business, being a person of courage and reputation, especially at the Court of the Elector of *Saxony*. This Elector was one of the richest, and most powerful Princes of *Germany* at that time, and withal very Bountiful and Magnificent. He had lately set up an University at *Wittenberg*, and had brought a great many learned Men thither by large Pensions. He had also lately founded a new Chapter of Prebendaries, of whom he made one *Jonas Provost*, and *Carlostadius* Arch-Deacon. *Staupitius*, who had the ear of that Prince, set him against the publication of Indulgences, acquainting him with the abuses that were made of them, and shewing him how troublesome the Collectors and Commissioners were to the people, who made use of the pretence of Indulgences to satisfy their own avarice in plundering the *Germans*, and that they sought more to enrich themselves than to save Mens Souls.

At the same time *MARTIN LUTHER*, a preacher of the same Order of Saint *Augustine*, and a Doctor at *Wittenberg*, began to declaim in his Sermons and Lectures, and composed Books against the distribution of Indulgences, and against the Arguments which the *Dominicans* used to enforce them. *Luther* was born at *Isleben*, a Town of *Saxony*, in the County of *Mansfield*, *Novemb. 10. 1483*. Whether it was because his Parents had their ordinary abode there, or because his Mother went to a Fair which was held there, as some have written. His Father was called *John Luther*, or *Luder*, and his Mother *Margaret* (c). They came to live in the City of *Mansfield*, where *John Luther* was chief Magistrate. Some write that he was called *Luther*, because he was a Refiner by Trade, for that name in the *German* Language has that signification. But however that was, 'tis on all Hands agreed, that his Business was about the Mines. *Martin Luther* having learned the first Rudiments of Grammar with his Parents, was sent to *Magdeburg*, where he staid a year, and after was sent to *Eysenac*, a City of *Thuringia*, where he studied four years. When he had finished his Grammar Studies, he went to *Erford*, where he went through a course of Philosophy, and became Master of Arts in the University of that City, at twenty years of age. Then he began the Study of the Civil Law, and intended to advance himself to the Bar, but he was diverted from that design by this accident. Being in the Fields, he was stricken by a Thunder-Bolt, which threw him to the Ground, and killed his companion; whereupon he resolved to withdraw from the World, and enter into the Order of the Hermits of St. *Augustine*. He made his profession in the Monastery of *Erford*, after he had been a Novice one year, and stay'd there four years. He took Priests Orders, and celebrated his first Mass in the beginning of the year 1507. He was sent from the Convent of *Erford* to that of *Wittenberg* in 1508. where he taught Philosophy; three years after, seven Convents of his Order having a Quarrel against their Vicar-General, he was chosen by their Monks to go to *Rome* to maintain their Cause, and when that Business was accommodated, he returned to *Wittenberg*, where he was made Doctor and professor of Divinity. As he was of an active Spirit, and a bold and vehement Declaimer, so in a little time he got himself much reputation by his Sermons and Theses.

This Man being naturally passionate, and zealous for the Interest of his Order, (d) began not only to declaim against the abuses of Indulgences, but maintained Doctrinal Theses about them, and Penance, contrary to the common Notions of Divines. His

first Thesis upon that Subject contained 95 propositions, in which he declared plainly his thoughts about Indulgences. It was delivered, and published at *Wittenberg* in 1517. (e) In the beginning was a challenge to all such as could not come to a disputation to oppose it by writing. In this Thesis he did not directly oppose Indulgences in themselves, nor the power of the Church, but only maintained, that the Pope could release no punishments, but what he inflicted, and so Indulgences could be nothing but a Relaxation of Ecclesiastical penalties; that they affected only the Living; that the Dead were not subject to Canonical penances, and so could receive no benefit by Indulgences, and that such as were in Purgatory, could not be delivered from the punishment of their Sins by that means; that indeed the Pope did not grant Indulgences to the Souls of the Dead, by virtue of the power of the Keys, but by way Suffrage; that 'tis rare, that Indulgences remit all punishment; that those that believe that they shall be saved by Indulgences only, shall be damned with their Masters; that Contrition can procure remission of the fault and punishment without Indulgences, but Indulgences can do nothing without Contrition; that the Pope's Indulgence is not to be contemned, because it is the Declaration of a pardon obtained of God; but they are to be preached up with caution, lest the people should think they are to be preferred before good Works; that Christians are to be instructed, that the purchase of a pardon is not to be compared to Works of Mercy; that 'tis better to give to the poor, than to buy pardons; that it is a thing indifferent either to buy, or not buy an Indulgence; that Indulgences are not to be trusted to; that 'tis hard to say, what that treasure of the Church is, which is said to be the Foundation of Indulgences; that 'tis not the Merits of Christ, or his Saints, because they produce Grace in the Inner Man, and crucifie and mortifie the Outward Man without the Pope's interposing; that this treasure can be nothing but the power of the Keys, or the Gospel of the Glory and the Grace of God; that Indulgences can't remit the least venial Sin in respect of the guilt; that they remit nothing to those, who by a sincere Contrition have a right to a perfect Remission; that Christians are to be exhorted to seek pardon of their Sins, by the pains and labour of penance, rather, than to discharge them without reason. This is the Doctrine which *Luther* proves in his first Thesis. He also condemns several propositions which he attributes to his Adversaries, and reproves several abuses, of which he affirms them guilty; as for example, reserving of Canonical pains till Purgatory, or commuting them into the pains of Purgatory; teaching, that Indulgences are free from all the guilt and punishment of Sin; preaching, that the Soul, which they please to release out of Purgatory, flies immediately to Heaven, when the Money is cast into the chest; maintaining, that these Indulgences are an inestimable Gift, by which Man is reconciled to God; exacting upon the poor contrary to the Pope's intentions; causing the preaching of the Word of God to cease in other Churches, that they may have a greater concourse of people in those, where Indulgences are preached up; advancing this scandalous Assertion, that the Pope's Indulgences have such a Virtue, that they can absolve a Man, tho' he has ravished the Mother of God, which is a thing impossible; publishing that the Cross with the Arms of the Pope, is equal to the Cross of Christ; and in short maintaining that the manner of publishing Indulgences, had given occasion to the Laity to start such Questions, as these; of little advantage to the Pope, namely; why the Pope out of charity does not deliver all Souls out of

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Luther maintains Theses against Indulgences.

[(b) No other Author that I know of, mentions *Staupitius's* Relation to the House of *Saxony*, besides *Du Pin*. *Seckendorf*, who had a fair Opportunity (p. 15.) to speak of it, is wholly silent.]

[(c) *Lindeman*.]

[(d) All the Papists assert, that *Æmulation* first set on *Luther* to write against Indulgences. But his Letters to the Bishop of *Brandenburg*, and to *Staupitius*, plainly shew that it was nothing but love of the Truth made him Preach against them.]

[(e) *October 31.*]

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Purgatory, since he can deliver so great a number for a little Money given for the building of a Church; why he suffers prayers and Anniversaries for the Dead, which are certainly delivered out of Purgatory by Indulgences? How since the penitential Canons are of no use, the Canonical penance can be bought off by Indulgences? Why the Pope who is richer, than several *Craffus's*, can't build the Church of St. Peter with his own Money, but does it at the expence of the poor? If it be said, that the Pope seeks rather the Salvation of Men's Souls, than their Money; for what reason doth he suspend the ancient Indulgences, which ought to be equally efficacious; he adds, that all these Questions might easily be resolved, if Indulgences were preached up according to the mind and intention of the Pope. He pronounces an *Anathema* upon any one that speaks against the truth of Apostolic Indulgences, but in the meantime wishes, and hopes for all Blessing upon those that shall be careful to stop the Licence, and Zeal of the preachers up of these Indulgences.

Luther's Letter to the Archbishop of Mentz.

This *Thesis* of Luther made a great noise, and in attacking the Commissioners appointed for the publication of the Indulgences, he seemed to attack the Archbishop of Mentz, under whose Authority and Name the Indulgences were published, wherefore he thought it his Duty to write to him, and to shew him, that the Pope's Indulgences for the building of the Church of St. Peter, were published in his name; that he had not heard the Sermons of the preachers which published them, and so could not accuse them, but that the people had imbibed many false notions from their Sermons, and the promiscuous Sales of them, had very much grieved him; for they believed, that in purchasing Letters of Indulgence, they were sure of Salvation, and that the Souls of such as were in Purgatory, did fly directly into Heaven in the very moment, that they cast their contribution Money into the chest; that these pardons were so effectual, that there is no Sin so great, but they give them Absolution, and that they do free a Man both from the punishment and guilt of Sin; that as to himself he could not keep silence, when he saw the Souls trusted to the care of such an illustrious person so ill instructed, and for which one day he must give an account; that he was perswaded, that no Man could be sure of his Salvation by the Ministry of a Bishop, since the Grace of God it self did not afford us that certainty, but we must work out our Salvation with fear and trembling; that Indulgences were of no use, but to release from the Exterior and Canonical penalty, which was imposed before; that Works of Piety and Mercy, are infinitely better than Indulgences, altho' the preachers-up of Indulgences do not preach them up with so great force, and speak not of them, that their own Indulgences might be of greater Effect; that in the Instructions, which the Commissioners published in his name, 'tis said, that one of the principal favours granted by Indulgences, is, that a Man is reconciled to God, and all the pains of Purgatory are forgiven, without any need of Contrition; wherefore he prays him, to remedy these Disorders, to cause those Instructions to be suppressed, and to enjoin the preachers to preach after another manner, lest they should find some Body that would confute their Discourses, and that Book, by writing. He conjures him in the last place to pardon the freedom he had taken, with an Episcopal Spirit, protesting, that he did it out of Duty, and with a faithful and submissive Mind. He adds, that he pray'd him to read his *Theses*, which will shew him how very doubtful their Opinions about Indulgences are. This Letter is dated from *Wittemberg*, on the *Eve of All Saints*, in the year 1517.

Tetzelius his Propositions contrary to Luther's.

Luther's Propositions about Indulgences were no sooner published; but *John Tetzelius*, a preaching Friar and Inquisitor in Germany, and first of the Commissioners for the publication of the Indulgences, maintain'd and published in his own defence at *Frank-*

fort upon *Oder*, a *Thesis* containing Propositions directly contrary to those of Luther. He maintained, that Satisfaction being a necessary part of Penance, and inward Grief it self, tho' accompany'd with outward Mortification, being useless without Satisfaction imposed by a Priest, or by the Canon, or exacted in Purgatory, the Pope can remit that punishment by his Indulgences. He distinguishes between two sorts of punishment, the one Medicinal and Preservative, and the other Vindictive and Satisfactory; and asserts, that Indulgences may perhaps remit all the pain, so far as it is a punishment of Sin; but they do not dispence with meritorious Works, or Mortification, which heal and preserve from Sin; that the Ministers of the Church, do not barely declare Mens Sins forgiven, but do really pardon them by Virtue of the Sacraments, and by the power of the Keys; that no Sins can be forgiven without the Sacrament of Penance; that nevertheless Contrition may supply the place of it in case of necessity, but can't change the Eternal pain into the Temporal, which is suffered in another Life; that the Ministers of the Church may impose a punishment to be suffered after Death, and that it is better to send a Penitent with a small penance into Purgatory, than by refusing him Absolution to send him into Hell; that Heretics, Schismatics, and wicked Men are Excommunicated after Death, so that the Assertion is not true, that the Dead are no longer subject to the Laws of the Church; that the Pope by granting plenary Indulgences, does not only intend to remit the punishment he has inflicted, but all punishments in general; that 'tis an error to say, that the Pope releases the Souls in Purgatory of no other punishment than what they should have suffered in this Life according to the Canons; that it is not necessary to receive the favour of the *Jubilee* to be fully perfect, no not perfect at all, but 'tis sufficient to have an Attrition, which by the means of Confession makes a Man contrite; that tho' the Pope hath not the power of the Keys over the Souls in Purgatory, he may apply a *Jubilee* by way of Suffrage, and that there is no inconvenience, that a Soul should go into Heaven in the very moment, that the Alms is cast into the Chest; that it is not to be doubted, but that all the Souls that are in Purgatory wish to come out; that they may be morally certain, that Indulgences are gotten, and that several have gotten them effectually; that at the same time the Vertue of Indulgences should be made known, the necessity of Contrition taught, and Men be exhorted to the practice of good Works; that Indulgences remit punishment more readily than Works of Charity, but that these last are more meritorious; that spiritual Alms being to be preferred before temporal, he merits more who buys off his own Sins by Indulgences, than he who gives Alms to the Poor, unless it be in extreme necessity; that altho' the buying of Indulgences be not commanded, yet it is advised, and of this the people ought to be put in mind; that Faith, Devotion and Trust are necessary to make Indulgences useful; that the Treasures of the Church are the Merits of the Saints; that the most enormous Crimes may be remitted by Indulgences to those who are truly contrite; that S. Peter, and all his Vicars, of which Pope Leo is one, have an equal power. Tetzelius also particularly censur'd and taxed several Errors in the Propositions of Luther, and accuses him of imposing them upon the Preachers of Indulgences, when he reproaches them for preaching, that if a Man (which is impossible) should ravish the Mother of God, they could absolve him by vertue of these Indulgences; that they spent more time in preaching up Indulgences, than the Gospel, &c. Then he resolves the Questions, which Luther had proposed in the name of the Laity, and says, as to the first, that as Jesus Christ could not entirely abandon his own Justice, so neither can the Pope his ordinary and regular power of delivering all Souls from Purgatory. To the second, that

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as to the Anniversaries founded for ever, they ought not to be suppress'd after the deliverance of the Souls of the Founders; that besides they are not useles, because they tend to the comfort of other Souls, to the encrease of the Merit of the Living, and to the advancement of the Honour of God. To the 3^d. that tho' the Canons are not in use, because of the Weakness of Penitents, Men deserve the same punishments daily, which are pardoned by the Indulgences. To the 4th. that 'tis thro' piety, and not thro' avarice, that the Pope doth not build the Church of St. Peter with his own Money, that he may grant Indulgences to those, who shall contribute to so pious a Work, and that further, a Church that is common to all Christians ought to be built at the expence of all Christians. After he has resolved these Questions proposed by Luther, he also proposeth others about Religion, to shew, that these sorts of difficulties ought not to move us.

The Positions of Tetzelius about the Pope's Authority.

Tetzelius also compos'd fifty other Propositions about the Authority of the Pope, and against those, that teach Doctrines contrary to those received in the Church. He maintain'd that the Authority of the Pope, which God hath established, is supreme; that he has an immediate Jurisdiction over all Christians; that he is above the Universal Church and a Council; that his Judgment in matters of Faith is infallible; that he ought to be honoured and respected in all things; that the Keys are given to the Pope, and not to the Universal Church; that the Pope hath sole power of giving plenary Indulgences; that there are many Catholick Truths, which are not in the Holy Scriptures; that the Truths defined by the Pope are Catholick; that those who doubt of these Truths, who teach Novelties, who oppose the Privileges of the Church of Rome, and publish scandalous Propositions, are Hereticks and rash, and to be avoided by the Faithful; and those that adhere to their Opinions, are also Hereticks, which he applies to Luther and his Followers.

The Characters of Tetzelius and Luther.

These famous Positions of Luther and Tetzelius, were like the challenge and defence of a dispute set on foot by both parties, and the beginning of a quarrel, which troubled immediately the peace of the Church, and caused that cruel Schism that divided it. Luther trusted to his Parts and Knowledge, and had the protection of the Elector of Saxony (e). Tetzelius was not inferior to him either in Learning, or Subtlety of Wit, (f) and his Offices of Commissioner and Inquisitor, gave him more authority. Tho' Luther us'd very harsh Terms against the abuses of Indulgences, and the manner of their publication, yet he spared Mens Persons, and protested, that he had no ill Will, either to Indulgences well understood, or to the Authority of the Pope, but propos'd only his own doubts, and blamed abuses simply, being ready to submit in all things to the Judgments of the Pope and his Superiors. Tetzelius seem'd to speak with more Moderation (g), but at the same time shew'd more confidence, openly accusing the Doctrine of Luther of Heresy, and treating the Author as a Heresiarch (h). He seems to be certain of the truth of his Doctrine, and certain of Success, tho' he submitted his Writings to the Holy See, to the Bishop of the Place, to the Inquisitors, and Universities of Italy, France, and Germany. But notwithstanding the submission which both of them seem'd to have to their Superiors, they were very angry one with another, and carry'd their Enmity so far, as to burn each other's Theses pub-

lickly. Tetzelius burnt Luther's at Franckfort, and Luther's Party (i) Tetzelius's at Wittemberg.

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The Notes of J. Eckius upon Luther's Assertions.

Tetzelius was not the only Adversary that wrote against the Theses of Luther: John Eckius Professor, and Vice Chancellor of the University of Ingolstadt made Notes, or Obeli, upon his Theses; in which, tho' he declares, that he would not confine himself to scholastick disputes, but only make some remarks upon such Propositions, as seem'd to him erroneous, yet his Notes are very obscure and subtile. He lays it down as a Principle, that the Sacraments of the New Law are efficacious of themselves; that that of Penance, which does not remit the Guilt, according to the opinion of Luther, ought to remit the Punishment; and that as the Ministers of the Church may declare, that the Guilt is remitted, so a Priest may likewise declare to a dying Man, that the canonical Punishments which he hath deserved, agreeable to the Divine Sentence, are reserved to Purgatory; that the Church absolves the Dead from Excommunication, and so the execution of the Canons doth not cease after death; that it is not according to a greater or lesser portion of Perfection, or Grace, that Men suffer more or less in Purgatory, but according as their Sins have incurred more or less Punishment. He blames Luther for having asserted, that the Souls in Purgatory are uncertain of their Fate, between severity and despair, and in a condition of improving their Charity: In fine, that a Priest by vertue of the Keys remits the Punishment due to God's Justice, from the Sinner upon the account of his Sins; that when the Popes put it into their Bulls, that they grant Indulgences *per modum suffragii*, it doth not at all lessen their Vertue; that it is not uncertain, as Luther asserts, whether all the Souls that are in Purgatory desire to get out; that as it is possible, according to the common opinion, to accomplish Repentance in a State of Sin, so 'tis probable, that we may gain Indulgences in a State of Sin. Eckius adds, that it was his private Judgment, tho' contrary to the Terms of the Pope's Bulls, and the Principles of Sacred Divinity, that all those that have true Contrition, do not obtain for all that Remission of the Punishment due to their Sins, without Satisfaction; that we must distinguish Satisfaction from Merit, and that by Indulgences, Works of Satisfaction, but not meritorious Works are dispensed withal; that the Treasures of Indulgences are the infinite Merits of Jesus Christ, which are apply'd to us by the Pope. Lastly, that the Propositions of Luther, fill Men with a contempt of the Pope's Authority, as to Indulgences, and are a means of stirring up Seditions; and that the Questions, which he propos'd in the name of the Laity are only proper to decry them, and may be easily answer'd.

Luther in the mean time was not silent, but published in the beginning of the year 1518. other Theses about Penance, in which he maintains, that Pardon of the Guilt is to be preferred before Remission of the Punishment of Sin, adding, that this Remission is not founded upon the Contrition of a Sinner, nor upon the Power of the Priest, but only upon Faith in those Words of Jesus Christ, *Whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven*; that altho' the Sinner be uncertain whether he hath Contrition, he is absolved, if he believes he hath; that those that ground their Hope on Contrition presume too much upon their own Power and Works; that only Faith in Jesus Christ justifies; that though a

Other Positions of Luther about Penance.

[e] Not at first. There are Letters of his extant, wherein he expresses his concern lest the Elector should suffer upon his account.]

[f] So very far from both, that Seckendorf says he did not write his own Answer, but that it was written by one Conradus Wimpina, who profess'd School Divinity at Frankfort upon the Oder. He was also, besides his Ignorance, a Man of very profligate Morals, and long before these Disputes were set on foot, had been condemn'd at Inspruck, to lose his Life for Adultery, and been pardoned at the Interposition of the Elector of Saxony, Seckendorf, Lib. 1. Sect. 12. Addit. 1.]

[g] This Character of Tetzelius's Theses is Words of Course: For nothing can be more bitter than his Reply to Luther, who by F. Maimbourg's own Confession, wrote with great Moderation in the beginning of this Dispute.]

[h] Sure there was not much Moderation in this.]

[i] He does well to say Luther's Party. Luther himself disown'd the Fact, and in a Letter to Jodocus, a Professor at Isenac, who had formerly been his Master, ask'd him if he thought Luther so void of common Sense, as to do a thing of that kind in a Place where he had no Jurisdiction, and against a Divine of so great Authority as Tetzelius.]

~ Priest hath no power to administer the Sacraments, or should administer them in jest, or be prohibited to administer them, if he that receives them hath Faith, he receives the effect of the Sacraments, and if a Penitent (which is impossible) could have Faith without Contrition, he is nevertheless absolved; that the Sacraments of the New Testament are not such efficacious Signs of Grace of themselves, that nothing can hinder it; that the difference of the Sacraments of the Old and New Testament is this, that the former are established to purify the Flesh, but the other to purge the Mind; that we are not obliged to confess all our mortal Sins, because 'tis a thing impossible, for no Man knoweth, whether he doth not sin mortally in acting from a Principle of Vain glory; so that we should content our selves to confess such Sins as are certainly mortal, and for others to cast our selves with confidence into the Arms of the Mercy of God. Lastly, the sum of all these Propositions is, that the just Man lives not by the works of the Law, but by Faith.

Luther's Positions upon Justification and Free-will. It was upon this Sentence of the Apostle Saint Paul, not rightly understood, that Luther built forty other Propositions, which he maintain'd April 26. of the same Year, in the Monastery of St. Augustine at Heidelberg, while the Chapter was held, in which he affirms, that the Works of Men, as good as they appear, are mortal Sins, but become venial when Men begin to fear that they are mortal; that Free-will after Sin, is a Title without a reality, and at all times, and as oft as it acts by it self, it sins mortally; that it is a power subjective only in respect of good, and active in respect of evil; that the Man that thinks to obtain Grace by doing that which is in his own power, adds one Sin to another; that he is not just that does much, but he that believes in Jesus Christ without Works; that the Law says, Do this, and yet it is not done; whereas Grace hath no sooner said, Believe in this person, but 'tis already done: He confirms this same Doctrine by eight other Propositions against the Sentiments of the Schools, which all tend to prove, that the Will of Man has no liberty to do good; that all our Actions done without Grace are sinful; that invincible Ignorance doth not excuse from Sin, &c.

Luther's Letter to the Pope. These new Propositions of Luther's, stirred up more against him the Zeal of the catholick Divines, who accused him to the Pope as an Heretick, which obliged Luther to write a Letter to him in the most submissive Terms, and send him a defence of his *Theses* about Indulgences. He tells his Holiness in it, that he was much troubled, that he was represented to him, as a person who opposed the Authority and Power of the Keys and Pope; that this accusation amazed him, but that he trusted to his own Innocency. Then he delivers the matter of fact, and says, that the Preachers of the *Jubilee*, thought all things allowed them under the Pope's name, and taught heretical and impious Propositions, to the scandal and contempt of the Ecclesiastical Power, and as if the Decretals against the abuses of Collectors did not concern them; that they had published small Books, in which they taught the same Impieties and Heresies, not to mention their avarice and exactions; that they had found out no other way to appease the offence their ill conduct had given, but by terrifying Men with the Name of the Pope, and threatening them with Fire, and to treat as Hereticks, all those that did not approve their exorbitances, and for all this they continued to declaim against the avarice of the Priests, and speak ill of the abuse which the Pope made of the Keys; that being animated with the Zeal of Jesus Christ, and put forward with heat of youth, he had given notice of these abuses to the superior Powers, who not regarding him, he had begun to oppose them with lenity, by publishing a Position, by which he invited the most Learned to dispute with him; This is, says he, the Fire which, they say, hath inflam'd

the whole World. ' Is it that I have not right as a Doctor of Divinity to dispute in the publick Schools upon these matters? These *Theses* were made only for my own Country, but I am surprized to see them spread into all parts of the World. ' They were rather disputable points, than decisions. ' There are some of them obscure, which need clearing. What shall I do at present! I can't retract them, and yet I see I am made odious? 'Tis a trouble to me, to appear in publick, but I am constrain'd; 'tis to appease my Adversaries, and content several persons, that I have published explications of my disputes, and that under the protection of the Pope, that it may be known how sincerely I honour the power of the Keys, and with what injustice my Adversaries have abused me so many ways. If I were such an one as they say, the Elector of Saxony would not have endured me in his University. He concludes with the following Words: I cast my self, Holy Father, at your Feet, and present my self to you with all I am and have. Give me life or put me to death, confirm, or revoke, approve or disprove, as you please; I own your Voice as that of Jesus Christ, who rules and speaks by you; if I have deserved death, I refuse not to die.' This Letter is dated on Trinity-Sunday, 1518. and was accompanied with a Protestation, wherein he declared, that he did not pretend to say, or defend any thing contrary to the Holy Scripture, or the Doctrine of the Fathers received and observed by the Church of Rome, nor to the Canons and Decretals of the Popes. Nevertheless he thought he had liberty to confute or approve the opinions of St. Thomas, Bonaventure, and other School-men and Canonists, which are not grounded upon any Text.

The Writing joyn'd to this Letter, and Protestation, is a defence of the ninety five Propositions of his *Theses* about Indulgences, in which he explains his notion more at large, and confutes from time to time the Objections of *Tetzelius*. He published also the explications and proofs of his Doctrine of Justification and Free-will. Lastly, he answered the Remarks of *Eckius*. All this was done in 1518. during which time he preached the same Doctrines in his Sermons.

Before these explications of Luther came to Rome, Sil. Prierias a Dominican, Master of the Holy Palace, had written against the Propositions of Luther's *Theses* about Indulgences, in which, having laid as a foundation, that not only the Universal Church, and the Church of Rome, but also the Pope, are infallible; he concludes, that he that blames the practice of the Romish Church about Indulgences, is an Heretick. Then he confutes the 95 Propositions of Luther. This Writing of Prierias is much inferior to those of *Tetzelius* and *Eckius*. It contains scarce any thing, but injurious reflections upon Luther in every Proposition; he speaks in a haughty Strain, and with Threats, asserting, that the Pope is supreme over all temporal and spiritual Powers, and that he can punish with temporal punishments, those who after they have embraced the Faith, teach Errors, without any obligation to use Reasons to convince them. Luther answer'd this Writing, which was carryed to Rome with his Explication of his Propositions. Silvester Prierias immediately opposed him in a short Treatise about the Power of the Pope and about Indulgences; Luther would not give it a serious Answer, because 'twas only the Scheme of a larger Work, on which he thought it sufficient to make some Observations. In these beginnings he had a fourth Adversary, one Jacobus Hagostratus a Friar Preacher, who wrote against some of his Propositions, and advised the Pope to condemn Luther and burn him, if he would not retract. Luther made a kind of Manifesto against this Author, in which he reproaches him with his cruelty, and ignorance.

C H A P. II.

The Emperor, and Pope joyn to put an end to this Contest. Luther is summoned to Rome, and appears before the Pope's Legate at Ausburg. What passed there. Luther returns to Wittemberg, and goes on propagating his Doctrines.

THE Courts of Rome and the Emperor were equally concern'd, that Luther was allowed to propagate his Opinions in Saxony. The great number of his Followers, and the resolution with which he defended his Opinions, made it evident, that if a speedy stop were not put to that evil, it would become troublefome both to the Church and Empire. The Emperor Maximilian sent word to Pope Leo X. and required him to forbid these useless, rash, and dangerous disputes by his Authority, assuring him that he would execute in the Empire, whatever his Holiness should appoint. This Letter is dated August 5. 1518. The Pope on his part, order'd the Bishop of Ascoli (a), Auditor of the Apostolick Chamber to cite Luther to Rome, to appear within 60 days, that he might give an account of his Doctrine to the Auditor, and Master of the Palace (b), to whom he had committed the judgment of that Cause. He wrote at the same time to the Elector of Saxony, to pray him not to protect Luther, and let him know, that he had cited him, and given Cardinal Cajetan his Legate in Germany instructions, of what he thought necessary upon that occasion. He exhorts him in that Letter, to put Luther into the hands of his Legate, that he might be carried to Rome, assuring him, that if he were innocent, he would send him back absolved, and if he were guilty, he would pardon him upon his repentance. This Letter is dated August 23. 1518.

At the same time the Pope sent a Breve to Cardinal Cajetan, in which he order'd him to bring Luther before him as soon as possible, and in case he shewed signs of repentance, and desired pardon, he gave the Legate power to receive him into the Church, but if he persisted in his Opinions resolutely, he should treat him as an Heretick; and to hinder the Princes from being any impediment to the execution of this Judgment, he denounces the ordinary punishments of Excommunication, Interdiction and Privation of Goods against those that should receive Luther and give him Protection, and promiset a plenary Indulgence to those that should obey his Orders.

The University of Wittemberg interceded for Luther, and wrote in his behalf to Pope Leo X. excusing him from going to Rome, because his Health would not permit him to take such a Journey, assuring his Holiness, that he had said nothing contrary to the Doctrine of the Church, and that all that they could charge him with was, that in his Disputations he had laid down some Propositions too freely, tho' without any design of laying them down as his own Decisions. The Elector of Saxony was not more willing than Luther himself was, that Luther should appear personally at Rome, for this reason, that the German Divines might not be carried out of their own Country, but be judged upon the place.

Upon these Addresses the Pope consented, that the matter should be tryed before Cardinal Cajetan, the Legate for the Holy See in Germany, to whom he had given power to decide it. Altho' Luther did not approve of his Judge, because he was of the Order of the Dominicans; yet because he would not

seem obstinate, he resolved to appear before him, and to meet him at Ausburg. He carried with him Letters from the Elector of Saxony his Patron, and came to Ausburg in October 1518. He was well received by the Legate who told him, that he intended not to enter into any dispute with him, but only propound three things to him on the Pope's behalf. The first is, to consider with himself, and revoke his Errors. The 2d. to promise to avoid them for the future. And 3dly. to be careful to give no disturbance to the Church. Luther desired him to let him know what his Errors were, and Cajetan alledged to him the Extravagant of Clement VI. wherein it is said that the Merits of Jesus Christ are the Treasure of Indulgences. He also objected to him, that he had affirmed, that it was necessary for all such (c) as receive the Sacrament, if they would obtain any benefit by it, to have a firm Faith, or persuasion, that their Sins are forgiven. Luther answered, that he had read that Extravagant; as also that of Sixtus IV. but they were not of sufficient authority to oblige him to retract an Opinion, which he believed conformable to Holy Scripture. Cajetan cast himself upon the Authority of the Pope, and said he was above a Council. Luther denied it, and alledged the Authority of the University of Paris. This was the principal subject of the Conference, in which only some few things more were spoken confusedly about Repentance, and Justification. In short, neither the Legate nor Luther thought it convenient to ingage farther in the Dispute that day, especially since this last desired Time to deliberate and retire.

The next day (d) Luther returned accompanied with four Counsellors of the Empire and a Notary, and brought a Protestation, in which he declared, that he honoured and would follow the Holy Roman Church in all that it should say, or do, and that if he had said or done any thing contrary, he desired it might be esteemed as never done or said. That as to the three Propositions made to him by the Legate in the Pope's behalf, he declared as to the first, that having disputed only to find out the Truth, he had committed no fault, and would not be obliged to retract, especially having neither been heard nor convicted; that he was satisfied that he had advanced nothing contrary to Holy Scripture, the Doctrine of the Fathers, Decretals of the Popes, and right Reason, and that all that he had said appeared to be sound, true and catholick. Nevertheless being a Man, and subject to Error, he did and would submit himself to the lawful determination of the Church, and all those that were of better judgment; that he offered farther to give the Reason in that place, or elsewhere, of what he had asserted, to answer the Objections, and hear the Opinions of the Doctors of the famous Universities of Basil, Fribourg, and Louvain, and particularly that of Paris, which he accounted the Mother of Learning, and which for a long time had been most Christian, and very flourishing in Divinity. The Legate repeated what he had said the day before about the Authority of the Pope, and exhorted Luther again to retract. Luther answered nothing, but required that he would accept a Wri-

The Emp. and Pope joyn. Luther summoned, &c.

The Emp. and Pope joyn. Luther summoned, &c.

Luther cited to Rome.

Leo X's Breve to Cardinal Cajetan.

The University of Wittemberg intercedes for Luther.

Luther's first Conference with the Legate.

Luther's 2d. Conference with the Legate.

[(a) Hieronymus de Genutiis or Ghinucci; he was also Bishop of Worcester afterwards.]

[(b) Silvester Priorias, who had written so bitterly against Luther before.]

[(c) Luther's Words are Oportere enim qui ad Sacramentum accedit, credere se consecuturum Gratiâ Sacramenti.]

[(d) October the thirteenth.]

ting he presented to him, which contained all that he had to answer. The Legate answered that he would not dispute with him, and that he did not refuse to satisfy him in receiving the Writing he presented him.

This Writing contain'd in general, that out of respect to the Holy See, he would not oppose the *Extravagant* of *Clement VI.* altho' the Pope had grounded his Decision upon an unsound Foundation, that he took several passages of Scripture in a contrary sense, and had asserted things manifestly false: But he thought it his duty not to depart from the Doctrine of the Scriptures or Fathers, upon the account of an ambiguous and obscure Decretal, and so much the more, because 'tis evident that it contains some Errors, and that the Ancients have often been corrected by such as followed. That his design was to be quiet, but being obliged to speak, he endeavoured to reconcile the *Extravagant* with his *The- ses*. And to that end he supposed, 1. That Indulgences are a privative Good, because the intent of them is to grant that Men may not undergo the punishment due to their Sins. 2. That it is certain that the Pope has not the Treasure of Indulgences in his Pocket or in a Box, but by Vertue of the Word and Keys. 3. That it follows from thence, that the Treasure of Indulgences is not the Merits of Jesus Christ, formally and properly, but consequentially and improperly, because he bestows not the Merits of Jesus Christ, but releases the Satisfaction by Vertue of the Keys, which have been given him by the Merit of Jesus Christ. 4. That this is the Meaning of the Pope in this *Extravagant*, since he says that this Treasure was granted by Jesus Christ to St. Peter and his Successors, who only received the power of the Keys from Jesus Christ. 5. That Indulgences are nothing else but the Exercise of the Keys, by which Men are dispensed with as to the satisfaction for their Sins. 6. That the Merits of the Saints joyned with those of Jesus Christ, may at the same time be the Treasure of Indulgences. 7. That the Merits of Jesus Christ are not properly the Treasure of Indulgences, but the Treasure of Grace. Lastly, to reconcile the *Extravagant*, we must distinguish and say, that the Merits of Jesus Christ are properly and formally the Treasure of a spiritual Life, which the Holy Ghost distributes, and are improperly the Treasure of Indulgences, because 'tis by the Merits of Jesus Christ that the Keys are given to the Church. Lastly, that he said this purely in respect to the Holy See, and the Legate; for to speak sincerely, the *Extravagant* is formally for him, because the Text imports that Jesus Christ has acquired this Treasure for his Church, from whence it follows that the Merits of Jesus Christ are not the Treasure, but that the Treasure is acquired by his Merits. The 2d. part of the Writing is about the other Objection of the Legate concerning this Proposition of *Luther's*, That a Man is justified by Faith only. *Luther* maintains it, and endeavours to prove it from divers passages of Scripture, and by the Authority of St. *Augustine*, and St. *Bernard*. At last he begged of the Legate to use him kindly, and intercede for him to Pope *Leo X.* assuring him, that he only sought for the Light of the Truth, and that he was ready to yield, change his Opinion, and retract, when he should know that he must understand these things otherwise.

The Legate having received this Writing of *Luther's* the next day after their Conference, regarded it not, but pressed him to retract, threatening him with the Censures of the Church, if he did it not, and declaring that he should appear before him no more, if he did not bring his Recantation. He sent for *Staupitius*, and did all he could to persuade him to oblige *Luther* to recant. *Luther* fearing that the Legate who had Orders to seize him, if he did not

submit, should do it indeed, desired, and obtained by his Friends, a *safe Conduct* from the Emperor. (e) Having received it, he sent a Letter in his own behalf to the Legate, in which he observes, that *Staupitius* had exhorted him to submit, and assured him of his Favour: That he did acknowledge, that he had spoken indiscreetly, and warmly against the Pope, and tho' he was now stirred up to do the same, yet he conceived at present, that he was obliged to handle the matter with more Modesty, Humility and Respect: That he desired pardon, and would not utter the like for the future, promising never more to meddle in the matter, provided that his Enemies might be commanded to be silent: That he would voluntarily revoke his Opinions according to the Legate's advice, and that of the Vicar-General of his Order, if he might in Conscience safely do it, but could not now do it, because he was not satisfied in the Reasons of St. *Thomas*, and the other Schoolmen. Lastly, he prayed him to write to the Pope about that affair, that it might be determined by the Church, to whose Judgment he was ready to submit, and to revoke, what it should condemn, and believe, what it should decide. This Letter of *Luther's* is dated October 17. 1518. The next day he withdrew, having first set up at *Ausbourg*, an *Act of Appeal* made before a Notary, the 16th. of the same Month, in which he declared, that not being able to go to *Rome*, or appear according as he was ordered, by reason of his Poverty, and his Infirmities, and because he could not be there in safety, and also because the Judges appointed were his Accusers, the Pope had committed that Affair to Cardinal *Cajetan*, who tho' he might be justly suspected by him, because he was a *Dominican*, and of the Opinion of the *Thomists*, yet he did not refuse to meet him: That being urged to retract, he declared that he would submit his Writings to the Judgment of the Church of *Rome*, and the Universities: That notwithstanding this Declaration, the Cardinal insisted upon his Recantation, and threatened to excommunicate him if he did it not: That finding himself thus born down, and wrong'd, after he had submitted to the Judgment of the Pope, in whom he acknowledged the Voice of Jesus Christ, who presided in his person, and protesting, as he had protested formerly, that he would hold no Opinion, but what was to be proved by the Holy Scripture, the Fathers, and the Holy Canons; he was forced to appeal from the Pope misinformed, his pretended Commission and Citation of his Person, from any Process made, or to be made against him, and from all that may be consequent upon them, to the Pope better inform'd; and to that end he demanded Letters of Mission, and protested that he would pursue his Appeal in fit time and place. He wrote at the same time a second Letter to the Legate, telling him, that he did not think himself bound to continue any longer at *Ausbourg*; that he would retire after he had made his Appeal, altho' against his Will. Lastly, that he would always submit himself to the Judgment of the Church, and desired him, that he would not take it ill, that he had made this Act of Appeal, adding, that as he had not deserved his Censures, so he did not value them.

Luther did not undertake this business but upon assurance of the protection of the Elector of *Saxony*, and upon being persuaded, as he says in his Letter, that that Appeal would be more pleasing to him, than a Recantation. Wherefore the first thing, that Cardinal *Cajetan* did after *Luther's* departure, was to write to the Elector of *Saxony*, of what had passed between him and *Luther* at *Ausbourg*, complaining that *Luther* left him without taking leave, and without his knowledge, and whereas he had given him hopes, that he would retract and submit, he had retired without giving him any satisfaction. He

[(e) He had his *Safe Conduct* before ever he appeared before the Legate: And for that reason he stay'd four days in

Ausbourg, after his Arrival, before the Legate saw him.]

also acquainted the Elector with 3 things: 1. That *Luther* had advanced and maintain'd several Propositions, which were contrary to the Doctrine of the Holy See, and damnable, and prays the Elector to believe that he speaks the Truth. 2. He prays him to discharge his Honour and Conscience in sending *Luther* to *Rome*, or banishing him out of his Jurisdiction. 3. That this matter could not last long, and assures him that it would be prosecuted at *Rome*; and lastly, that he had rid his hands of it, and had written to the Pope about it.

This Letter bearing date *October 25. 1518.* being delivered to the Elector, *November 19.* he imparted it to *Luther*, who presented to him a Defence of himself against the Legate's Letter. In it he offers that Prince to leave his Country, that he may have no disturbance from the Court of *Rome*, but at the same time the University of *Wittemberg*, presented an Address to the Elector to pray him to afford *Luther* the favour he desir'd, that he should not be obliged to revoke his Sentiments, till it was made appear, that he ought to be condemn'd.

The Elector resolving not to forsake *Luther*, an-

swer'd the Legate, that he hop'd he would have dealt with *Luther* in another method, and not have obliged him to recant before his Cause was heard and judg'd; that there were several able Men in his Country, and in other Universities, who did not think *Luther's* Doctrine either impious or heretical; that if he had believed it such, he had no need to admonish him not to tolerate it; that *Luther* not being convicted of Heresie, he could not banish him out of his States, nor send him to *Rome*; that since he offered to submit himself to the Judgment of several Universities, he thought they ought to hear him, or at least shew him the Errors which he taught in his Writings. Lastly, that he would not nevertheless be thought to disobey the Holy See. This Answer is dated *December 8. 1518.*

Luther seeing himself thus supported, continued to teach the same Doctrines at *Wittemberg*, and sent a Challenge to all the Inquisitors to come and dispute with him, offering them not only a Safe Condukt from his Prince, but assuring them of good Entertainment, and that their Charges should be borne so long as they remained at *Wittemberg*.

C H A P. III.

The Pope's Breve about Indulgences. Luther's Appeal. The Treaty of Militius the Pope's Nuncio, with the Elector of Saxony about Luther.

While these things passed in Germany, Pope *Leo X.* thinking to put an end to these Disputes about Indulgences by his own Decision, published a Breve, *November 9.* directed to Cardinal *Cajetan*, in which he declared, that the Pope, the Successor of *St. Peter*, and Vicar of *Jesus Christ* upon Earth, hath power to pardon by virtue of the Keys, the Guilt and Punishment of Sin, that is to say, the Guilt by the Sacrament of Penance, and the temporal Punishments due for actual Sins, according to Divine Justice by Indulgences, which may be granted for just causes to the Faithful, who are Members of *Jesus Christ*, by Charity, that unites them, whether in this Life, or in Purgatory; that these Indulgences are taken from the Overplus of the Merits of *Jesus Christ* and his Saints, and are a Treasure at the Pope's disposal, as well by way of Absolution, as Suffrage; that the Dead and the Living, who truly obtain these Indulgences, are immediately freed from the punishment due to actual Sins according to Divine Justice, which allows these Indulgences to be granted and obtained. It ordains, that all the World shall hold and preach this Doctrine, under the pain of Excommunication reserved to the Pope, and enjoins Cardinal *Cajetan* to send this Breve to all the Archbishops, and Bishops of Germany, and cause it to be put in execution.

Luther fearing with reason, that they would proceed against him at *Rome*, and seeing, that after that Judgment of the Pope, he could not escape Condemnation, made a new Appeal to a Council, and made an Act of it, *Nov. 28.* In it he declares, that an Holy Council lawfully call'd, and representing the Universal Church, being certainly above the Pope in all matters, that concern the Faith, he appeals to that supreme Tribunal, having first protested, that he had no intention to speak any thing against the Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church, nor against the Authority of the Holy See, or the Power of the Pope, but that the Pope being fallible, as other Men are, as the example of *St. Peter* plainly shews, those

that think themselves wrong'd by his Authority, have no way left but to appeal to a Council, to rescue themselves from his oppression. He relates what had pass'd at *Wittemberg*, and *Ausbourg*, upon his account, and adds, that perceiving they would proceed against him at the Court of *Rome*, and that his pretended Judges, without regard to his submission, or protestations, design'd his condemnation, he was forced to appeal from Pope *Leo X.* misinformed, from the Commission of his pretended Judges, their Citation, Process, Excommunication, and all other Censures, which they had, or could inflict, and from all the Consequences, which had follow'd, or might follow, and that he demanded the Letters of his Appeal, with a Protestation to prosecute it, and do himself Justice, as he should think convenient.

The Pope foreseeing, that he could not gain his designs upon *Luther*, as long as the Elector of Saxony gave him his protection, sent him, to gain his good Will, a Golden Rose, such as he used to bestow every year, and send to several Princes as a mark of his particular Favour to them. He intrusted it with one of his Chamberlains, named *Militius*, and wrote to *Degenhard Pfeffinger*, a Counsellor of State to that Elector, to pray him to use his interest with his Master, that he would stop the progress of *Luther's* Errors, imitating the Piety and Religion of his Ancestors. He also made the same request to *George Spalatinus* Secretary of State to that Prince. These Letters of the Pope's are dated in the beginning of *January, 1519.* (a)

Before *Militius* came into Germany, the Emperor *Maximilian* died *January 12:* His Death changed the face of Affairs, and made the Elector more able to determine *Luther's* Fate.

Militius came some time after into Saxony, delivered his Letters, and discharged his Commission, but was received coldly by the Elector, who valued not the consecrated Rose, and would not receive it in Person, nor with any Ceremony, but privately, and by his Proctor. As to the Business of *Luther*,

Court of *Rome*, it would have been a welcome Present. But it was so long delay'd, that *Luther's* Content with the See of *Rome*, having opened his Eyes, it came too late.]

The Pope's Breve about Indulgences. Luther's Appeal, &c.

Miltitius had order to require of the Elector to oblige him to retract, or deny him his protection, but *Miltitius* seeing, that *Luther's* credit was too well established to gain his Design with a high Hand, thought it best to try what he could do by fair means, and to that end came to a Conference with him. He highly commended the person of *Luther*, and earnestly intreated him, that he would appease that tempest himself, which could not but be destructive to the Church. He blamed the Behaviour of *Tetzelius*, and gave him such a sharp Reprimand that he died of Melancholy a little after. *Luther* being not used to be treated thus friendly by the Popish party, commended *Miltitius* highly, and owned, that if they had dealt with him so at first, all the troubles, that had happen'd by these Disputes had been avoided: And cast the blame upon the Elector of *Mentz*, who had increased the troubles by his Severity. The Propositions, which *Miltitius* made to *Luther*, were Acknowledgments, 1. That the people had been seduced by false Opinions about Indulgences. 2. That he had been the Author of that Seducement. 3. That *Tetzelius* had given the Occasion. 4. That the Archbishop of *Mentz* had set on *Tetzelius* to get Money. 5. That *Tetzelius* had exceeded the Bounds of his Commission. *Luther* answered, that there was also some fault in the Pope, who gave the Archbishop of *Mentz* a Dispensation to hold several Bishopricks, and so had nourished his Ambition and Avarice, and imposed a necessity upon him to abuse the Publication of Indulgences to get Money, that he might pay his Expences and Pall, and besides, that the Pope suffered himself to be governed by the *Florentines*, who were known to be very covetous. *Luther* gave this reflecting Answer in writing to *Miltitius*, but whether he feared that the Elector might desert him, or whether *Miltitius's* mildness gained upon him, he wrote a most submissive Letter to the Pope, in which he declares, that it was a very great Grief to him, to see himself accused of want of respect to the Church

Luther's Letter to the Pope.

of Rome, in a thing, which he had undertaken with a design to maintain her Honour, which was the reason, which kept him from retracting his Assertions, because his Writings were spread thro' all *Germany*, and he could not retract them without a Dishonour to the Church of *Rome*; that the persons who had injured the Holy See, were those preachers whom he had opposed, who by their insipid Sermons, which they made in his Holiness's Name, fought only to gratify their Avarice, and profaned the Holy Office, they were employ'd in. Lastly, he protests before God, that he never intended to diminish the Authority of the Church of *Rome* and the Pope; he acknowledges, that the power of that Church was above all things, and there was nothing to be preferred to it, either in Heaven or Earth, except our Lord Jesus Christ. Lastly, that all that he could do in respect to the particular contest about Indulgences was to leave it, and speak no more about that matter, provided his Adversaries also would forbear their provocations: That he would moreover publish some Writings to exhort others to honour the Church of *Rome*, and not to impute to it, the rashness of private Men, no more than the Sharpness of Stile in which he wrote, declaring, that he would not carry things to extremities, though he had no other design than to hinder the Church of *Rome* from being blemished with the reputation of Avarice, that the people might not be seduced, and that Indulgences might not be preferred before Good Works. This Letter is dated *March 13. 1519.*

Miltitius supposing that they would not be contented at *Rome* with this Letter of *Luther's*, written in such general terms, proposed to refer the matter to some others Judgment. It was agreed between them, that the Elector of *Triers* should be Judge, and *Coblentz* was appointed to be the place of Conference, but it came to nothing, because *Luther* made many excuses for not going thither, and the Pope would not refer the matter to the Elector of *Triers*.

CHAP. IV.

Melanchthon and Carolostadius join themselves to Luther. Erasmus's Disposition towards Luther. The Writings of the Franciscans against him.

Melanchthon and Carolostadius join with Luther.

Philip Melanchthon

Andrew Carolostadius.

DURING all these Treaties, the Doctrine of *Luther* spread, and settled it self more and more, and got new Adherents every Day. One of the most considerable of them, for his Ingenuity and Learning, was *Philip Melanchthon*, born at *Bretten* in the *Palatinate* of the *Rhine*, *Feb. 16. 1497.* His Father was a Master of Defence (a) named *George Schwartzerd*, which signifies *Black Earth*, and in Greek *Melanchthon*. After he had passed his first Studies at *Pfhortzheim*, where he lodged with one of his Relations a Sister of *Reuchlin's*, he went to *Tubing*, and thence to *Heidelberg*, where he was made Batchelor at the Age of 14 years. Returning to *Tubing*, he read public Lectures there, and studied Divinity, Law, and Mathematics. He was employed in this City, in overseeing *Anselm's* Press, where he corrected the History of *Naclerus*. *Reuchlin* advised *Frederick Duke of Saxony*, to fetch him to *Wittemberg* to be professor of the Greek Tongue. He went in *August, 1518*, and contracted a Friendship with *Luther* there, who taught Divinity in that University. *Andrew Carolostadius*, Archdeacon of *Wittemberg*, a great Linguist, had also an Acquaintance with *Luther*, and was of the

Melanchthon and Carolostadius join with Luther.

Erasmus's Disposition towards Luther.

same Judgment. They desired to draw *Erasmus* over to their party, and to that end *Melanchthon* wrote to him in these Terms, in *January, 1519.* ' *Martin Luther*, who has a very great Esteem for you, wishes that you would thoroughly approve of him.' *Luther* also himself wrote to him in very flattering Terms; ' *Erasmus*, who doest us all Honour, and in whom we have Hope, acknowledge me as a Brother in Jesus Christ, who honour, and esteem and love you perfectly, tho' we do not as yet know one another, and whose Ignorance is so great, that it deserves to be buried, and hid in a corner unknown to Heaven and Earth.' The Elector of *Saxony* was desirous also to know *Erasmus's* Opinion of *Luther*. This Learned Man having most of the Monks for his Enemies, and some of those who were the warmest against *Luther*, the Elector thought that he would easily come over to their party, and the Reputation of *Erasmus* was so great, that if he had declared for him, he had carry'd almost all *Germany* with him, but he was too wise, to embrace an Opinion which he had not well examined, and too close joined to the Church and the Truth, to follow the Doctrine and Passions of *Luther*; he con-

[(a) *Tireur d'Arms*: One that teaches Soldiers to handle their Arms; but *Seckendorff* says, he was *Armorum Faber*, an Armourer.

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Erasmus's
Letter to
the Duke
of Saxony.

Erasmus's
Letter to
Luther.

tented himself therefore to write to the Elector of Saxony, to tell him; that he did not approve of the practices, which were used to make *Luther* odious; that he knew not the Man, and so could neither approve nor condemn his Writings, because he had not read them, but he believed, that Men ought not to rail against him with so much Violence; and so much the rather, because he had submitted to the Judgment of those, to whom it belongs to determine, and no Man had endeavoured to convince him of the Truth; that they seemed rather to seek his Death than his Salvation; that all Error is not Heresy; that there are Errors in all the Writings, both of the Ancients and Moderns; that Divines are of different Opinions; Lastly, that 'tis more prudent to use moderate than violent means; that the Elector ought to protect Innocency, and that this is the Intent of Pope *Leo X.* *Erasmus* wrote also to *Luther*, and tells him, that his Books made a great noise at *Louvain*; that by excusing him, he made himself suspected; that he had read (b) only his Comments on the *Psalms*, and hoped, they would be of great use, but he thought himself obliged to tell him, that he would gain more, by speaking civilly and with Modesty, than with so much Heat and Passion; that he ought rather to inveigh against those that abuse the Pope's Authority, than against the Popes themselves; that he ought to speak of Established Customs, rather by way of Doubt or proposing of Difficulties, than affirming and deciding peremptorily; and, Lastly, that he ought not to give Reins to his Passion. *Luther* regarded not this Advice of *Erasmus*, who for his part remained firm in the Faith, and in the Communion of the Church, and condemned the Errors of *Luther*, as well as Heats, when he was informed of his Doctrine (c).

Altho' *Luther* offer'd to be silent upon condition, that his Adversaries would do so also, yet since this

proposal was not accepted by the Holy See, but they continued to write against him, the Disputes encreased rather than grew less. The *Franciscans* published two Books against him, in which they accuse him of not believing that General Councils represent the whole Church; of denying the Pope to be the Vicar of Jesus Christ, and that *St. Peter* was the Prince of the Apostles; of maintaining, that the Canons were made only to gratify the Avarice of the Popes and other Bishops; of teaching, that there were no Evangelical Councils, and that all that is in the Gospel is *Precept*; of not believing that Confession is *Jure Divino*; of denying Free-will, and the necessity of Good Works; of pretending, that God has commanded Men things impossible; and that we ought rather to believe a simple Peasant, where he alledgeth Scripture, than the Pope and his Council, that do not build upon its Authority; of saying, that Jesus Christ hath merited nothing for himself, but only for us. Lastly, for holding the *Bohemians* to be better Christians than the Catholics. *Luther* answered these Books, and maintained, 1. That God doth command Men things impossible without Grace. 2. He denied, that he confounded Precepts and Councils. 3. He own'd that he has said, that the Canons and Decretals did in some places favour of the Pride and Avarice of their Authors. 4. He persisted in his Opinion, that Man was not free, because he can do only Evil without Grace. 5. That really a Lay-man, that supports the Opinions he holds with the Authority of Holy Scripture is more to be believed, than the Pope and his Councils, yea, than the Church, as the Canonists teach, after *St. Augustine*. 6. That neither *St. Peter*, nor the Pope are above the Apostles, and Bishops by Divine Right, since according to *St. Jerom*, Priests and Bishops, were the same thing in their Primitive Institution.

Melanch-
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The Wri-
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Luther's
Answer

[(b) *Erasmus* does not say he had read *Luther's* Commentaries on the *Psalms*: But only dipt into them; *Degustavi Commentarios tuos in Psalmos.*]

[(c) It is plain by the Letter it self, and by *Erasmus's* publishing it and *Luther's*, in the first Edition of his Epistles at *Basil*, 1512. two Years after these Letters were written, that he then truly wish'd well to *Luther*, and to his Cause. He calls

Luther, Dearest Brother in Christ; thanks him heartily for his Letter, which, says *Erasmus*, was Ingenuous, and truly Christian. He tells him, the World said, that himself had a helping Hand, in compiling *Luther's* Books; and tells it him with a pleasant Air. At last he concludes his Letter with a Prayer to Jesus Christ to communicate a large portion of his Spirit upon *Luther* for his Glory and the public Good.]

CHAP. V.

The Dispute at Leipſick, between Eckius, Luther, and Caroloſtadius.

The dis-
pute at
Leipſick.

THERE arose at the same time another famous dispute between *Luther* and his party on the one side, and Dr. *Eckius* on the other, who at first had written some Notes upon the first *Theses* of *Luther*. *Luther* first answered them, and afterwards *Caroloſtadius* wrote against *Eckius*, who had made an Apology, to which *Caroloſtadius* answered. The dispute thus depending, a Conference was propounded at *Leipſick*, and accepted by both sides, by the consent of Prince *George of Saxony*, Uncle to the Duke *Frederick* (in whose Dominions *Leipſick* was) against the Opinion of the Bishop of *Mersburg*, (in whose Diocese *Leipſick* lay) and of the Divines of that City, who dreaded that Conference. But *Eckius* desirous to make himself famous by that Dispute, and to take away from *Luther*, and his party, the pretence that their Reasons could not be heard, put it forward, and caused it to be concluded, that that Conference should be held in *July*. *Luther* therefore came to *Leipſick* at the end of *June*, with *Caroloſtadius* and *Melanchthon*. *Eckius* came also from *Ingolſtadt*. Both parties were well received by the Senate, the University and the Prince. A great Hall in the Castle was chosen for the place of

V O L. III.

the Conference, where the Prince, Senate, and University, were to be present. The Prince appointed Judges to regulate the Form of disputing, and ordered Notaries to write down the Acts of the Conference. These disputations began *June 27*. *Caroloſtadius* entered the Lists first with *Eckius* about Free-will. *Eckius* proved Free-will by a passage in *Ecclesiasticus*, to which *Caroloſtadius* answered, that that place spoke of Man in the State of Innocency, and not in the State into which Man is brought by Original Sin: *Eckius* replied that that passage referred to Man before and after the Fall, and that his Free-will was not entirely lost by Sin, but only weakened. He then produced the Parable in the Gospel, where 'tis said, that the faithful Servant gained by the Talent, which he had received; which shews, that Man's diligence adds something to Grace. *Caroloſtadius* answered, that he did not deny, but that Free-will did contribute to good Actions, but he denied, that it had a distinct Operation from Grace. *Eckius* shewed that he had asserted in his *Theses*, and Books, that Free-will was purely Passive as to good Actions. The dispute held some time upon this Proposition, *Whether the Will receives on-*

The dis-
pute at
Leipſick;
etc

1. About
Free-will.

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ly the Good, and whether Grace is the sole and Effective Cause. *Eckius* owned, that the Will has not naturally a power to do good Actions, and maintained, that Grace gave it a power. *Carlostadius* having asked him whether he acknowledged, that all Good came from God, he answered, that all good comes from God but not (a) *Totally*. He acknowledged, that God moves the Will, but added, that it was in the power of Man to consent to the Divine Motion. *Carlostadius* opposed to this some passages in *St. Augustine*, and the Authority of *St. Paul*, who says, that God worketh in us both to will and to do. This dispute continued a whole Week.

Luther's
Sermon.

In this time *Luther* made a Sermon upon the Feast of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, in the Chapel of the Castle, in which he could not forbear speaking against the Authority of the Pope: *Eckius* confuted it in a Sermon preached July 2. After this Prologue, *Luther* on the fourth of the same Month, took *Carlostadius's* place in the dispute with *Eckius*, and that it might be known, what they disputed about, what were the Propositions in contest, and what the Opinions of the two disputants, *Eckius* chose 13 Propositions out of *Luther's* Works, to which he opposed 13 others, which were to be the Subject of their dispute. *Luther's* Assertions are these. 1. That Man sins all his days, and must repent all his days. 2. That Man sins in doing Good, and that his Sin is not Venial in its own nature, but only thro' the Mercy of God. To deny that Sin remains in an Infant after 'tis baptized, is to condemn Jesus Christ, and *St. Paul*. 3. He that believes, that good Works and Repentance, begin with an abhorrence of Sin before a Man loves Justice, and that a Man doth not sin in that, ought to be reckoned a Pelagian. 4. God changes Eternal into Temporal Punishment by making us bear the Cross, which the Canons, or Priests have no power to lay upon us, or remove. 5. Every Priest hath power to absolve a Penitent both from the guilt, and punishment. A Bishop, who reserves to himself any case without a reasonable ground, sins. 6. It is possible, that Souls may satisfy in Purgatory for their Sins, but to say, that God requires any thing more of a dying person, than a penitent submission to his Will, is a rash Proposition and can't be proved. 7. He that says, that Free-will is the Master of good, or evil Actions, or that Man is not justified by Faith only, and that all Crimes do not destroy Faith, knows neither what Faith, Contrition, or Free-will is. 8. They that die without Submission, want Charity, and suffer the horror of Purgatory. 9. 'Tis not certain, that the Souls in Purgatory are sure of Salvation, and that they can't grow in Grace. 10. 'Tis certain, that the Merits of Jesus Christ, are the Treasures of the Church, and that we are helped by the Merits of the Saints, but they are but Flatterers, who say, there is a Treasure of Indulgences. 11. 'Tis foolish to say, that Indulgences are a good thing, and we ought to disapprove of them because of their abuse. 12. 'Tis meer Mockery, to say, that the Pope can release Sinners from all punishment of Sins in this World, and that which is to come. 13. All the proofs that can be produced to prove, that the Church of *Rome* is superior to all other Churches, are taken out of insipid Decretals of the Popes made within these 400 years, and that there are against his Supremacy approved Histories of 1100 years, the Holy Scripture, and the Determination of the Council of *Nice*.

13 Propositions out
of Luther's
Writings.

Eckius's Propositions, which he opposed to *Luther's*, are these: 1. That when our Saviour says, that the Life of the Faithful is a continual Repentance, it is not to be understood of a Sacramental Penance. 2. That tho' every day we commit Venial Sins, 'tis not true, that the Just sin in all their good Actions, which they do, and 'tis an Error to say, that the Just sin Mortally without losing their

Eckius's
Propositions
opposed
to *Luther's*.

Righteousness, or that Sin remains in a Baptized Infant. 3. That it is a Proposition contrary to the Gospel, and the Doctrine of the Holy Fathers to assert, that we do not well to begin our Repentance with a Detestation of Sin, in reflecting upon the grievousness of Sin, and greatness of the Punishment, and that this practice makes a Man a greater Sinner. 4. To say, that God Pardons the Punishment when he Pardons the guilt of Sin, and that he never changes Eternal into Temporal and Satisfactory punishment, which ought to be enjoined by the Canons or the Priests, is contrary to Scripture, and the usage of the Church. 5. That it is contrary to the said usage, to say, that every Bishop can entirely remit the guilt and punishment of all Sins. 6. 'Tis an Error to believe, that Souls do not satisfy in Purgatory for the punishment of those Sins, of whose guilt they have received Absolution, and 'tis also an Error to say, that God doth not require more of a person, that is dying, than the punishment of Death. 7. To say, that Free-will is only active as to Evil, and entirely passive as to Good, that Faith is lost by all Sins, and that only Faith justifieth without Contrition, are also Errors. 8. We can't approve of his Assertion, that the Soul of a Dead person hath a kind of horror and despair in Purgatory, which proceeds from the Fear of Death. 9. Nor may we assert, that the Souls which are in Purgatory, deserve the increase of Grace, that they are not assured of Salvation, or that they refuse our Prayers. 10. That the Merits of Jesus Christ are the Treasure of the Church, from which we take Indulgences, and we are helped by the Merits of the Saints. 11. 'Tis an Error to say, that Indulgences are not a good thing, but imperfect, and vicious. 12. 'Tis an Error also to say, that the Pope can't remit the punishment of Sin, nor deliver Souls from Purgatory. 13. We deny that the Church of *Rome*, was not Superior to other Churches before the Days of *St. Silvester*, and maintain, that he, that hath sat upon *St. Peter's* Seat, has always been acknowledged for the Successor, and Vicar-General of Jesus Christ.

The dispute at
Leipsick.

Before they entered upon the dispute, *Eckius* proposed to chuse Judges to decide the Controversie. *Luther* said, that all the World might be Judge. *Eckius* offered to refer it to the Judgment of any other University, but that of *Wittemberg*. At last they fixed upon the Universities of *Paris* and *Erford*, as indifferent Judges. The first Conferences were about the 13th Proposition of the Authority of the Pope. *Luther* declared, that it was uneasy to him to meddle with that odious and unnecessary Subject, and that he would not have done it, but that *Eckius* had put it among those Propositions, which they were to dispute of. *Eckius* answer'd, that *Luther* had first given Occasion to that Question, in treating upon that Proposition, and teaching several other things contrary to the Authority of the Holy See. He laid this down as a Foundation, that the Church was a Monarchy, which had a Head settled by Divine Right. *Luther* said, that Proposition did not concern him, and that he acknowledged the Monarchy of the Church Militant; but he added, that the Head was not a Man, but Jesus Christ himself; which he proved by several Texts of Scripture, and particularly by that of *St. Paul* to the *Ephesians*, Chap. IV. where 'tis said, that Jesus Christ is Head of the Church, and by that of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, chap. 3. where 'tis said, that *Apollos*, *Cephas* and *Paul*, are but Ministers of Jesus Christ, to whom alone, all the Faithful belong. *Eckius* having alledged some passages of *St. Cyprian*, and *St. Jerome*, to prove the Pope's Supremacy, *Luther* replied, that *St. Cyprian* speaks of the Head of every particular Church, and added, that if he would refer the Question to the Testimony of *St. Cyprian*, 'twould be soon determined, since that Father gives *Cornelius* no other title, than that of Brother, and

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it appears by his Writings, that the Elections, and Confirmations of Bishops belonged to the People, and the Neighbouring Bishops; that what is said of the Sacerdotal Unities coming from St. Peter's Chair, is true as to the Western Church; that the Authority of St. Jerome, doth not prove the Pope's Supremacy, to be *Jure Divino*, but only that he was the first, by the consent and custom of the Church. He alledged against the Supremacy, the Canon of the Council of *Africk*, which forbids to call the Bishop of the first See, the *Prince of Bishops*, or *Supreme Bishop*. *Eckius* replied in the same Conference, that no Man denied but that Jesus Christ was the Head of the Church, but that besides this Head, we must have another visible One upon Earth, that as St. Jerome says, we may take away all Occasion of Schism. He then alledged a passage of St. Bernard, to prove the Subordinaion of Bishops, confuted the Answers, that *Luther* had given to the passages of St. Cyprian, and St. Jerome, and answered those he had alledged.

The 2d. and 3d. Conference upon these Words.

They continued to dispute upon the same passages in the second Conference, which was held in the same day in the Afternoon. In the third, July 5. in the Morning they began to dispute upon the Sense of the Words, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church*. *Luther* said, that we are to understand by this Term, *The Rock*, either Power or Faith; if we understand it of Power, our Saviour hath added to no purpose, *And I will give thee the Keys*, &c. and that elsewhere our Lord having said in general, *That upon this Rock I will build my Church*, not only the Church of *Rome*, but all Churches ought to have the same Power: And if it be understood of Faith, as it ought, then it is also common to all Churches. *Eckius* maintained, that these Words settled a Supremacy upon St. Peter, and that they ought to be understood of his person, according to the explication of the Holy Fathers; that the contrary Opinion was one of the Errors of *Wickliff*, and *John Hus*, which were condemned. *Luther* made no difficulty to reply, that although all the Fathers had understood that passage of St. Peter so, yet he would oppose them with the Authority of St. Paul, and St. Peter himself, who say, that Jesus Christ is the only Foundation, and Corner Stone of his Church. And whereas *Eckius* reflected on him, as following the Opinion of the *Bohemians*, and that he maintained a Proposition, condemned with *John Hus*, that the Dignity of the Pope was established by the Emperor; *Luther* answered in the following Conference after Dinner, that he did not approve of the Schism of the *Bohemians*, but that among the Articles condemned with *John Hus*, there were some very sound, and that he could oppose to the Condemnation of the *Bohemians*, which was not above an 100 years before, the Tradition and Usage of the Greek Church for 1400 years. *Eckius* made a great Advantage of this answer of *Luther*, who left the Judgment of the Fathers, and approved the Errors condemned in the General Council of *Constance*. In the following Conference held July 6. in the Morning, *Luther* having consulted the Fathers upon this passage *thou art Peter*, maintained, that he had many more passages of the Fathers for his Explication, than *Eckius* had for his. He endeavoured to evade the condemnation of the Council of *Constance* by saying, that the Propositions of *John Hus*, were not all condemned as Heretical, but respectively as Heretical, Erroneous, Rash, Seditious, Offensive to pious Ears, and that we can't without much Rashness charge the Proposition, which concerns the Supremacy of the Pope with Heresie. *Eckius* replied, that St. Augustine, and the other Fathers, had given different Explications upon the place of Scripture in Question, but they were not contrary to one another; that tho' the Articles of *John Hus*, condemned by the Council of *Constance*, should not have been all Heretical, yet no Catholick could say, as *Luther* had done, that some of them

The 4th. Conference upon the same Words.

were very Christian, and very Evangelical. *Luther* not having time to answer at large, was contented to say, that what *Eckius* had alledged, was nothing to the Subject in hand, because having undertaken to prove, that the Supremacy of the Pope was *Jure Divino*, he had produced no other Authority for it, but the Words of the Gospel of St. Matthew, *Thou art Peter*, &c. which the Fathers interpret in such a manner, as doth not favour the Supremacy at all. Tho' this dispute about the Pope's Supremacy was to have been ended that day, *Luther* obtained a copy of the Objections, which *Eckius* had made, promising to answer them in the next Conference, which was held July 7. and was spent in Repetitions, and Debates about several things, which fell in by the by, as also the two following Conferences the next day.

The dispute at
Leipsick.

At last the Parties being wearied with this Dispute, entred upon a new matter. *Eckius* undertook to prove against *Luther*, that we can't merit, but in this Life, and that from this passage in *Jeremy*, chap. 25. *I will render unto them according to their Works, and according to the Deeds of their Hands*; and by the Authority of St. Paul, who declares, that we must all appear before the Judgment-Seat of Christ, that we may receive a Reward, according to what the Soul hath done in this mortal Body, whether it be Good, or whether it be Evil. He alledged St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, and St. Augustine, who say, that there is no place to work in after death. *Luther* answer'd, that these Texts were not contrary to his Opinion, but rather to Purgatory, because the Holy Scripture never mentions Purgatory, but only Hell and Heaven, and therefore we can't say, that these passages ought to be so applied. *Eckius* resumed this Answer of *Luther's*, and said, that it favoured the *Greeks* and *Picards*, in saying, that Purgatory was not mention'd in Scripture, and farther, the Apostle St. Paul, and the Fathers saying plainly, that we can't merit, but by the things done in this Life, exclude the Right of Merit from Purgatory, as well as all other places. *Luther* reply'd, that he firmly believed, that there was a Purgatory, and was persuaded that it was mention'd in Scripture, and proved it by this Text in the Gospel of St. Matthew, *That the Sin against the Holy Ghost, shall not be forgiven, neither in this World, nor the World to come*. He added also, that he admitted the Authority of the second Book of *Maccabees*, but he said, that these Proofs were not convincing, adding, that the first might easily be evaded, and the Book of *Maccabees*, upon which the second depended, was not in the Canon. *Eckius* maintain'd that the Books of the *Maccabees* were canonical, and that 'tis not necessary when we say that any thing is in Scripture, that we should also convince obstinate persons of it. *Luther* agreed and acknowledged, that the Book of *Maccabees* was received at present in the Church as canonical, but he said, that since it was not so accounted in St. Jerome's time, those against whom it is used might reject its Authority: That in fine, he had only mention'd this Proposition, that Souls cannot merit in Purgatory, by way of disputation, and as an Opinion, which he was ready to relinquish, if he were shewn the contrary. *Eckius* alledged several other passages of the Scripture and Fathers to prove Purgatory. He shew'd, that *Luther* had asserted, that the Souls in Purgatory were in a State of meriting. Lastly, he proved, contrary to the Opinion of *Luther*, that those Souls were assured of their Salvation. *Luther* granted, that there was a Purgatory, but pretended, that the passages alledged did not prove it; and that those that exclude Merit from another Life, ought to be understood only of Paradise and Hell. As to the assurance of Salvation, which *Eckius* proved from a Text in the Revelation, where 'tis said, that there was found no Man in Heaven, upon the Earth, or under the Earth, who was worthy to open the sealed Book, pretending, that by this Term, *under the Earth*, Purgatory was to be

The 5th. 6th. and 7th. Conferences.

The dispute at
Leipsick.

understood; *Luther* answered, that that Interpretation was not certain, and tho' it were, we may easily conceive, that the Souls in Purgatory might praise God, without an assurance of Salvation. *Eckius* having also alledged the Canon of the Mass, where 'tis said, that these Souls sleep in peace, *Luther* replied, that it could not be understood of a perfect Repose, since at the same time they begged of God a place of Rest and Refreshment. *Eckius* shewed in his answer, that St. *Augustine* had expressly excluded Merit from the Estate of Souls in Purgatory. He proved the Books of *Maccabees* to be canonical, by the Testimonies of St. *Augustine* and the Council of *Flornce*, and endeavoured to shew that the passages alledged to prove Purgatory were convincing. The disputation upon these Articles was repeated on both sides, in the conferences held July 10. in the Afternoon, and the next day Morning.

About Indulgences.

In the Evening they began about the Business of Indulgences. *Eckius* maintain'd, that they were useful, and proved it by the Authority of the General Councils of *Vienna*, *Lateran* and *Constance*, which had approved them. He said, that St. *Gregory* had published them 900 years ago, and all the Christian World had acknowledged them by receiving the *Jubilees*; and lastly, that they were approved by the Consent of the Universal Church. *Luther* reply'd, that it was true, that the Church could not err in matters of Faith, and things that concern'd the Salvation of Souls, but that Indulgences were not of that nature; that he had never deny'd, but that Indulgences might be useful, but only said, that they were not so to those fervent Christians, that did not desire to be discharged from the practice of Satisfactory Works; that he did not understand how *Innocent III.* had granted Indulgences for the Remission of Sins, since that ought not to be confounded with Indulgences; that he had never contemned them himself, nor taught others to contemn them, but only had preferred Works of Charity before them; that there was no certain proof, that St. *Gregory* had granted Indulgences, and if he had, it doth not follow, but that Indulgences were another thing than a Dispensation from doing good Works; that 'tis in that sense, that he calls them an Imperfection of Good, because they are the Remission of Satisfaction. As to the general Consent of the Church, he denyeth, that ever it proved Indulgences, and if it had done it, that it erred in a Point that did not concern the Faith. As to the Definition of *Leo X.* which *Eckius* had alledg'd, he regarded it not. *Eckius* acknowledged in his Answer, that Indulgences, were neither commanded nor necessary, but denyed, that they released from good Works, and maintained, that they are a Relaxation of the temporal punishment due for the Sin, for which one is contrite, and for which he has not yet satisfied. *Luther* replied, that these Penalties due to Sins, were satisfactory Works, that is to say, good Works, such as Alms, Prayers, and Fasting, &c. and in remitting these Penalties, we dispense with good Works; that as they are look'd upon as Penalties, it is better to perform them, than to be dispensed with, since a painful Life is more profitable than a Life exempt from pain. *Eckius* answer'd to this Reply, that satisfactory labours were indeed remitted, but it was not intended that we should be dispensed with from good Works, because tho' Prayer, Fasting, &c. are Satisfaction, they are also good Works in themselves; that as to Satisfaction, they are not only made by good Works, but also by Sufferings, and several affirm, that a Penitent cannot be obliged to receive a Satisfaction, when he offers to suffer in Purgatory; that the Pope by these Indulgences re-

mits the Penances which ought to be enjoined according to the Rigor of Divine Justice, and in granting a Penitent Indulgences out of the Treasure of the Church, he is enabled to satisfy out of the Goods of another; that his Sin does not remain unpunished, because it is satisfied for by the superabundant Merits of Jesus Christ, Lastly, *Eckius* proved his Opinion by the Definition of the Pope, which he believed infallible.

The dispute at
Leipsick.

July 12. *Eckius* undertook to prove against *Luther*, that true Repentance may begin with fear of punishment, and quoted several places of Scripture, and the Fathers, to prove it true, owning nevertheless, that that which begins with the love of Justice is more perfect, but by reason of our Weakness, Preachers are forced to exhort Men at first by the Motive of Fear, and to use it as a means to lead them to the love of Justice. *Luther* endeavoured to explain these Passages, and to maintain his Opinion by the Authority of St. *Paul* and St. *Augustine*, who say, that we can do no good without Charity and Grace. *Eckius* refuted these Answers of *Luther*, and distinguished that Grace which is necessary at the beginning of our Salvation, from Charity. He also acknowledged, that Fear is useless if Charity does not follow. *Luther* still maintain'd, that all Works done without Charity, are Sins and damnable Actions. This was the subject of two Conferences, July 12. There was but one the next day, in which *Eckius* proved, that Absolution in remitting the Guilt of Sin, doth not remit the temporal punishment. *Luther* reply'd, that he did not deny that the Sins of Men, tho' remitted, were attended with such punishments as it should please God to appoint; but denied, that the punishment due to the Justice of God, was pardoned by virtue of the Keys. This matter was also the subject of the following Conference, held July 14. in the Morning, in which ended the Dispute between *Eckius* and *Luther*.

About Repentance.

Carlostadius entered the Lists the next day, and brought again upon the board the subject of Free-will and good Works. The first Question that was debated, was, to know whether a Man could remove the Impediments of Grace by his own strength. This was little more than a Dispute about Words, because *Eckius* acknowledged, that a Man cannot fit himself for Grace, without the help of preventing Grace. The other Question debated among them, namely, whether a just Man sins in all his good Actions, was of greater consequence. *Eckius* zealously confuted this strange Paradox of *Luther* and *Carlostadius*, and depended chiefly upon the 7th Chapter of the Epistle to the *Romans*. So ended the Conferences at *Leipsick*, in which *Eckius*, by the confession ev'n of *Melanchthon* himself, shewed a great deal of Learning and Wit, and had in the Judgment of all present the advantage of his Adversaries. *Luther* himself allowed, that *Eckius* out did him by his Voice and Gesture, and the Acts of the Conference put out by *Luther* shew plainly, that *Eckius* had the better, both for the Learning, Strength, and Justness of his Arguments (b).

Of Grace and Sin.

Luther and his Party, not having met with that Success and Applause in this Dispute, that they expected, sought after means to raise themselves, and cry down their Enemy. 1. By publishing the Acts of the Dispute contrary to the promise they had made to keep it secret, till the Judges, who were chosen, had given their opinion. 2. By writing Letters in which they related what had passed in a way advantageous to themselves, suppressed what made against them, and spoke very contemptibly of *Eckius*, and what he had said. 3. By defending by new Writings the Propositions which they had maintained

Writings about the Dispute at
Leipsick.

[(b) It is natural for all sides in every Dispute to boast of Victory. Besides *Luther* by owning some of the Doctrines of Popery, as he did at that time, gave his Adversaries greater Advantages against him than they had afterwards. But still after all, by our Author's own Account of this Dispute, which

is fairly enough represented, *Eckius* had very little cause to rejoice; and if we may judge by the Event, that mighty strength which *Luther's* Cause daily got, plainly shewed that the People were not so well satisfied that he had been baffled in this Dispute.]

in the Conferences. This is what *Luther* principally did in a Book, intitled, *Resolutions of the Propositions disputed at Leipfick*. In this Work he repeats all the Propositions debated in the Conferences at *Leipfick*, and explains them, mollifies some, and endeavours to prove others, either by the Arguments, he had already used, or by new Reasonings; He sets before this Tract a Letter, addressed to *Spalatinus* Secretary of State to the Elector of *Saxony*, in which he says, that *Eckius* had no cause to boast of the Dispute at *Leipfick*, nor brag of his Victory; that he scarce ever touched the Point in question, or if he touch'd it, it was but weakly or with common Arguments. He complains, that the University of *Leipfick* was not favourable to him, because they required of him not to publish the Acts of the Conference, and would not have had him produce any Books to verify Citations during the Dispute. He adds, that *Eckius* had left the Doctrines of the Schoolmen about Grace and Free-will, that he had acknowledged, that we ought not to trust to Indulgences, and that as to the Supremacy of the Church of *Rome*, both Parties had acknowledged it, and the only Question was to know, whether it were *Jure Divino*; whereupon Prince *George* said, 'twas not material whether it be *Jure Divino*, or not, provided, that it were taken for granted. *Melanchthon* also wrote to one of his Friends, an Account of what-passed in these Conferences, but with more Modesty, Moderation, and Sincerity, than *Luther*; yet that Letter did not please *Eckius*, who wrote one to one of his Friends, as an Answer to that of *Melanchthon*, who replied to it. *Eckius* for his part wrote a Letter to *Hogstratus*, in which he tells him, that *Luther* denied in the Conference at *Leipfick*, that *Peter* was the Head of the Apostles, and that the Pope's Supremacy was *Jure Divino*; that he approved several Articles of the *Bohemians* condemn'd in the Council

of *Constance*; that he affirmed, that Purgatory could not be proved by Holy Scripture, and several other scandalous Propositions; that nevertheless, the *Lutherans* had great Advantages above him, 1. Because they brought several Books, to which they had recourse. 2. Because they had their Disputation in Writing, and conferred together about an Answer. 3. Because they were many against one single Man. He adds, that he sent him a Copy of the Dispute, pray'd him to assist him with his Advice, and to write to the University of *Paris* to judge quickly of this Affair, when Prince *George* shall have sent them the Acts of their Dispute. Upon the report that was spread abroad, that *Luther* had approved and maintain'd the Doctrine of the *Bohemians*, *Jerome Emser* (b) wrote to *John Zack* Administrator of the Church of *Prague*, concerning what had pass'd in that Dispute, and assured him, that *Luther* had not approved either of the Schism, or Doctrine of the *Bohemians*; but on the contrary, had boldly condemn'd their Schism, and that tho' he had defended some of their Propositions, yet that did not justify them, because Hereticks may mingle Truths with Errors. He owned in this Letter, that the Dispute at *Leipfick* had rather exasperated than edified. He commended *Luther* and *Eckius*, and spoke of that whole Dispute with much Moderation, nevertheless *Luther* strangely inveighed against that Letter, and wrote a Book intitled, *The Capricorn of Emser*, (reflecting upon the Arms of that Divine, which were a *Capricorn*) in which he treats him ill, and loads him with severe Reproaches, which was the occasion of a Dispute between them, in which there were several small Tracts written on both sides. The Dispute at *Leipfick* had no farther effect, and the Universities of *Paris*, and *Erford* never gave their Judgments about the Contests, so hotly debated in these Conferences.

[(c) Secretary to George Duke of Saxony.]

CHAP. VI.

The Censures of the Divines of Louvain and Cologne against Luther. The Writing of Luther against these Censures. The Censure of the Bishop of Meissen about the Communion under both Kinds.

BUT what the Divines of *Paris* and *Erford*, who were chosen Judges would not do, those of *Louvain* and *Cologne* attempted. The first having consulted with the Cardinal de *Tortosa* (who was afterwards *Adrian VI.*) passed their Censure, November 7. 1519. upon *Luther's* Books about Indulgences, and by it condemned 22 Propositions taken out of his Books, as false, scandalous, heretical, or approaching to Heresie, and declared in general, that all *Luther's* Books ought to be suppressed and burnt, as being hurtful to the Faithful, and contrary to true and sound Doctrine, and that the Author ought to be obliged to retract and abjure the Errors contain'd in them. The chief Propositions condemned in this Censure are. That all good Works are at least venial Sins; That nothing but the superabundant Merits of the Saints can be communicated to us; That Indulgences are nothing but a relaxing of the punishment imposed by a Priest, or ordered by the Canons; That the Faith, by which we believe, that the Word of Jesus Christ is true, is that which remits Sin, rather than a sacramental Absolution, or Contrition; That it is not necessary to confess all mortal Sins; That God doth not require any punishment of Sin, when the Guilt is remitted; That Man is obliged by the Commandments of God to do things impossible, and having in us the *Fomes Peccati*, we sin always; That Moral Virtues are Sins in Sinners; That Souls sin in Purgatory, &c.

V O L. III.

The Censure of the Divines of *Cologne* is dated August 30 of the same year. It was made at the request of the Divines of *Louvain*, who had sent them a Book of *Martin Luther's*. It condemns it, as containing in it several Errors both in Faith and Manners, and a Doctrine contrary to that of the Holy Fathers, chiefly because it dishonours Works of Merit, as if we could not do them without Sin; because it perverts the true Sense of the Scripture, and of the Fathers by dangerous Explications; because it destroys the Sacrament of Penance, by introducing scandalous Errors about Contrition; because it gives about Confession, Counsels contrary to the ancient Doctrine of the Church; because it destroys Satisfaction, by maintaining that the Punishment is always remitted with the Fault; because it ruins the Treasure of Indulgences; because it delivers several Errors about Purgatory; because it opposeth the Primacy of the Church of *Rome*, speaks irreverently of the Holy See, and diminisheth the Authority of the Pope; upon these grounds the Divines concluded, that that Book of *Luther's* being scandalous, and full of Errors, and condemned Heresies, ought to be suppressed and condemned to be burnt by those, who have power to order it, and that the Author be obliged to make a publick Recantation.

Luther wrote immediately against these Censures, declaring that he valued them not; that several great Men, as *Occam*, *Picus Mirandula*, *Laurentius Valla*, *Wesselus* &c.

T t

Censures against Luther: He confutes them. **W**esselus (a), Faber Stapulensis were condemned after the same manner unjustly: And he made no difficulty to joyn John Hus, and Jerome of Prague with them. He accuses those two Universities of rashness in being the first, and only persons, that declared against him, that they wanted Charity towards him, and Justice in not giving him notice of it before; and accused them also of want of Respect to the Holy See in condemning a Book presented to the Pope, whose Judgment he waited for. Then he confuted their Censures in very sharp Terms, and without any respect to their persons.

The Bishop of Meissen censure against Luther's Book of the Communion. About the end of the same Year, Luther having published a Discourse upon the Communion, in which he had said, that he hoped, that the Church in a General Council would order the Communion to be celebrated in both kinds, and that the Faithful should not receive the Sacraments by piece-meal, but all together, the Bishop of Meissen censured that

[(a) **T**his Wesselus, or Joannes de Wessalia, was a very learned Man in the fifteenth Century, who taught most of those Doctrines at Basil, and in other places, which the Protestants now hold in opposition to the Church

Book, as contrary to the Council in the Lateran, fit to raise doubts in the minds of those, that received the Sacrament in one kind, to cause offence, and stir up Schism in the Church. This Bishop's Censure, is dated January 24. 1520. Luther wrote a Book against him, in which he owns, that we must obey the Decree of the last Council, concerning the Communion in one kind, and that Jesus Christ is entire under either kind. He exhorts the Faithful to follow that Custom, and declares, that he does neither oppose it nor condemn it, but only wishes, that a General Council would settle the Communion under both kinds, as Pius II. had heretofore wished; That a Council would allow Priests to marry; That this Proposition could not be condemned, as schismatical or scandalous; That a Council could not be denied that power; nor change an hypothetical Proposition into an absolute.

of Rome. He was accused for this by the Dominicans, and fearing to be burnt, recanted. His *Theses* which they were angry at, are in the *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum*, pag. 325, Sec. Edit. London.

C H A P. VII.

The Letters, and Writings of Luther, until his Condemnation.

Luther's Works till his Condemnation. Luther's Letter to the Emp. Charles V. **L**UTHER seeing so many Adversaries upon him, wrote a Letter to the new Emperor Charles V. (who was not yet come into Germany) in which after he has begged pardon for his Boldness, in addressing his Majesty, and excused himself for his Freedom, because he treated of the Truths of Religion, and that a Prince like God, ought to condescend to small matters; he shews him, that he had publish'd several Works which had brought upon him the envy and displeasure of many considerable persons, and that, as he thought, he ought nevertheless to be protected for these two Reasons. 1. Because it was against his Will, that he was exposed to the Publick, and that he had written nothing, but what he was forced to by the Violence, or Artifices of his Enemies, for he wished nothing more, than that he might lie hid. 2. That he never had any other design, but to declare the Truth of the Gospel, in opposition to the superstitious Opinions of Men about humane Tradition, and that he had done nothing else, if he referred himself to the Testimony of his Conscience, and to the Judgment of the most famous persons; and yet, that for three years almost he had suffer'd all the Evil, which enraged Enemies could invent against him; That he had begged pardon in vain, offered to be silent, proposed Conditions of Peace, desired to be instructed, and all to no purpose, for it was resolv'd, that he should perish with the Gospel; That after he had tried all ways in vain, he applied himself to his Imperial Majesty, and begged his Protection upon the account of the Truth, 'till having given an account of his Sentiments, he should be either Victor or conquered; That he did not desire him to defend him, if he were convicted of Impiety or Heresy; only he intreated him not to suffer him to be condemned without a Hearing. This Letter of Luther's was dated Jan. 15. 1520. and was followed with a Protestation on the 17th. day of the same Month, in which he repeated the same offer, either to be silent, or to refer himself to the Judgment of such Universities, as were not suspected of Partiality, before which he was ready to appear.

Luther's Protestation. Luther's Letter to the Elector of Mentz. He wrote also some time after to the Elector of Mentz, to clear himself of some things of which he was accused to him. He desired to know, why he was not instructed, if he were in an Error, since he had promised so many times to appear, if they would shew him his Mistakes, and he desired nothing so

much as to withdraw, and to live private; That none condemned his Books, but such as either had not read them, or having read them, took them in a bad Sense, because they found such things there, as he never thought of, as about the Communion in both kinds, and the Supremacy of the Pope; and yet if his Adversaries would speak the Truth about them, they would be obliged to own, that their Opinions were not different from his. He prays that Elector therefore not to believe his Enemies, not to condemn him without hearing, and to think, that he is not an Opiniator; but only desired to be instructed, and was ready to change his Opinion, as soon as he was informed of his Error.

Luther's Works till his Condemnation. The Elector's Answer. The Elector answered him, that he commended his Disposition; That tho' the Affairs of Religion were most dear to him, yet he had never yet had any time to read his Writings, and therefore had no mind to censure them, but would leave that to his Superiors to whom it belong'd; That he wished with all his Heart, that he, and all those who treat of Matters of Religion, would do it with Moderation and Respect, without raising any Troubles, and Envy, and without Reflections; That he observed with Grief, that famous Professors disputed with sharpness, upon frivolous Opinions and Questions of small consequence, as about the Pope's Power, whether it be of Divine or Human Right, of Free-will, and several other Questions of the like nature, which he says, are Amusements, which concern not a true Christian; and defended their Opinions with intolerable Pride, injuring and abusing their Adversaries; That this is the way to stir up, and foment Disobedience, to disperse rash Opinions among the People, and to lead them into Practices, contrary to the Usages approved of a long time by the Authority of the Church, as in the Communion under both Kinds; That he understood also, that some lessened the Authority of General Councils, that they might defend their Opinions with obstinacy; That this way of acting was not agreeable to the Dignity of the Church, and might cause much Trouble in it; That these Questions might be debated, and examined more profitably, and conveniently by able Men, who were proper Judges of these Matters privately. Lastly, that he could not blame him for professing to teach those Truths, which he had learned from the Holy Scripture, provided he did it with submission, without sharpness, and railing,

sing, and fomenting any disobedience to the Authority of the Church. *Luther* excuses himself also afterwards to the Bishop of *Mersburg*, by a Letter something like that, which he wrote to the Elector of *Mentz*, dated upon the same day, viz. February 4. and received an Answer much like the former, that the Book which he had written upon the Communion in both Kinds, had much troubled some Men's Consciences; That he could not approve of the sharpness which appeared in his Works; That he could wish, that he, and all other Divines would not act with so much passion, but that they were affected with a Spirit of Divine Charity; That he could not understand the Reason, why he inveigh'd so much against the Pope, and that he abhor'd it; That he could not conveniently write to him upon other Points, of which he desired to be inform'd, but if he ever had an opportunity to meet him, he would discourse with him farther.

While *Luther* was labouring to excuse himself to the Emperor, and the Bishops of *Germany*, Judgment was given upon his Books at *Rome*: *Eckius*, and *Johannes Ulricus* went on purpose to *Rome* to solicit his Condemnation. The first of them presented to the Pope a Treatise, which he had made about the Supremacy of St. *Peter*. It was extremely well received by the Pope and Cardinals, and was of great use to draw up a Charge against *Luther*. He says himself, that it was very fortunate, that he came to *Rome* at that time, because the Divines there had little Knowledge of *Luther's* Errors, and therefore the Pope followed his Advice, and all the Cardinals, and Bishops subscribed to what he had drawn up.

And now *Luther* and his whole Party were had in abhorrence at *Rome*, the Elector of *Saxony* was ill esteemed in that Court, and all his Affairs there ruin'd by the Protection which he afforded *Luther*. *Valentinus Dettichen* his Agent at *Rome*, having signified to him the Reason, he sent him an Answer, that he had never supported his Authority, nor did endeavour to defend either the Doctrine or Writings of *Luther*; That he did not justify them at present, because he had no Right to determine, whether *Luther* had done or taught well or ill; That nevertheless he could not deny, but that *Luther's* Doctrine was approved, by several persons; tho' for his part, he would not pass any Judgment upon it, but left it to the Author to be defended, who had yielded to appear before any such Commissioner as the Pope should appoint, and made many offers in Writing to retract, if any person would inform him better from the Word of God, and convince him of his Errors by Texts of Scripture; That tho' he thought it unreasonable to lay any punishment upon him after such a Submission, yet he made him promise to leave his Country and his University freely, which *Luther* had done, had not *Charles Miltitius*, the Pope's Nuncio pray'd him to detain him; That after this he thought he should have his Holiness's Favour, and his Affairs should meet with no Impediments in the Court of *Rome*; That nothing troubled him more, than that pernicious Errors were spread abroad in his Life-time, and under his Protection in his Dominions, as he had written to the Cardinal of Saint *George*; That nevertheless he could not pass over in Silence, what he had heard from many, that *Luther* did not willingly enter upon the Controversy about the Pop's Power, but was forced to it by *Eckius*, and the Writings of some *Romans*; That *Germany* being at present full of Men skill'd in Languages, and in all sorts of Learning, he feared that these Disputes would grow more hot, if the Conditions offer'd by *Luther* were refused; That they should content themselves with passing some Censures upon him, because his Doctrine had made so great a Progress in *Germany*; That if it were not convicted of Falshood by good Arguments, and express Texts of Holy Scripture, but only suppressed by the Fear of Ecclesiastical Power, this management might raise great

disturbances in *Germany*, which would much incommode the Pope's Affairs. This Letter is dated April 1. 1520.

Tho' *Luther's* Condemnation was resolv'd upon at *Rome*, *Miltitius* did not cease to treat in *Germany*, and propound some means of accommodation, and to that end he applied himself to the Chapter of the *Augustine* Friars there, and pray'd them to interpose their Authority, to oblige *Luther* to write a Letter to the Pope full of submission and respect. The Chapter sent two of their Body to *Luther* for that purpose, who persuaded him to embrace the proposal, but the Letter which he wrote was not at all proper to allay the Spirits of the *Romans*. In it he says, that among the Monsters of the Age, with whom for 3 years past, he had had continual contests, he called often to mind the blessed Father *Leo*; and tho' he was obliged by the Persecutions of such as flatter'd his Holiness, to appeal from the Holy See, to a future Council, yet he had no aversion in his mind to his Holiness; and that he had always wished for, and prayed to God to bestow upon his Person and See all sorts of Blessings; That now he begins to triumph over his Enemies, and despise them, but yet he had not lost the Respect which he owed to his Holiness; That he had never spoken any thing dishonourable of his Person, and if he had spoken any otherwise, he disapproved of it, and would freely recant it; That he had called him *Daniel* in the midst of *Babylon*, to denote the Innocence and Purity which he had preserved in the midst of so many corrupt Men; That he had declaimed fiercely against the impious Maxims of his Adversaries, but he could not repent of it, because he was inspired with a Divine Zeal for the Truth; That he prayed his Holiness to accept his Plea, and believe, that he never thought ill of his Person; That he wish'd him all sorts of Blessings for ever; That his design was only to defend the Truth; That the Court of *Rome* was visibly more corrupt than either *Babylon* or *Sodom*; and, that his Holiness was as a Lamb in the midst of Wolves, a *Daniel* among Lions, and an *Ezekiel* among Scorpions; That there were not above three or four Cardinals that had any Learning or Piety; that it is against these Disorders of the Court of *Rome* that he was obliged to appear; that Cardinal *Cajetan* being ordered by his Holiness to treat with him, had taken no care to procure Peace, as he might have done by one single Word, because he had promised him to be silent, if he would but enjoin his Adversaries to be quiet; that his Nuncio *Miltitius* who came afterwards, had used all his Endeavours to retrieve what *Cajetan* had spoiled; that he had two Conferences with him, in which he had promised to be silent, and submit to the Decision of the Archbishop of *Triers*, or the Bishop of *Naumburg*; that the dispute at *Leipsick* had hindred the execution of this Project, and put things into a greater confusion; that *Miltitius* had applied himself a third time to the Chapter of his Order, to pray them to find out some Accommodation, and that some principal Men of his Chapter had advised him to write to his Holiness; that having always wished for, and offered Peace, he had freely accepted the condition, and throwing himself at his Feet, prayed him to impose silence upon his Enemies; that as for a Recantation, on his part he must not desire it, unless he will encrease the troubles, nor prescribe him Rules for the Interpretation of the Word of God, because it ought not to be limited; that if these two points were granted him, there was nothing that he would not do, or suffer; that he hated Contests, and would not meddle with any person, provided they would not meddle with him; that his Holiness might by bringing the Cause before himself, enjoin both parties to be silent, and command them to live in peace: Then he admonisheth the Pope not to suffer himself to be seduced by these Flatterers, who make him a kind of God, and persuade him, that he can command and require all things; that he is above a Council and the Univer-

Luther's Works till his Condemnation. Luther's Letter to the Pope.

Luther's Works till his Condemnation.

Preceding at Rome against Luther.

The Elector's Letter to his Agent to excuse him.

Luther's
Works till
his Con-
demnation.

sal Church; that he only hath Right to interpret the Scripture; in a Word, that he ought rather to believe those who debate than exalt him. He begs pardon for the Liberty with which he speaks, by the example of St. Bernard; and lastly, he sent and offered to the Pope a Treatise about *Christian Liberty*, to let him know what he might hope for from him, and what he might be capable of doing, if they let him alone. This Letter is dated April 6. 1520.

Luther's
Treatise
about
Christian
Liberty.

His *Treatise of Christian Liberty*, is full of pious Maxims; but in it he maintains his Error of Justification by Faith alone. Yet he says, he doth not reject Good Works, but on the contrary exhorts Men to the practice of them, but he condemns those that do them with an Opinion to be justified by them, and is persuaded, that they make no Man just; but suppose him justified by Faith; that an Infidel can do no Work that is truly Good, but only in appearance. In the end of it, he says, that he do's not condemn the Ceremonies of the Church, but only condemns the Superstitions.

Luther's
Treatise of
Consolation.

The Elector of Saxony falling sick, Luther made a moral Treatise for his Use, entitled, *A Consolation for those that are in Affliction*, in which he represents, as in different Pictures, the Good and Evil of it, the Use we ought to make of it, and the Motives of Joy or Sorrow which it affords us.

Luther's
Treatise of
Confession.

Luther also at the same time wrote a Treatise of *Confession*, in which he doth not altogether reject the Use of it, but taught, 1. That we must not put any confidence in Confession, but in the Word of Jesus Christ, who has promised pardon to those, that confess their Sins; so that Confession is only an Occasion of stirring up the Mercy of God to accomplish his Promise. 2. That God bestows pardon upon Sinners out of pure Favour, and mere Mercy. 3. That a Man ought to confess himself to God, before he confesseth his Sins to a Priest, who supplies his place upon Earth; that it is better not to confess at all, when we are not well disposed, than to confess, when we are not affected nor resolved to lead a Christian Life. 4. That when we do not find our selves under that Disposition, we must pray for it, and beg it of God. 5. That we must have a firm purpose to avoid all Mortal Sins, and as to Venial, no Man can propose it to himself to avoid them all, because it is impossible to live so cautiously, as not to fall into them, and we must not trouble our Confessor with them. 6. He doubts, whether we are obliged to confess the secret Sins of our Hearts, because we can't well know them. 7. That of all the inward Sins of the Heart, which we have, there is none that we are more obliged to confess, than those which we commit, by taking up a Resolution

to do something contrary to the commands of God. 8. He reproves the Boldness of Divines, who positively determine that such a Sin is Venial, and such a one Mortal; he says likewise, that it is impossible to be assured, that we do confess all our Mortal Sins, and so much the rather, because our Good Works, without the Mercy of God, are Mortal and Damnable. 9. That it is sufficient to make our Confession by running over the Commandments of God, and to acknowledge briefly what we have committed against every one of these Precepts. 10. That we must distinguish the Sins committed against the Commandments of God, from those which we have done against the Ordinances of Men, which ought to be observed, says he, because we are careful to keep what is commanded in the Pope's Decretals, while we neglect the Commandments of God. 11. He revives the Advice of *Gerson*, that we need not fear to go to the Altar without Confession, although we are under some scruples, or are conscious, that we are guilty of some Venial Sin. 12. He believes, that as to reserved cases, humane Laws being obliged to moderation, all those ought to be absolved, whose Sins are secret, not believing that Men would reserve those sorts of Sins, and as to publick Sins, whose case is reserved, he thinks the Priest ought to absolve the Penitents from the other cases, which are not reserved. Nevertheless he doubts, whether we can conceal any cases, and he would have the Priest not to be very scrupulous in giving Absolution from censures. He would have the Bishops and Preachers divert the people from the Inclination they have to make Vows and Pilgrimages, and wishes, that they would make no other Vows but their Baptismal. He affirms, that the Pope cannot dispense with Vows made to God. He believes, that Vows of Chastity made before Age of Puberty are null, and would have all persons prohibited from professing in any Order before eighteen or twenty years of Age, if Men, and fifteen or sixteen, if Women. He blames also the customs used in Confessing, which he calls Tyrannies, fit only to trouble the Consciences of Penitents. This is all that we have of *Luther's*, before his solemn condemnation by *Leo X.* June 15. 1520. Hitherto he shew'd some Decency towards his Adversaries, and paid them some Regard, not being as yet openly separated from the Church, and he did not quite abandon the Yoak of Discipline, or Obedience to it, but ever after he kept no measures, made an open Schism, and ran daily more and more into the Errors contrary to the Doctrine of the Church, as we shall hereafter shew.

Luther's
Works till
his Con-
demnation.

C H A P. VIII.

The Original of the Sect of Zuinglians. The Life of Zuinglius. His Preaching at Zurick. The Errors that he taught.

The Original
of the
Sect of the
Zuingli-
ans.

The Life of
Zuinglius.

WHILEST Lutheranism was settling in Germany, *Ulricus Zuinglius* laid the Foundation of a new Sect in Switzerland, taking an Occasion, as *Luther* did, from the publication of Indulgences. He was born at *Wildehausen* in the County of *Tockenbourg* in Switzerland, Jan. 1487. He was sent to *Basil* at 10 years old to be taught there, and from thence he went to *Bern*, where he learned the Greek and Hebrew Tongues of *Henricus Lupulus*. He studied Philosophy at *Vienna* in *Austria*, and Divinity at *Basil*, where he was made Doctor, in 1505. He began to preach with good success in 1506. and was chose Pastor of *Glarone* or *Glaris*, a chief Town in the Canton of the same Name, where he continued 'till 1516. The Re-

putation, which he had gotten by his Sermons, made him be called to the *Hermitage*, a place famous for Pilgrimages to the Virgin *Mary*. 'Tis said, he had at that time a famous Conference with the Cardinal *Matthew Bishop of Sion*, at *Valais* in Switzerland, about the Abuses, which, he said, had crept into the Church, and the way to reform them. He was soon after invited to *Zurick*, to undertake the principal charge of that City, and to preach the Word of God there; the method which he followed in his Sermons, was to explain a Text of Holy Scripture, and he began with the Gospel of St. *Matthew*. He shewed himself at first very favourable to *Luther*, for tho' he would not read his Books himself, as having been sufficiently instructed otherways in those matters,

The Original
of the
Sect of the
Zuingli-
ans.

His Pre-
aching.

The Original of the Sect of the Zuinglians. Indulgences published at Zurich by Samson a Franciscan. Zuinglius declaims against them.

matters, yet he recommended them to his Auditors. About that time, a *Franciscan*, named *Samson*, (a) of *Milan*, being sent from the Pope as General Visitor of his Order, came to publish Indulgences at *Zurick*, and preached according to the usual manner, that the Pope had granted an absolute Pardon of Sins to those who purchased those Indulgences by giving of Money, and that they might by that means deliver Souls infallibly out of Purgatory. *Zuinglius*, imitating *Luther's* carriage in this, not only declaimed powerfully against this Preacher, but against the Indulgences, or at least against the Use they made of them. *Hugh Bishop of Constance*, believing that he was displeased only with the abuse, exhorted him to go on, and promised him his Patronage, but *Zuinglius* going farther, solicited the Bishop of *Constance*, and the Pope's Legate in *Switzerland*, to sa-

voir the Doctrine which he was about to settle, which he called *Evangelical Truth*. The Bishop of *Constance*, and the Legate refusing to hearken to his Proposals, he told them, that he would teach in spite of them, and oppose the Errors of the Court of *Rome*. Upon this Foundation he continued preaching from the beginning of the year 1519. not only against Indulgences, but also against the Intercession and Invocation of Saints, the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Ecclesiastical Vows, the Celibacy of Priests, and the abstinence from Meats, yet without any alteration in the outward and publick Worship of God, till 1523. when he found the Minds of the Magistrates, and people disposed to cast off the true Doctrine and ancient Discipline, and to receive the Novelties which he taught, as we shall shew afterwards.

The Original of the Sect of the Zuinglians. The principal Doctrines of the Church opposed by Zuinglius.

[(a) I T is uncertain to me, whether this *Samson* did not use the Name *Mediolanensis* as a Surname, and then

he should not be called *Samson of Milan* in our Language.]

C H A P. IX.

The Bull of Leo X. against the Errors and Person of Luther. Nuncio's sent to Germany to see it Executed. Their Negotiations till the Dyet at Worms.

The Bull against Luther. Nuncio's sent to execute it, &c.

THE continual Importunities which *Luther's* Adversaries used to Pope *Leo X.* made him at length resolve to publish a solemn Condemnation against him. After his Writings had been examined by several Divines to have their Judgment upon them, according to the custom of the Court of *Rome*, the matter was referred to a Congregation of Cardinals, among whom it was agreed, that it was necessary, that the Novelties of *Luther* should be condemned; but there was some difficulty about the manner how it ought to be done; some of the Divines were of Opinion, that Judgment might be pass'd upon him without summoning him anew, but the Canonists on the contrary affirmed, that if they would act in Form, he ought to be summoned a second time. The way which was found out to reconcile these two methods, was by distinguishing of three things in *Luther's* cause; his Doctrine, his Writings, and his Person. His Doctrine was publick, and known by his Writings, and therefore 'twas easy to judge, whether it ought to be condemned or no in it self without hearing of him; and so it was resolved without farther Examination to condemn forty one Propositions taken out of his Works. As to his person, it was not thought convenient to condemn it positively, but he was ordered to appear in a reasonable time, which was used instead of a Citation. They were some time in a Dispute, what they should order concerning his Writings, but it was at length agreed to condemn them by the same Bull, and to fix a time in which they should be burnt. These things being agreed upon, the Bull was drawn up by the Cardinal of *Ancona*, and read in the Congregation. The Cardinal Datary, *Laurentius Puccius*, being persuaded, that it belonged to him to draw it up, offered another Project, which raised a contest between the two Cardinals, which was carry'd on with so much Heat, that the Pope was forced to make use of all his Authority to appease it. His Holiness having afterwards caused the Draught of the Bull made by the Cardinal of *Ancona*, to be examined in a private Council, and by learned Men, who mended it in some places, he caused it to be read in the Congregation, where being unanimously approved, it was at length put into Form, and published.

V o L. III.

In the beginning of this Bull, the Pope directs his Speech to *Jesus Christ*, to *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, and all the Saints, invoking their help in most Magnificent Expressions against the new Errors, and Heresies, and to preserve the Faith, Peace, and Unity of the Church. Then he declares, that he had heard with Grief, and seen with his Eyes, that there had been revived, and taught of late in *Germany*, either the Errors already condemned by the Councils and Constitutions of the Pope, containing the Heresy of the *Greeks* and *Bohemians*, or new Propositions, Heretical, False, Scandalous, apt to offend and seduce the Faithful; that this had caused him to be troubled so much the more, by reason of the Engagements which he had with the *German Nation*, and the Obligation which he and his Predecessors had to the Princes of *Germany*, who had always been the Defenders of the Church, and Destroyers of Heresy; that the Duty of his Pastoral Charge not permitting him any longer to endure or connive at so great a Mischief, he thought himself obliged to condemn the Errors following. 1. That it is an Heretical, though a common Opinion, that the Sacraments of the New Law confer Justifying Grace upon such as do not hinder them. 2. To deny that Sin remains in an Infant after Baptism, is to contemn *Jesus Christ* and *St. Paul*. 3. That Original Sin, when there is no actual, hinders the Soul from going directly to Heaven, when it leaves the Body. 4. That the Imperfect Charity of a dying Man carries along with it necessarily a great Fear, which is able alone to cause the pains of Purgatory, and to hinder our entrance into Heaven. 5. That it is not an Opinion founded upon Holy Scripture, nor the ancient Teachers of Christianity, that there are three parts of Repentance, Contrition, Confession, and Satisfaction. 6. The Contrition which is made by discussing, comparing, and detesting of Sin, by which a Man passes his years in the bitterness of his Soul, in considering the Greatness, Enormity and Multitude of his Sins, his Loss of Eternal Happiness, and the Estate of Damnation he is in; this Contrition, say some, makes a Man an Hypocrite, and a great Sinner. 7. The truest Maxim, that which is of more Value than all that has been hitherto taught about Contrition, is, that the soundest Repentance is to do no more as

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The Bull against Luther. Nuncio's sent to execute it, &c. we have done; in one Word, that a New Life is the best Repentance. 8. Don't trouble your selves to confess all your Venial Sins, nor even all your Mortal ones, because it is impossible to know them, and for that reason it was, that in the primitive Church they confessed only Mortal Sins that were publick. 9. To be desirous to confess all our Sins, is to leave nothing to be pardoned by the Grace of God. 10. Sins are pardoned only to those who believe that they are remitted, when the Priest absolves them, and their Sins remain; if they do not believe, that they are remitted; for Remission of Sin, and bestowing of Grace do not suffice, but we must also believe, that Sin is pardoned. 11. Believe not that you are absolved upon the account of your Contrition, but upon the account of the Word of Jesus Christ, *Whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven.* Have ye, say I, this confidence, and believe strongly, that you are absolved, and you shall be so. 12. If by an impossible supposition a Man who confesses be not Contrite, or a Priest absolves him in Derision, if he believes himself absolved, he is really so. 13. The Pope, or a Bishop does no more in the Sacrament of Penance, towards the pardon of Sin, than the meanest Priest; and when there is no Priest, any Christian, nay a Woman and a Child may do as much. 14. No Man need answer a Priest, whether he be Contrite, or no; yea, a Priest ought not to ask the Question. 15. 'Tis a great Error in approaching the Sacrament of the Eucharist to do it with confidence, upon this account, because we have no Mortal Sin burdening our Consciences, and we are prepared by Prayers. All those that are thus disposed eat and drink their own Damnation, but they that believe strongly, that they receive Grace by it, are made pure, and worthy to receive the Eucharist by that Faith only. 16. It is to be wished, that the Church would ordain in a Council, that the Laity might receive the Communion in both Kinds. The *Bohemians*, who receive in that manner, are not for that reason Hereticks, but Schismatics only. 17. The Treasures of the Church, from whence the Pope distributes Indulgences, are not the Merits of Jesus Christ, and the Saints. 18. Indulgences are Pious Frauds put upon the Faithful, Exemptions from good Works, and to be placed in the number of those things that are tolerated, but not convenient. 19. That Indulgences do not remit the Punishment due to actual Sins in reference to Divine Justice. 20. Those that believe, that Indulgences conduce to Salvation are mistaken. 21. Indulgences are only necessary for publick Crimes, and are fit only for persons Obstinate, and Impatient. 22. There are six sorts of Persons, for whom Indulgences are neither necessary, nor useful, the Dead, the Dying, the Sick, such as have committed no crimes, those whose crimes are unknown, and those who have done good Works. 23. Excommunications are only outward Punishments, and do not deprive a Man of the Spiritual and Common-prayers of the Church. 24. Christians ought to be taught rather to love, than fear Excommunication. 25. The Bishop of Rome, Successor of St. Peter, was not settled by Jesus Christ, in the Person of St. Peter, as his Vicar over all the Churches of the World. 26. These Words of Jesus Christ to St. Peter, *Whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven, &c.* extend only to what St. Peter bound. 27. It is certain, that it belongs neither to the Church, nor the Pope to make Articles of Faith, nor Laws concerning Manners and good Works. 28. If the Pope and a great part of the Church are of one Opinion, and his Opinion be true, it is no Sin, nor Heresy to be of a contrary Judgment, especially in things not necessary to Salvation, 'till a general Council hath condemned the one Opinion, and approved the other. 29. A way has been found out to explain the Authority of Councils, to contradict what they have done, to Judge their Decrees, and to say whatsoever one believes to

be true, whether it be approved, or rejected by a Council. 30. There are some Articles of *John Huss*, condemned in the Council of *Constance*, that are very Orthodox, and which the Universal Church has no Power to condemn. 31. The Just Man sinneth in all his good Works. 32. A good Work, tho' never so well done, is a Venial Sin. 33. To burn Hereticks is to act against the Spirit of God. 34. To make War against the *Turks* is to resist the Will of God, who visits us by their means. 35. No Man is certain, that he doth not sin Mortally upon the account of the secret Sin of Pride. 36. Free-will since the Fall is a meer Name, and let a Man do what he can he sins. 37. Purgatory cannot be proved by any Text of canonical Scripture. 38. The Souls in Purgatory, are not, at least all, assured of their Salvation, nor can it be proved either by Testimonies of Scripture, or good Reason, that they are not in a state of Meriting and growing in Charity. 39. These Souls sin continually in seeking rest, and being afraid of Punishment. 40. The Souls, that are delivered out of Purgatory by the prayers of the Living are less happy than those that have satisfied for themselves. 41. The Bishops, and secular Princes would not do ill in abolishing all the whole Gang of Begging Friars.

The Pope declared by the Advice of the Cardinals, and after mature Deliberation, that he condemned all these Propositions, as respectively Heretical, or Scandalous, or False, or Offensive to pious Ears, or Apt to seduce the Minds of the simple, or contrary to Catholick Truths, and forbids all Christians under the pain of Excommunication, and deprivation of all their Dignities, which they should incur, *ipso facto*, to hold, defend, or preach any of these Propositions, or to suffer others to teach them. As to *Luther's* Person, after he had accused him of disobedience and obstinacy, because instead of appearing according to his citation, he had rashly appealed to a Council, contrary to the Prohibitions given by the Constitutions of the Popes, *Pius II.* and *Julius II.* and declared, that though he might at that Instant condemn him, as a Notorious Heretic, nevertheless, that he might have time to consider with himself, he conjured him, and his Adherents to leave their pernicious Errors, assuring them, that they should find in him a true paternal Affection towards them, if they would return to their Duty, and give him real proofs of revoking their Errors by some publick Acts, and causing their Books, which contain them, to be burnt within 60 days; after which time, if they shall not satisfy him, he declares, that they shall incur the punishments due to Hereticks. This Bull is dated *June 15. 1520.*

The Errors which the Pope condemned by this Bull, were nothing in comparison of those, which *Luther* divulg'd at the same time in a Book which he made, call'd, *The Captivity of Babylon*, in which he begins with a protestation, that he became every day more knowing, and that he repented of what he had written two years since, about Indulgences, being yet addicted to the Superstitions of the *Roman* Tyranny; that he did not then reject Indulgences, but he had discovered since, that they are nothing but the Impostures of the Flatterers of the Court of *Rome*, fit only to destroy Faith and get Money; that he contented himself formerly with denying that the Papacy was *Jure Divino*, but he had lately discovered, that it was the Kingdom of *Babylon*; that he had only said, that it were a thing greatly to be wish'd, that a General Council would settle the Communion in both Kinds, but now he was persuaded by the Arguments of his Adversaries, that it was commanded by Scripture; that he denied confidently, that there were seven Sacraments, and that he owned but three, Baptism, Penance, and the Lord's Supper; that speaking properly according to Scripture, he might say there is but one Sacrament, in three Sacramental Signs. Then delivering his thoughts upon every one of these Sacraments particularly,

Luther's Book call'd The Captivity of Babylon.

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cularly, he says, 1. That in the 6th. Chapter of the Gospel of St. John, the sacramental Eating is not spoken of, but the spiritual Eating of Jesus Christ. 2. That the Church of Rome hath unjustly, and tyrannically taken away the Cup from the Laity. 3. That it is more probable, that the Bread and Wine remain in the Sacrament, and that the true Flesh and Blood of Jesus Christ, are united with the Bread and Wine in the same manner, as they might be supposed to be under Accidents. He adds, that he did not hinder any from holding Transubstantiation, but he left at liberty to believe, that the Bread and Wine remained in the Sacrament, and says, that there is no necessity of Faith, to believe Transubstantiation, since the glorious Body of Jesus Christ can easily be present with the Bread and Wine, as Fire is mixed with the Metal in hot Iron, so that as every part of the red-hot Iron, is both Iron and Fire, so every part of the Bread and Wine, is at the same time both Bread and Wine, and the Body and Blood of Christ. 4. That the Opinion commonly received in the Church, that the Mass is a good Action, and a Sacrifice, is a grand Abuse, and the Original of several other Abuses, which have brought into the Church, a shameful Merchandize of a most holy Sacrament. Hence proceed Participations in Prayers, Con-Fraternities, Vows, Merits, Annals (a) Commemorations bought and sold, for which they make Bargains, and upon which the subsistence of Priests, and Monks depends. He owns that he undertakes an hard, and almost impossible thing, to destroy an Usage authorized in the Church for several Ages, and by an universal consent, but that did not deter him, and to arrive at his end, he desires Men to have no regard to the Prayers, or Ceremonies used in the Celebration of the Mass, but to the Words only which Jesus Christ used at the Institution of this Sacrament, by which, as he affirms, it doth appear, that the Mass, or Sacrament of the Altar is the Testament of Jesus Christ, which he left when he died, to be given to all those, that should believe on him; that this Testament is a promise of Forgiveness of our Sins, confirmed by the death of the Son of God; that 'tis Faith only in this promise, that justifieth, and without that Faith the Mass is wholly useless; that the Prayers said at Mass may be good Works, and Gifts, which we communicate one to another, and offer one for another, but this agrees not to the Sacrament, that it is a Thing added to the Sacrament, as also are the Rites and Ceremonies; that the Name of Sacrifice and Oblation agrees to the Prayers, and not to the Sacrament; that the Elevation is a Relique of the practice of the Jews, who lifted up the Offerings, which they made unto the Lord, or it is an Admonition to stir up the Faithful, to believe in the Testament of Jesus Christ: That it were to be wished, that the Mass were said in a known Tongue; that the Mercies, which are begged for the Quick and the Dead, are not to be attributed to the Sacrament, but to the Prayers only. This was Luther's Doctrine, concerning the Sacrament of the Eucharist. In speaking of Baptism, he makes the effect to depend upon Faith alone in the promise of Jesus Christ, of which the outward Baptism is only a sign, which is supplied in Infants by the Faith of the Church; and he lays it down, as a Principle, that there is no difference between the Sacraments of the Old and New

Testament. In this Article he declares, that he approves of no Vows, but that of Baptism, and openly condemns all others. Then he passes to the Sacrament of Penance, and makes the Effect of it, i. e. Remission of Sins, to depend upon Faith in the Promise of Jesus Christ, and allows no effect to the other parts of Penance. He owns that Confession of Sin is necessary, and that Jesus Christ hath appointed it: He also acknowledgeth, that the private Confession, in the manner 'tis now practised, cannot be proved by Holy Scripture, yet 'tis useful and necessary, and he would not have it abolished, but rejoiced, that it was in use in the Church of Jesus Christ, because it is the only Remedy for afflicted Consciences, and in discovering a Man's Conscience to his Brother, he receives comfort from God. But he affirms, that this Confession is degenerated into Tyranny, because the Bishops reserve to themselves Cases of Conscience; he declaims against that practice, and maintains, that 'tis sufficient to confess Sin to a mere Layman to obtain Absolution. He speaks nothing new about Satisfaction, tho' he treats of the other Sacraments, which he doth not acknowledge for such. He wonders that Confirmation and Ordination, should be made Sacraments, which he says, are only Ecclesiastical Ceremonies. Neither will he allow Marriage to be a Sacrament, because there is no promise annexed to it, and the Marriage of Infidels is as true a Marriage as that of Christians, yet he allows it to be a Figure of Jesus Christ, and his Church. In treating upon the Impediments of Marriage he rejects all those, which are settled by human Laws, and above all that which proceeds from Ordination. He allows of Divorce upon the account of Adultery, and permits the persons separated to marry again. He doth not acknowledge Ordination for a Sacrament, and laughs at the Character which, they say, is then imprest. He affirms, that all Christians are Priests. He dischargeth Priests from the Law of Celibacy, and permits them to marry. He makes no account of Canonical Hours, and does not think it the duty of Priests to recite them, and reduceth their whole Office to the preaching of the Word of God. The Usage of Supreme Unction, which is built upon the Authority of the Epistle of the Apostle St. James, he rejects, because that Epistle was not in his opinion written by that Apostle; nor has it any thing in it worthy of the Spirit of an Apostle; yet he affirms, that if he did admit it, it doth not prove, that that Unction is a Sacrament, to which any promise of Grace is annexed, and maintains that the Unction spoken of in that place is different from the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. So that Luther instead of returning to the Doctrine of the Church, departed more and more every day from it by new Errors (b).

About the same time also, he put out another Treatise in the German Language, to make the Court of Rome odious to the Germans. He collected an History of the Wars raised by the Popes against the Emperors, to increase their power, and the Miseries Germany had suffered by it, and to ingage the Emperor, and the Princes to favour his party against the Pope he maintain'd, that they had the same power over the Clergy as they had over the Laity, and that there was no difference between them. He also advises the whole Nation to shake off the yoke of the Pope's power, and proposeth a Reformation, by which

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Luther's
Book a-
gainst the
Court of
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guage.

[(a) **A**nnuals are Masses one or more, said every day for a year together, for any person that is dead, reckoning from the day of his Death.]

[(b) We must bear with Monsieur Du Pin, when he calls every Opinion of Luther's different from what the Church of Rome maintains, an Error: But then it is no wonder that Luther should daily recede more and more from the Church of Rome. When he first preached against Indulgences, as they were impudently sold by Tetzelius, he designed no separation from the Church of Rome. That Controversie led him to examine into the Efficacy of good Works to merit with God, and into the Nature of justifying Faith. The Opposition which the Court of Rome made to him at first, because he put a stop to their immense and infamous Gains, drew him by degrees to

look into the Foundation of the Pope's Authority; and then Heat of Dispute drew him every day farther on than another. But till Pope Leo X. condemned his Books, he never cast off the Pope's Authority, but after that he kept no measures, and suspecting every thing which was taught at Rome, came at last to fix upon that Scheme, which (with little Variation) the Lutheran Churches now stand by.

As for his rejecting St. James's Epistle, his best Friends are ashamed of it: He knew not how to reconcile it to the Writings of St. Paul, and being fully persuaded of the necessity of Justification by Faith alone, which he look'd upon as the Basis of the whole Christian Religion, he was tempted so far as to question the Authority of the Epistle itself.]

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he subjects the Pope and Bishops to the power of the Emperor, and takes away from the Pope the Authority of interpreting Scripture, and calling a General Council. Lastly, he declaims against the manners and practice of the Court of *Rome*, saying, that the Pope is unworthy to wear a triple Crown, whilst Kings wear but one; that being the Vicar of a crucified Jesus Christ, he ought not to bear any Marks of Grandeur; that the Cardinals were a company of useless Men, who suck'd *Italy* and *Germany*; that the Pope had no need of the hundredth part of the Officers he had; that *Annates* and *Papal Months* (*b*), should be abolished; that he ought to demand nothing for the Confirmation of Bishops Elect, nor for the Pall of Archbishops; that his Datary was an infamous Office; that the Pope had no manner of Right to the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*; that he has gotten all he has by Violence and Robbery; that the Canon-Law ought to be entirely destroyed, &c. This seditious Book was made by *Luther*, with a design to stir up the Emperor, Princes, and Lords of *Germany*, against the Pope, and to make the Court of *Rome* odious to all the *German* Nation, that they might not regard the Condemnation, which the Pope intended to pass upon his Person and Writings.

Nuncio's
sent into
Germany
to execute
the Bull.

The Bull of *Luther's* Condemnation was carried into, and published in *Germany* by *Eckius*, who had solicited it at *Rome*, and who was intrusted by the Pope to put it in execution, so that he was the Adversary, and Accuser of *Luther*, and at the same time the Solicitor, and Executioner of the Judgment given against him, in which thing Cardinal *Palavicini* complains, that the Court of *Rome* did not act politickly, and said, that it had been more convenient to have made use of some other person, because it provoked *Luther*, and made him not regard the execution of the Pope's Bull, as a just punishment received by the hands of an Executioner (as the Cardinal words it) but as a smart blow given him by his mortal Enemy. Tho' *Eckius* was the principal Agent at the Court of *Rome*, yet it was thought fit to join with him some more considerable person. The Pope would not employ in it *Martinus Caracciolus*, whom he sent in quality of a Nuncio to the Emperor about other affairs, but he named for his Nuncio in this business *Jerome Aleander*, a person eminent for his Learning and Eloquence, as well as for his Address, and Ability in Negotiations.

The Coro-
nation of
Charles V.

In the mean time *Charles V.* who was come out of *Spain* into *Flanders*, after he had set things in order in the Low-Countries, went into *Germany*, and was crown'd *October 21.* at *Aix la Chapelle*. He stay'd not long in that City, because of the Plague which was there, but went to *Cologne*, and appointed a Diet at *Worms*, to meet *January 6. 1521.* The Elector of *Saxony* was left sick at *Cologne*, and could not be present at his Coronation.

The Pope's
Breve pre-
sented to
the Elector
of Saxony.

'Twas here that *Caracciolus* and *Aleander*, who accompanied the Emperor, presented to that Elector the Breve, which the Pope had sent him, by which his Holiness gives him notice of the Decree, which he had made against the Errors of *Luther*, and exhorted him to put it in execution, by causing *Luther* to renounce his Errors within the time limited by the Bull, and if he did not do it, to seize him, and put him into his hands. This Breve is dated *July 8.* It was not given to the Elector, till the Sunday before *All-Saints*, by *Caracciolus*, who only made him a general compliment, and so retired, saying, that *Aleander* had a more particular Charge about that Business. *Aleander* said, that the Pope had entrusted himself and *Eckius* with the Affair of *Luther*, which was of the last consequence to the whole Christian World, and if there were not a speedy stop put to it, would undo the Empire. That he did not doubt, but that the Elector would imitate the Emperor, and the other Princes of the Empire, who had received the Pope's Judgment respectfully: That he had two things to request of him in

the Pope's Name. 1. That he would cause all *Luther's* Books to be burnt. 2. That he would either put him to death, or imprison him, or send him to the Pope. The Elector answered, that it was a Matter of too great consequence to resolve upon immediately; that he would think of it, and give him his Resolution. On the *Wednesday* following, he gave the Nuncio his Answer, by his Counsellors, to this effect, that the Elector was surprized at the Pope's Demands after he had given so many Proofs, that he would not degenerate from the Piety of his Ancestors; that he understood by the Pope's Breve, that *Aleander* and *Eckius* were appointed Nuncio's by his Holiness in the Business of *Luther*; that this *Eckius* had in his absence, troubled some of his Subjects besides *Luther*, which was very disgusting to a Prince, that had done nothing to deserve such treatment; that he did not know what had passed in his absence at *Wittemberg* about *Luther*, and that a great number of persons had joined with him, and would adhere to his Appeal; that *Luther's* Cause did not concern him; that if *Luther* had written or taught any thing unworthy of a Christian, or a Divine, he was so far from approving him, that he was angry at it; that he had sent him to Cardinal *Cajetan*, and that this Legate ought to be content with the Answer he gave him; that for fear of being thought to protect a person contrary to the Interest of the Holy See, he had designed to send *Luther* out of his University, and had not retained him, but at the desire of the Nuncio *Militinus*; that the Archbishop of *Triers*, was pitched upon to determine this Affair, as Apostolical Commissary, and that *Luther* would have appeared before him, if he had been summoned; That *Luther* had always made such fair Promises, that he could not believe but he would do something; that he says, he would not have written, but that he was forced by the impious, and scurrilous Writings of his Enemies; that neither the Pope, nor Emperor had yet made it appear, that there were such things in *Luther's* Writings, as that they deserved to be burnt; that if he were convinced of that, he would do any thing that a Christian Prince ought to do upon the like occasion; that the Management of that Affair was very troublesome to himself, his Brother, and all his Subjects; that he desired, that instead of continuing on the same bottom, the Cause might be committed to impartial, learned, pious and unsuspected Judges, who might meet in a convenient place, where both Parties might go with safety, and have such Safe-Conduct as was necessary; that in the mean time *Luther's* Writings should not be burnt, 'till he was heard and convicted; that when he was confuted by solid Arguments taken out of Scripture, the Elector would be careful not to protect a person who was unworthy of it, and he believed, that in that case his Holiness would not require any thing of him, which he could not honourably do. In fine, that he was ready to do all which he ought as a Christian, as a Prince of the Empire, and an Elector, and as a most obedient Son to the Holy Church, his Mother. The Pope's Nuncio's, however, made fresh suit to have *Luther's* Books burnt, not insisting so much upon his person, because they said, that it was not the Pope's intention to dip his Hands in his Blood. But the Elector's Council having no other Answer to give them from their Prince, withdrew.

Luther's
fresh Ap-
peal.

The Pope also sent a Breve to the University of *Wittemberg* to exhort them, to put his Bull in execution against *Luther*, but that University being entirely devoted to *Luther*, regarded it not, and *Luther* renewed his Appeal to a future Council, in Terms much reflecting on the Pope, calling him Tyrant, Heretick, Apostate, Antichrist and Blasphemer. In it he declares, that he is ready to appear in a fit place and time, and prays the Emperor, Electors, Princes, and Lords of the Empire to stick to his

[(c) *Papal Months* were a sort of Taxes monthly paid in *Germany* to the Pope.]

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Appeal, and to put off the execution of the Bull, till he is lawfully summoned, heard, and convicted before impartial Judges. This Appeal is dated November 17. *Erasmus*, and several other German Divines were of opinion, that things ought not to be carried to this extremity, nor Men's Spirits stirred, foreseeing that the Fire, which consumed *Luther's* Books, would soon put all Germany into a Flame. They proposed to agree upon Arbitrators, or to refer the whole Cause to the first General Council, but the Pope's Nuncio's pressed the matter so vigorously to the Emperor, and the other German Princes, that *Luther's* Books were burnt in several Cities of Germany, particularly at *Cologne*, *Mentz*, and *Triers* (d), as they had been before in *Flanders*.

Writings against Leo X's Bull.

Then *Luther* and his Party seeing, that there was no hopes of an Accommodation, kept within no bounds, and came to the utmost extremities. A Gentleman of *Franconia*, named *Ulricus Huttenus*, a Man of Wit, and a good Poet, but satyrical and biting, who embraced *Luther's* Doctrine with zeal, made Glosses upon *Leo's* Bull, in which he turn'd it into Ridicule, and composed divers bitter Treatises against the Court of *Rome*. *Luther* also wrote 2 Books full of Invectives, the one against the Pope's Bull, which he call'd, *The execrable Bull of Antichrist*, and the other, in defence of the Articles condemned by the Bull; and, that he might by some Action of his own shew his opposition to the Proceedings, which had been carried on against his Books; he caused Pope *Leo X's* Bull, and the Pope's Decretals to be burnt, December 10. in a publick place at *Wittenberg*, and undertook to justify that Action by a Book, in which he makes an Extract of 30 Propositions taken out of the Body of the Ca-

non-Law, which he affirms to be heretical, and worthy to be burned.

Some time after *Ambrosius Catharinus* having composed five Books in the defence of the Pope's Supremacy, *Luther* answered them with many Invectives against the Pope and the Church of *Rome*, in which he pretends to prove, that the Pope's of *Rome* are the Antichrists foretold by the Prophets. This Book came out in the beginning of *January* 1521.

The Bull against Luther. Nuncio's sent to execute it, &c. Luther's Answer to Catharinus.

Aleander the Nuncio, on his part earnestly importuned the Emperor for an Edict against *Luther*, but he found many obstacles, because *Luther's* Party was very powerful, and the Emperor was not willing to anger the Elector of *Saxony* so openly, who had refused the Empire, that he might obtain it. *Aleander* to overcome these difficulties gained a new Bull from *Rome*, which declared, that *Luther* being contumacious, had incurred the Penalty denounced in the first. He also wrote to the Court of *Rome* for an Assistance of Money, and Friends to be used in the Dyet of *Worms*; and because *Luther*, and his Party made Men believe, that the whole contest was only about Jurisdiction of the Pope, and the Abuses of the Court of *Rome*, and that they were only persecuted, that Germany might be delivered up to the Tyranny of that Court, he undertook to shew, that that *Luther* had broached many Errors concerning the Sacraments and the other Mysteries of Religion, which had no relation to the Pope, or Court of *Rome*, and that he had revived the Errors of *Wicklif*, and *John Hus*, whose very Names were odious to the Germans, and were condemned by the Council of *Constance*; and to prove it he made an Extract of 40 Propositions taken out of his Book, of *The Captivity of Babylon*, where these Errors were contained.

[(d) *Seckendorff* thinks, that *Luther's* Books were not burnt at *Triers*, as *Du Pin* here says after *Maimbourg*, because the Elector of *Triers* acted the part of a Mediator, between *Luther*, and the Legate of *Worms*; especially seeing *Frederick* E-

lector of *Saxony*, mentions it not in a Letter of his to the Emperor, December 20. 1520. wherein he complains of the burning of *Luther's* Books at *Mentz* and *Cologne*.]

CHAP. X.

The Dyet of Worms. Luther is summoned, appears there; and being questioned, persists in his Opinions. In his Return, he is taken, and imprisoned in a Castle. The Emperor's Edict against him.

The Dyet of Worms, &c. Luther's Letter to the Elector of Saxony about his Journey to Worms.

THE Dyet of *Worms* was held in the beginning of the Year 1521. The Elector of *Saxony* obtained the Emperor's Word, that *Luther* should be summoned thither and heard, and *Luther* having notice of it, wrote to the Elector, that he heard the News with Joy; that he was obliged to him for it, and gave him most humble thanks; that he had sent him a copy of the Protestations, which he had made, and that he offered to do, or omit any thing, that should be made appear to him from good Reasons, founded upon the Scripture, that he ought to do, or omit; that he pray'd him to require for him of the Emperor, a sufficient Assurance, and Safe-Conduct in good Form against the Violence, which he had reason to fear, and beseech him to appoint intelligent, and impartial Judges, knowing in the Scriptures, and that could distinguish between human and divine Laws; and that in the mean while he would oblige his Adversaries to desist from their violent Prosecution of him; lastly, he declared, that he was ready, if he had a sufficient Safe-Conduct, to go to *Worms*, and appear before the Judges to justify himself, and shew, that he had not written for any human respect, but but to satisfy his Conscience and Duty, for the Honour and Glory of God, the Good of the Catholick Church, and particularly, of the Church of

Germany, to abolish a great number of Abuses and Superstitions, and deliver the Christian World from the Tyranny it lay under. This Letter is dated *January* 25. 1521.

The Dyet of Worms, &c. Aleander's Speech to the Dyet.

In the mean time *Aleander* employ'd all his Interest, and Eloquence at the Dyet of *Worms*, to persuade the Emperor, and the Princes of the Empire to execute the Pope's Bull with severity, and without delay. To that end he made a long Speech in the Assembly, in the absence of the Elector of *Saxony*, in which he endeavoured to prove these three things. 1. That this new Sect ought to be abolished. 2. That they could not have recourse to milder, and less rigorous ways. 3. That more was to be feared from a Toleration, or Connivance, than from the Execution of the Bull. The first he proved by shewing, that *Luther* did not only attack the Pope's power, but maintain'd several other dangerous Errors; this led him to defend the Court of *Rome*, and to extol the power of the Pope, and he concluded his first part with saying, that since it was evident, that *Luther* opposed the Fundamentals of Religion, the Respect due to the Sacraments, and the Observation of Vows; that his Doctrine was equally contrary to Christian Piety, and the Tranquillity of Kingdoms; and, that it spread it self every day more and more, so that there was no Re-

medy

medy to be used but to suppress it. In his passage to the second part, after he had shewn, how the Pope had acted towards *Luther*, by what steps he had proceeded by his Legates, to recal him to his Duty, *Luther's* passionate Behaviour illusory Promises, and Obstinacy, with his Rashness in burning the Pope's Decretals, he concluded, that since all the measures, which had been taken, had only increased *Luther's* fury, 'twas necessary to make use of the last Remedy, which is the Emperor's Edict against him. In the last place he shewed, that there was no fear, that this Edict would cause any trouble, because the Catholick party was infinitely the strongest, and the Edict being made by the consent of the Diet, it would without doubt be received, and executed in all the States of the Empire; that it was not likely, that those Powers, which had hitherto maintained *Luther*, would bring his Imperial Majesty's displeasure upon themselves, by continuing to protect him, but however that was, this blow would certainly weaken *Luther's* party, which would grow more strong and powerful, if it were not disturbed.

This Discourse of *Alexander's* made such an Impression upon the Emperor's Mind, and the other Princes, who were present at the Diet, that they resolved to condemn *Luther*, being terrified at the Impieties, of which he was made to be the Author. The only way, which the Elector of *Saxony*, and *Luther's* Friends could invent to ward off, or defer this Blow, was to say, that it was not evident, that these Propositions were *Luther's*; that his Adversaries might Attribute them to him falsely; that the Books out of which they were taken, perhaps were not his; that it was not just to condemn him without summoning and hearing him. *Alexander* maintained the contrary, that they ought not to debate a thing, which had been determined by the Pope; that it was dangerous to suffer *Luther* to appear, who was capable of raising a Sedition; that they ought not to hear his Reasons, and besides that, he would not acknowledge either Divines, or Canonists, or Bishops for Judges; nevertheless, it was resolved by the Diet, that *Luther* should be summoned, but yet, that he should only barely declare, whether the Books out of which those Heretical Propositions were taken, were his, or not. There was some dispute about the form of the safe-Conduct. *Luther's* Friends were not contented with the Safe-Conduct of the Emperor only, for fear, that when he was arrived, he should be delivered into the Pope's hands. The Emperor would have some of the other Princes at the Diet, to sign the Safe-Conduct as well as himself, but he added one Condition, that *Luther* should neither preach, nor publish his Writings by the way (a). He sent also an Officer, one *Sturmius*, from *Worms* to *Wittenberg*, to conduct him safely to the Diet. *Sturmius* gave the Safe-Conduct to *Luther*, and a private Letter dated *March 6.* which the Emperor wrote to him (b), to order him to appear at *Worms*, within 21 days, assuring him, that he needed not fear any Violence, nor evil Treatment. Hereupon he left *Wittenberg* to go to *Worms*, accompanied with several Divines, and an hundred Horse. In the way the People came together from all parts to see him. Although he was forbidden to preach, or write in his Journey, yet he made a Sermon at *Erford* upon the Sunday, called *Quasimodo*, and caused it to be printed. He declaimed according to his usual manner in his Sermon against good Works, and humane Laws. 'One, says he, builds a Temple, the other goes a Pilgrimage to St. *Jago de Compostella*, or to *Rome*, a third Fasts, Prays, goes bare-foot, all this is of no use, and ought to be destroyed, for whatsoever comes from the Pope is only to oblige us to give. 'This were a small matter, if they did nothing but Pillage Men,

but the worst is, they would persuade them, that these Bodily Works can justifie, and save them. *Sturmius*, who favoured *Luther*, did not hinder him from Preaching, and said nothing of it to the Emperor. *Luther* being come to *Oppenheim*, near *Worms*, heard there, that the Pope's Bull against his Books was published, and lately set up. Upon this News, his Friends advised him not to venture himself further, telling him, that he could hope for no favour from those, that began already to break their Word, and that he might justly fear *John Hus's* Fate. They might have added, had they known it, that upon *Holy Thursday*, the Pope thundering out the Bull, in *Cena Domini*, had proscribed him with other Hereticks; but *Luther* not being moved, told them in his ordinary way of Speech, 'That he was resolved to go to *Worms*, tho' he were assured, that he should have as many Devils upon his Back, as there were Tiles upon the Houses of that City, adding, that this fright proceeded from Satan, who sees his Kingdom will be destroyed by the Confession of the Truth in such an eminent place, as that is. He came therefore to *Worms*, accompanied only with eight Horse-men, *April 16.* and lodged in the House of the Knights of the *Teutonic Order*, near the place where the Elector of *Saxony* lodged. Going out of the Coach, he said these Words, *God shall be on my side*, in the presence of a great multitude of People, whom curiosity had brought together to see the Man who had made such a noise in the World.

The next day about Noon, he received an Order from the Emperor to come to the Diet in the Afternoon, that he might know the reason, why he was sent for. About four a clock, *Ulricus Pappenheim*, and *Gasper Sturmius* came to take him, and Conduct him to the Assembly, where, when he was come, he was ordered by *Pappenheim* not to speak, till he was asked. *John Eckius*, Official of the Archbishop of *Triers*, speaking in the Emperor's Name, told *Luther* in Latin, and the German Language, that his Imperial Majesty had sent for him, to demand two things of him, the first, whether he owned those Books for his, that bore his Name; the second, whether he intended to retract, or maintain, what was contained in them. *Jerome Schurffius* a Lawyer, who came along with *Luther*, said with a loud Voice, that he ought to recite the Titles of those Books. *John Eckius* read them, and when he had done, *Luther* answered to the first Question, that he owned those Books to be his; as to the second, that since it related to the Faith, which is the most precious thing in the World, he could not answer to it, till he had considered more upon it, and so he desired time to think well of it, that he might give a satisfactory answer, in such a manner, as neither should prejudice the Word of God, nor his own Conscience. After the Princes had considered upon his Request, *John Eckius* told him, in the Name of the Assembly, that though he might have understood by the Emperor's Order, what he was sent for, and so no time could be reasonably expected by him, to give in his answer, nevertheless the Emperor had given him one day to consider, and ordered him to appear the next day at the same hour to give in his answer *Viva voce*, and not in Writing. Then was *Luther* conducted back again, by the same Officer, to the place of his Abode.

The next day the same Officer came to him, about four a clock, and conducted him to the Door of the Hall, where the Assembly sat, where he waited till six. When he was come in, *John Eckius* asked him again, whether he would defend those Books, which he acknowledged to be his, or whether he would retract any thing. *Luther* replying, begged of the Emperor and Princes to hear him favourably, and protested, that he had never written any thing hi-

[(a)] THE Prohibition of *Luther* to Preach upon the Road, was only Verbal, not in the Body of the Safe-Conduct, nor in the Emperor's Letter, as *Seckendorff* assures us]

[(b)] The Letter was inscribed thus, *Honorabili, dilecto, devoto, Doctori Martino Luthero, Ordinis Augustiniani. To the Honourable, Beloved, Devout, Dr. Martin Luther, of the Order of St. Augustine.]*

The Diet of Worms, &c. therto, but what was for the Glory of God, and Instruction of the Faithful. That as to their first Question, which they had put to him, he did with readiness acknowledge, that the Books named to him, were his, and that he did persist in that answer, unless perhaps in some things, which his Enemies had changed through Malice, or had been altered by the Importunity and prudence of Friends, or through the fault of Transcribers, and that his Intention was to acknowledge, what was his only, and what he had written himself. Before he answered to the other Question, he prayed the Assembly to observe, that his Books were not all of one Kind; that in some of them, he treated only of Subjects of Piety, and Morality, and that in so plain, and Evangelical a manner, that his Adversaries themselves were forced to own, that they were profitable, innocent, and worthy to be read by all Christians; that the Bull it self had condemned nothing in particular, which was taken out of any of those Books, tho' all his Books in general were condemned; that if he revoked these Books he should condemn the Truths, which both his Friends and Enemies acknowledged; that his second sort of Books were against the Papacy, and the Doctrine of Papists, who had filled the World with their corrupt Doctrine, and their bad Example, and who hold by the Pope's Laws, and the Traditions of Men, the Consciences of the Faithful under insupportable Tyranny; and if he revoked those Writings, he should confirm that Tyranny; that his third sort of Writings were such, as were composed against private Persons, who laboured to establish the *Roman* Tyranny, or opposed the Truths which he taught. In these he owned, that there was too much sharpness, but he could not revoke them, lest they should make an Advantage by it; that being a Man he might be mistaken, but if any Man could convince him, by Holy Scripture, of any Error, he was ready to revoke it, and to burn his Books. In conclusion he said, that they ought to be very careful, not to condemn God's Word, and so render the Reign of the young Prince *Charles* unhappy, as he could prove by several examples taken out of Holy Scripture, namely of *Pharaoh*, the King of *Babylon*, and the Kings of *Israel*, who ruined themselves at the same time, that they thought to establish, and settle their Kingdom with the greatest Wisdom. *Luther* had not quite finished, when *John Eckius* told him in a passion, that he had not answered the Question put to him; that they did not put the Question about such things as were condemn'd, or determin'd by the Councils, but they demanded a plain, and direct Answer, whether he would retract, or no. *Luther* replied, 'Since your Imperial Majesty, and your Lordships require a plain Answer, I give this, Unless I am convinced by Texts of Scripture, or evident Reason (for I do not think myself obliged to believe the Pope, or his Councils, since 'tis evident, that they have erred in many things, and contradicted themselves) the Texts of Scripture, which I have produced, have so settled my Belief, and my Conscience is so engaged by the Word of God, that I neither will nor can retract any thing, because 'tis neither safe nor innocent, to act against a Man's Conscience.'

His Answer, repeated. The Princes of the Dyet, after they had considered upon this Answer of *Luther's*, told him by their Orator, that he had not answered with a Modesty suitable to his person; that if he had retracted his Books wherein his Errors are contained, the Emperor would not have suffered those to be touched, which were free from them; that he had revived the Errors condemned in the Council of *Constance*, at which all *Germany* was present; that it was ridiculous to propose, that he should be convinced by

Scripture, for what good can it do to revive a Dispute about things condemned long since by the Church and a Council; that if all that contradict their Authority must be so convicted, there would be nothing certain nor determined; that they asked him once more, whether he would defend all that he had affirmed as orthodox, or whether he would retract any thing. *Luther* persisted in his Answer, and would have proved, that Councils had erred; but night coming on, the Assembly was dismissed.

The Emperor the next day sent a writing to the Assembly, in which he declared, that his Ancestors having always respected the Church of *Rome*, which *Martin Luther* had opposed, since he would not be persuaded to revoke any of his Errors, his Majesty was obliged to follow the example of his Ancestors, in defending the Faith and Church; that he repented, that he had waited so long a time in proceeding against *Martin Luther*; that he was resolved to wait no longer, but to proceed against him, as a notorious Heretick; that nevertheless, he intended that *Luther* should return to *Wittenberg*, according to the Conditions laid down in his Safe-Conduct; and he desired the Princes and Lords of the Dyet, to enact, what they thought their Duty, as good Christians, and what they had promised to do upon that occasion. This Declaration of the Emperor's caused some Murmurs and Complaints among *Luther's* Friends, who were at the Dyet, and the hottest of them could not forbear making injurious Reflections, and threatening the Empire with a Civil War (b).

The Princes and Deputies of the Dyet, to prevent these Troubles, prayed the Emperor, that he would permit them to chuse some persons of the Dyet, who might endeavour to persuade *Luther* to retract those Articles, which were condemned by the Holy See. The Emperor gave them a permission, April 22. upon condition, that that Treaty should not continue above 3 days. *Luther* was ordered to appear before these Deputies on the 24th. who met in the Lodgings of the Archbishop of *Triers*. Being come, Doctor *Veus* Secretary of the Marquess of *Baden*, told him, that they had not summoned him to enter into any Dispute with him, but that the Princes had obtained of the Emperor a permission, to exhort and charitably advise him not to remain so obstinate in his Opinions, and contemning the Councils as he had done; that those holy Assemblies had ordained different things, but had not defined any thing contrary; that they had procured great Advantages to the Church, which hath need of human Laws; that Schism is to be avoided; that his Books had caused Troubles, and Offences, and inclined the people to shake off the Yoke of Obedience; that he had written some very good things, and that he seemed to be instigated by the Devil to defend all, that all his Works might be condemned. *Luther* began with thanks to the Assembly for their good Will, which they shewed towards him, and then said, that he had not rejected the Authority of all the Councils, but only reproved the Council of *Constance*, for condemning this Proposition of *John Huss*, *The Church is made up only of the Predestinated*; that he was resolved to die rather than recede from the Word of God; that he could not avoid Scandal in defending it, because 'twas not in his power to hinder that the Word of Jesus Christ should be a Rock of Offence; that he knew very well, that he ought to obey Powers and Magistrates, and not to rely upon his own Judgment, and that he had often taught it himself, and was ready to do every thing, provided he might not be obliged to deny the Word of God. *Luther* being withdrawn, the Deputies consulted together, what they should do, and then calling him in, pro-

The Diet of Worms, &c.

The Emperor's Writing to the Dyet.

Luther's Conference with the Deputies of the Dyet

[(b) One of the causes of their complaint was, that the Emperor had broken the Rules of the Dyet by giving his opinion first. He was not regularly to have given his opinion, till all the other States of the Empire had given theirs. But

his declaring first, was pre-judging *Luther's* Cause, and manifestly tended to abridge the Electors, and Princes of the Empire of their liberty of judging freely of the Matter that was before them.]

The Dyet
of Worms,
&c.

Luther's
Conference
with the
Electors of
Branden-
burg and
Triers.

posed it to him, that he should submit his Writings to the Judgment of the Emperor and Princes of the Empire. He answered in general, that he did not decline the Judgment of the Emperor, nor the Princes of the Empire, and was very willing, that all the World should examine his Doctrine, provided they did it by the Authority of the Word of God, and the Holy Scripture, which was so clear to him, that he could not yield, unless they shewed him his mistake by the same Word of God. The Elector of Brandenburg asked him, if he were resolved not to yield unless he were convinced by Scripture, and he answered yes, or by clear and evident Reasons. The Assembly being dissolved, the Elector of Triers called Luther into his Chamber with John Eckius and John Cochleus Dean of Franckfort upon the Main, who came on purpose to Worms to oppose the Errors of Luther. Jerome Schurffius and Nicholas Amfordorffius were with Luther. They entred upon a Conference, and after they had disputed some time about the Decrees of the Church, John Cochleus endeavoured to persuade Luther to desist from his enterprise, and neither write nor teach any more; but it was all in vain. The Elector of Triers having obtained of the Emperor, that Luther should stay two days longer at Worms, sent the Doctors Peutingier and Venus to him, to use their utmost persuasions, that he should submit his Books to the Judgment of the Emperor and Empire, but Luther would do nothing. They returned to him again in the Afternoon, and pray'd him to submit them to the Judgment of a future Council. He consented, provided at the same time, that they would judge of his Doctrine according to the Word of God. These words they carried back to the Elector of Triers, adding, that Luther had promised to be silent, till the Council had given Sentence. The Elector of Triers having hereupon sent for Luther, propounded also to him to submit his Books to the Judgment of the Emperor and Empire, or a Council. Luther answered roundly, that he did not think it convenient to submit himself to those persons who had already given Judgment against him, in approving the Pope's Bull. The Elector desired him to propound some means of ending this Matter himself. Luther answered, that he had no other way but the Counsel of Gamaliel, *If this Work be of Men, it will come to nought, and fall of it self; but if it be of God, ye cannot hinder the execution of it.* The Elector of Triers then ask'd him, what he would do, if there were an extract made of the Propositions contained in his Book, in order to submit them to the Judgment of a Council? Luther replied, he would not be against it, provided, they were not such Propositions as were condemned in the Council of Constance. The Elector of Triers replying, that he feared they would be such, Luther declared, that he could not hold his peace, nor submit upon those Terms, being persuaded, that they were the pure Word of God. The Elector of Triers seeing that he could gain nothing upon Luther, sent him back, and the same day the Emperor ordered his departure from Worms, and that he should retreat within 21 days to a place of Safety, upon condition that he should not preach, teach, nor stir up the people in his passage. Luther left Worms, April 26. being conducted by Sturmius, who brought him, and being arrived at Fribourg, he wrote to the Emperor and Princes of the Dyet to excuse himself, for not submitting his Books to their Judgment, because he could not answer it to the Word of God, declaring, that he was ready to submit himself to all those, that would instruct him by the same Word. These two Letters were brought by the Herald, that conducted him, whom he sent back under a pretence, that he feared nothing; but indeed, that he might not be a Witness, or hinder his taking away, which

was before contrived and resolved on; for the Elector of Saxony foreseeing, that the Emperor was about to make a bloody Edict against Luther, and that he could protect him no longer after that, nor suffer him in his Countries, without bringing troubles upon himself from the Emperor, he resolved to have him taken, and put into a Castle, where he might lye concealed, and no Man know where he was, which was accordingly done. For when Luther went from Eysenach, May 3. and went thro' a Forest in his way to Wittemberg, he was set upon by some Horsemen in disguise, who threw him down, and took him, as it were by force, to carry him into the Castle of Wartenberg, where he lay conceal'd nine Months. The thing was carryed on with so much Address and Fidelity, that no Man knew where he was. This contrivance had two effects; the first was, that it was believed, that he was taken away by the Intrigues of his enemies, which made them odious, and exasperated Mens Minds against their Proceedings; the second was, that it secured him against the Prosecution which the Pope and Emperor were making against him.

Before the Dyet of Worms was dissolved, Charles V. resolved to draw up an Edict against Luther, which was dated May 8. and solemnly published in the Assembly of the Electors and Princes held in his Palace the 26th. of the same Month, after the Nuncio's had delivered to his Imperial Majesty, the Electors, and other Princes of the Empire, the Pope's Breves, in which his Holiness thank'd them for what they had already done in the Churches behalf against Luther, and pray'd them to finish it. The Edict being read in the Assembly, the Elector of Brandenburg declared, that the Assembly approved of it, and was of that Judgment. The Electors of Saxony, and Palatine were absent, but they left their Deputies, who represented them in the Assembly (c). This Edict was made up of 3 parts: The first was a kind of Preface, in which Charles V. declares, that it is the duty of an Emperor not only to defend the Limits of the Empire, but to maintain Religion, to protect the true Faith with danger of his Life, and to extinguish Heresies in their very Original; that he thought himself obliged to do it more than any of his Ancestors, because God had given him more people to govern, and that being descended of Princes, whose Zeal for Religion will never be forgotten, 'twould be a Stain to his Glory, and a Trouble to his Conscience, if he should suffer by his negligence, that the Heresies and errors, which for 3 years last past had been dispersed in Germany, which had been condemned by Popes and Emperors, should take root. The 2d. part contains a narration of what had passed till that time in relation to Luther, and rehearseth his principal Errors: The 3d. part contains the Condemnation of Luther, shewing that by the Counsel and Advice of the Electors, Princes, Orders, and Estates of the Empire, he resolved to put in execution the Sentence of the Pope, who was a proper Judge in that Cause, and declared, that Martin Luther should be looked upon as a Member separated from the Church, a Schismatick, an obstinate and notorious Heretick, and that he forbade all persons under the penalty of High-Treason, Loss of Goods, and being put to the Ban of the Empire, to receive or defend him, maintain or protect him, either in Word or Writing; and he orders, that after the 21 days allowed in his Safe-Conduct, he should be proceeded against according to the Form of the Ban of the Empire, in what place soever he should be, or at least he should be seized, and kept Prisoner till his Imperial Majesty's pleasure should be farther known. The same punishments are ordered for all the Complices, Adherents, Followers, or Favourers of Luther, and that all their Goods,

The Dyet
of Worms,
&c.

Luther's
Conference
with the
Electors of
Branden-
burg and
Triers.

The Empe-
ror's Edict
against
Luther.

(c) Seckendorff says, these two Electors were wholly ignorant of this Edict; and were very angry at its Publication when they knew of it. It was dated May the 8th, though it was made May the 16th. because then these two Electors were at Worms:

So that the People who knew there was a full Session May the 8th. believed when they saw that this Edict was dated upon that Day, that it was made by the full consent of all the Princes of the Empire.]

whether moveable or immoveable, should be confiscated, if they could not prove, that they have left his Party, and received Absolution by apostolical Authority. It also forbids all persons to print, sell, buy, or read any of his Books, and enjoins the Princes and Magistrates to cause them to be burned and quite suppressed; and because there had been published several Books concerning the same Doct-

rine without his name, and several Pictures dispersed that were injurious to the Pope, Cardinals, and Bishops, he commanded the Magistrates to seize and burn them, and to punish the Authors and Printers of those Pictures, and Libels. Lastly, It forbids in general the Printing of any Book concerning Matters of Faith, which hath not the approbation of the Ordinary, and some neighbouring University.

C H A P. XI.

The Censure which the Divines of the Faculty of Paris passed upon Luther.

THE same Year the Divines of Paris condemned Luther's Writings, and mentioned particularly according to their manner, several Propositions taken out of his Books. This Censure was concluded, settled, and confirmed by the unanimous consent of all the Doctors in an Assembly held at Mathurins, April 15. 1521. They shew first in general the danger, to which Christians are exposed by the poison of new Errors. Then they enlarge upon the Impiety and Rashness of Luther, who would build a New Jerusalem, and preferred his own Judgment, not only before the Judgments of the Universities and Holy Fathers of the Church, but also above the Decisions of Councils, as tho' God had given him the knowledge of many Truths necessary for Salvation, which the Church had been ignorant of for some Ages past, being left by Jesus Christ her Spouse, in the Darkness of Error. They shew that to be the Character of the ancient Hereticks, and that Luther has revived several of their Errors in his Writings, and particularly in his Book of *The Captivity of Babylon*, which may be rightly compared to the *Alcoran*. They judge, that all his Doctrine contains detestable Errors both in Faith and Manners, and that it is only proper to deceive simple people; is injurious to all the Doctors, and derogatory from the Power of the Church, and hierarchical Order; that it is openly schismatical, contrary to the Holy Scripture, whose Sense it corrupts; blasphemous against the Holy Spirit; pernicious to the Christian Commonwealth; and so it ought to be suppressed, the Writings which contain it, to be burnt, and the Author forced by all lawful means to recant; and that their might be no scruples left, they then recite diverse Propositions, taken out of his Books about diverse Matters, which they particularly condemned, and are ranked under diverse Heads. The first is about the Sacraments, and the Propositions condemned are, 1. That the Sacraments are a new Invention. 2. That the Church knows no such Sacrament as Ordination. 3. That all Christians have the same Power in all the Sacraments. 4. That the Keys are common to all the Faithful. 5. That all Christians are Priests. 6. That Confirmation and Extreme Unction are not Sacraments appointed by Jesus Christ. 7. That the Mass is not a Sacrifice according to the Gospel. 8. That it is an Error to offer and apply the Mass for Sins, for Satisfaction, for the Dead, for our own, or others need. 9. That 'tis not to be doubted, but that all Priests, Monks, Bishops, and their Predecessors have been, and are Idolaters, who are in great danger, because of the Ignorance they are in concerning the Sacrament, and the Abuses they have made of it. 10. That the Bread is the Body of Jesus Christ. 11. That it is Impiety and Tyranny to refuse both Kinds to the Laity. 12. That not the *Bohemians*, but *Romanists* ought to be called Hereticks and Schismaticks. 13. That Matrimony is not a Sacrament of Christ's Institution, but invented by Men. 14. That the Union of Man

and Woman ought to hold altho' it be made contrary to the Laws. 15. That the Priests ought to approve all Marriages contracted against the Ecclesiastical Laws, with which the Popes can dispense, except the Marriages of those that are expressly forbidden in Scripture. 16. That all the Efficacy of the Sacraments of the New Testament consists in Faith. 17. That we receive all that we believe we ought to receive, tho' the Minister acts, or acts not, or if he acts with dissimulation or in jest. 18. That 'tis dangerous to believe, that Penance is like a second Plank after Shipwreck. 19. That he that having confessed, or being reprov'd for his fault, begs pardon before any of his Brethren, is absolved of his Sin. The second Title is about the Ordinances of the Church, and contains one Proposition only, that neither the Pope, nor Bishops, nor any other Man have Right to appoint any thing for any other Christian but with his own consent, and that whatsoever is done otherwise is by a Spirit of Tyranny. The third part is about the Unprofitableness of Works, which also contains but one Proposition, that Works are nothing before God, and that they are all equal as to Merit. The fourth Title is concerning Vows, and contains two Propositions; 1. That Men are to be advised to abolish and avoid all Vows. 2. That it is probable that Vows serve only to stir up Pride and Presumption. In the sixth Title which is about the *Divine Essence*, they condemn this Proposition; that in the last 300 Years, several things have been not rightly determined; as these Propositions for the purpose, that the *Divine Essence* neither begets, nor is begotten, and, that the Soul is the substantial Form of Man's Body. The former Propositions are all taken out of his Book of *The Captivity of Babylon*. They added several others taken out of other Writings of Luther. There was one about the immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. Luther had said, that the contrary Opinion was not rejected. The Divines said, that this Proposition was false, and affirmed with Ignorance and Impiety against the Honour of the Virgin; ten about Contrition, and about the Fear, which goes before Justification, which Luther condemned as Sins; seven about the Limitations, which Luther had made to Confession; four about Absolution, the Effect of which he attributes to Faith alone; eight about Satisfaction; two about the Dispositions of such as come to the Sacrament; two more about the Certainty of Justification; five about all the Actions of the Just, which Luther believes to be Sins in their own Nature, and about the distinction of venial and mortal Sins; six about the Commandments, as for Example, that God has commanded us things impossible; that the Command of keeping the Sabbath Holy does not concern Christians; that Sanctification of Festivals is only for the Weak; four about evangelical Counsels, which Luther will have to be Precepts; nine about Purgatory, which he thinks can't be proved by Scripture; and about the Souls in Purgatory, which

The Cen-
sure of the
Divines
at Paris
against
Luther.

which he supposes capable of Merit and Sin, uncertain of Happiness, and in Fear and Horror; four about the Authority of Councils, in which *Luther* approves of some Articles of the *Bohemians*, condemned in the Council of *Constance*, and among others their Definition of the Church, that it is an Assembly of persons predestinated; one about Hope, that 'tis not founded upon Merits; one about the punishment of Hereticks, that it is contrary to the Spirit of the Gospel, to cause them to be burnt: One about the Observation of the Ceremonies of the Law, that a Christian may be circumcised; one about War with the *Turks*, that to make War against them is to oppose the Will of God; one about the Immunities of the Clergy, that they may not without Sin resist such Princes, as shall revoke the Exemptions granted to the Persons, and Goods of Clergymen; five concerning Free-will, that Man has quite lost it, and that all Good comes wholly from God; that a Man without Grace sins always mortally; seven about School-Divinity, which he blames, and contemns as useless and dangerous; the last about the Book of the *Celestial Hierarchy*, in

which he says, there is no true Learning; and that it is full of pernicious Fancies of mystical Divinity, more Platonical than Christian.

The Faculty of Divinity, by condemning this Proposition, supposed that Book to be really written by *Dionysius the Areopagite*.

Luther, who had hitherto shewed a great esteem for the Faculty of Divinity of *Paris*, and would have chosen them as Arbitrators in his Affairs, no sooner saw himself condemned by them, but he began to treat them with Contempt, and would not condescend to confute their Censure seriously. *Philip Melancthon* made an Apology for *Luther* against this Censure, which he calls *Furiosum Parisensium Theologastorum decretum*, full of gross Abuses: And *Luther* composed a Book in which pretending to answer the Apology of *Melancthon*, in the name of the Divines, he makes them speak many Impertinences in a barbarous Stile (a), that he might make those Doctors of *Paris* ridiculous. He also wrote a Book against them in the *German Language*, full of Invectives and Calumnies.

[(a) *Seckendorff* leaves it in doubt whether that Mock-Answer to *Melancthon's* Book against the *Sorbon's*

Censure of *Luther*, was really written by *Luther* or no.]

C H A P. XII.

The Writings of Luther in his Retirement. Novelties introduced by Carolostadius at Wittemberg. The Consultation of the Elector of Saxony about the Abolishing of private Masses.

Luther's
Writings
in his Re-
treat, &c.

Carolostadius's
Writings and
Attempts.

Luther shut up in his Castle, which he called his *Hermitage*, and his *Paras*, held a constant Correspondence with his Friends at *Wittemberg*, and composed several Books to maintain his Opinions, and to destroy the Discipline of the Church. Among others, he wrote a Book in the *German Tongue* against *private Confession*, threatening in the Preface the Pope, and the Bishops, if they did not change their Customs after they were warned by his Writings, that God would permit others to oblige them to it by force of Arms. He wrote sometime after an Answer to *James Latomus* a Divine of *Louvain*, who had written a Defence of the Censure of the Divines of *Louvain*; a long Treatise against Monastick Vows; and last of all a Work to prove, that private Masses ought to be abolished. This last is dedicated to the *Augustine Friars* at *Wittemberg*, who were the first that dared to abolish the use of the Mass at the Solicitation of *Carolostadius*, who in the absence of *Luther*, push'd things on farther than his Master, and had attempted to remove Images out of the Churches, and abolish auricular Confession, the Command of abstaining from Meats, Invocation of Saints and private Masses, and allowed the Monks to go out of their Monasteries, and not to practise their Vows; and permitted Priests to marry; and not content with these Alterations of the Usages of the Church, he opposed the *Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist*, affirming, that when our Lord said, *This is my Body, This is my Blood*, he did not speak of the Bread and Wine, which he held in his Hands, but of his Body, and Blood, which his Disciples saw. It is not to be wondered at, that a Doctrine so favoura-

ble to Concupiscence, should meet with so many Followers presently, that the Monks left their Cloisters, and dispensed with the Observation of their Vows; that the Priests married, and the People were pleased to see themselves discharged of all that was penal by the Laws of the Church, as Fasting, Confession, Penance, &c. and embraced greedily these Novelties. *Carolostadius* was one of the first, that gave the Priests an Example of marrying. *Justus Jonas* Provost of *Wittemberg*, *John Bugenhagen*, who had been a Schoolmaster at *Treptow* in *Pomerania*, and was then settled at *Wittemberg*, and *Bernard Veltkirck*, Pastor of *Kenberg* did the same. This last was accused of that matter before the Elector of *Mentz*, who was Archbishop of *Magdebourg*, and he made an Apology to him to justify his Action. He also presented a Petition to the Elector of *Saxony*, and *Luther* wrote in his Favour to *Fabricius Capito* his Friend, Secretary to the Elector, and in his Letter to *Amsdorffius*, he approves of *Carolostadius's* Marriage (a).

These Novelties being settled at *Wittemberg*, the Elector of *Saxony* began to fear, that they would create Troubles, and desired the Opinion of the University of *Wittemberg*, about abolishing private Masses. But what might not be hoped from a School perverted, and made up of Doctors devoted to the New Doctrine? The University named for their Deputies *Justus Jonas*, *Philip Melancthon*, *Nicholas Amsdorffius*, and *John Doeltz de Veltkirck* (b). No other Resolution could be expected of them, than what they gave, that the *Augustine Friars* of *Wittemberg* had done well, in abolishing private Masses; but they went farther, and prayed the Elector to a-

[(a) THE allowing Priests Marriages, and teaching that Monastick Vows are unlawful, has always been cry'd out upon by the Papists, as a means to introduce Impurity amongst Christians, and a way to flatter the Lusts of Men. This the Protestants do (as *Luther* did then) with great Reason deny. The Scriptures no where forbid to Priests the use of Marriages. *St. Paul* says, 'tis honourable in all. And Vows of Continence made before Men and Women know their Strength, and which are no where encouraged by the Word of God, have always been by Protestants looked upon as Snares to the Gene-

rality of those who when they bound themselves by them, undertook to perform what for ought they knew was beyond their Strength. Besides the horrible Corruption of the Monks and Priests before and at the time of the Reformation, was but too visible a Demonstration that Vows of Celibacy did very little promote Continence.]

[(b) There were two other Deputies, *Carolostadius* and *Schurfius*, who are mentioned in the *German Edition* of *Luther's* Works, but are omitted in the *Latin* one, which *De Pin* follows. *Seckendorff*.]

bolish

Luther's Writings in his Re- treat, &c. **bolish** them in his Territories. The Elector considering the Importance of such an Enterprize, told these Deputies by *Christian Beyer*, that this Affair being of great Consequence, and difficulty, ought to be ordained by the Mature Deliberation of all the Church, and was was not to be regulated rashly by a small number of Men; that he doubted not but if their Advice were grounded upon the Gospel, it would be approved by several persons, and when it did prevail, that change might be begun without Molestation; that he was not instructed, when that Usage (which perhaps was several hundred years old,) began; that several Churches and Monasteries having been founded to say Masses, it would introduce a terrible Confusion to have them entirely abolished; that then they must seize upon, and keep the Revenues given to Churches, Monasteries and Benefices for that end; that since they did not approve the Counsel, that he gave them, he would not oblige them to follow it, being only a Layman, and not thinking himself sufficiently versed in Holy Scripture, or Ecclesiastical Controversies: but he required them, after they had communicated with the Principal Heads of the University and Clergy, that they would order that Affair with such Moderation, as to raise no Troubles, Divisions, or Seditions among the people. The Deputies answered, that they believed private Masses might be abolished without Noise, or Trouble, but the Abuse was so great, that though it could not be effected without some disturbance, it ought to be attempted; that the Ordinance of the Mass, prescribed by the Holy Scripture, was visibly so different from that of private Masses, that it was needless to Deliberate farther about it; that the Ancient Foundations of the Monasteries, Colleges, and Churches were not made to say a certain number of Masses, or to chant Canonical Hours, but to instruct Youth in the Holy Scripture and Religion; that the Foundations made four or five hundred Years since to say Masses, were abusive, and those that made them were mistaken; that Inconveniencies ought not to be regarded in such an Enterprize, nor such Impediments as might be surmounted, since it was the Cause of Truth and Religion. This was the

Answer of these four Deputies of the University of *Wittemberg*, full of Rashness and intolerable Boldness (c). **Luther's Writings in his Re- treat, &c.**

Carlostadius encouraged by this Decision, quite changed the outward Form of Discipline in the Churches of *Wittemberg*. *Luther* did not disapprove of these Alterations, but said they were made unseasonably, and unnecessarily, and when he returned to *Wittemberg* which was soon after, he condemned the management of *Carlostadius* publicly, drove him out of *Wittemberg*, and quarrelled directly with him, because of his particular Opinion about the Lord's Supper, as we shall shew hereafter.

The Edict of the Emperor *Charles V.* as severe as it was, did not hinder the Progress of *Luther's* Doctrine in *Germany*; for the Emperor was no sooner gone into *Flanders*, but his Edict was contemned by the Princes and Magistrates who favoured *Luther's* Doctrine, and neglected by others, so that *Luther's* Followers triumphed in *Saxony*, and in other Places, where they were encouraged, and were suffered in most other Parts of *Germany*. It was not yet got into *France*, and *Henry VIII.* King of *England*, made most rigorous Acts to hinder Heresy from coming into his Realm. This Prince did something more to shew his Zeal for Religion, and the Holy See, for he published in his own Name a Treatise about the Seven Sacraments, in which he defended the Authority of the Pope, and the Seven Sacraments of the Church, against *Luther's* Book of *The Captivity of Babylon*. Some have thought, that *Edward Lee* (d) was the Author of that Work; but *Henry VIII.* might very well write it, having studied Divinity in his Younger years. But however that be, he complimented the Pope, and presented it to him in October. The Pope received it very favourably, and was so well pleased with the King of *England*, that he rewarded him with the Glorious Title of DEFENDER OF THE FAITH. *Luther* having no Respect to his Royal Dignity, answered King *Henry* with Sharpness, and with his ordinary Passion, treating his Person contemptibly, and in very outrageous Terms. **The Discipline changed by Carlostadius.**

[(c) If the Fact which the *Augustine* Monks of *Wittemberg* did, was justifiable, as it most certainly was, then the Answer of these Deputies was very Prudent, and very Christian.]

[(d) This was the *Lee* or *Leus*, with whom *Erasmus* had such warm Disputes, who was afterwards made Archbishop of *Tork*, by *Henry VIII.*]

C H A P. XIII.

The Death of Leo X. The Life of Adrian VI. His Actions, Designs, and Project for a Reformation.

THE Pope had made a League with the Emperor against *France*, to recover *Milan*, and other Places, which the *French* held in *Italy*; which kindled a War, which proved not successful to *France*, who lost *Milan*, and were forced to abandon *Parma* and *Placentia*, about the end of the Year, 1521. *Leo X.* having heard the News, died a few days after, on *December 2.* near 46 Years of Age, in the 9th. Year of his Pontificate. The See was vacant more than two Months, thro' the Divisions which the Interests of particular Men, and the Factions of the Emperor, and the King of *France* raised in the Conclave. The Cardinals at length agreed on *January 9.* 1522. to choose the Cardinal of *Tortosa*, a Person eminent for his Piety and Learning, who took the Name of *Adrian VI.* He was born at *Utrecht*, *March 2.* 1459. His Father, one *Florent Boyens*, was of a low condition, some say a Weaver of Tapestry, others a Brewer, and others a Mariner. But however that be, he was so poor, that his Son, named *Adrian*, and who took the Surname of *Florent*, being desirous to get Learning, was

forced to beg a Place in the Pope's College at *Louvain*, where poor Scholars are brought up Gratis. As he had a Genius proper for Learning, so he made a great Progress in a little time, and became an able Divine. The Princess *Margaret* Daughter of *Maximilian* the Emperor, while she governed the Low-Countries, being informed of his Learning and Piety, gave him a Cure in *Holland*, and furnished him with all necessary Charges to take his Degree of Doctor of Divinity, which he took at *Louvain*, *June 21.* 1491, in order to profess Divinity there. He was afterwards chosen Dean of *Louvain*, and made Vice-Chancellor of the University of that City. Seeing himself at ease, to testify his Thanks to the University, that had raised him, he built a famous College at *Louvain* of his own Name to receive poor Scholars. His Reputation in a little time gained him many Benefices, as the Deanery of *Antwerp*, the Treasury of the Chapter of *St. Mary* the greater at *Utrecht*, and the Provostship of our Saviour in the same City. Lastly, the Emperor *Maximilian* wanting a Preceptor for his Grandson *Charles*, about se-

The Death
of Leo X.

ven Years old, thought he could not find a fitter person for that place, than Doctor *Florent*. He was not long with that young Prince, who being born for Politicks, and for War, had more need of the Counsel of Monsieur de *Chevres* his Governor, than the Instructions of his Preceptor, and had a greater Inclination to Arms, than Letters. But the Emperor being well pleased with the Service of *Florent*, sent him his Ambassador to *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, Grandfather by the Mother's side to *Charles*, to obtain the Favour of that Prince for his Grandson. *Ferdinand* understanding the Worth of *Florent*, made him Bishop of *Tortosa*. After the Death of *Ferdinand*, *Charles* becoming Heir of his Countries, left the Bishop of *Tortosa* in *Spain*, that he might have part of the Government with the Cardinal of *Toledo*. He was soon after made Cardinal by Pope *Leo X.* at the Recommendation of *Maximilian* the Emperor, in a Promotion made by that Pope, July 1517. *Charles* going into *Spain*, was so well pleased with his Negotiations, that when he went to receive the Imperial Crown, he appointed him Governor of *Spain* in his Absence. The Holy See becoming vacant, as we have said already by the Death of *Leo X.* Cardinal *Julius de Medicis*, who had a powerful Faction in the Conclave, not being able to carry it for himself, agreed at last with the other Cardinals to give their Votes for the Cardinal of *Tortosa*, who was absent, judging him fit to be raised to the Papacy, which had need at that time of a Man learned in Divinity to oppose *Luther*, and who was at the same time versed in publick Affairs, and fit to govern a State, which was necessary because of the Troubles of *Italy*. These two Qualifications, which are rare in the same Man, met in the person of the Cardinal of *Tortosa*, who had given proofs of the one, by his Lectures and Writings, and of the other in the Government of *Spain*. It is much more probable, that it was this which united the Cardinals in his Favour, than what some Historians report, that it happen'd by chance by the Cardinals of the Faction of *Medicis*, giving him their Votes that day, with a design only of losing them. The Cardinal of *Tortosa* having received the News of his Election at *Victoria* in *Biscay*, assumed the next day the Pontifical Habit, in the presence of some Bishops, whom he assembled in haste, without waiting for the Legates, whom the Sacred College should send. He departed a little after to *Rome*, and having passed thro' *Barcelona*, and from thence to *Tarragona*, he embarked for *Italy*, and made his Entry at *Rome*, September 30. and was crowned the next day.

The State
of the
Church
when A-
drian VI.
was cho-
sen Pope.

Adrian
VI. Atti-
ons and
Designs.

Adrian found no little Business at his Arrival. *Italy* was in a Combustion, by reason of the War between the Emperor, and King of *France*. The Holy See was at Odds with the Dukes of *Ferrara*, and *Urbino*. The City of *Rome* afflicted with Sickneſs, *Rimini* newly seized by the House of *Malatesta*; the Cardinals divided, and in Defiance one with another; the Isle of *Rhodes* besieged by the *Turks*, all his Treasure exhausted, and the Goods of the Church engaged by his Predecessor, in a Word, the whole Ecclesiastical State fallen into Disorder thro' an Anarchy of eight Months; but that which affected him most was *Luther's* Schism, which grew much stronger every day in *Germany*. The Pope began with driving the *Malatesta* out of *Rimini*, by the help of the Dukes of *Ferrara* and *Urbino*, whom he had reconciled to the Holy See. He could not avoid renewing the Alliance with the Emperor, but he solicited the King of *France* to come to a Peace, or at least a Truce, and not being able to effect it, he drew off the *Venetians* from the Alliance with him, and made a League with them, with the Emperor and King of *England*, to expel the King of *France* out of *Italy*. He caused Cardinal *Soderin* to be put into the Castle

of *St. Angelo*, because he had intercepted Letters of his directed to the King of *France*, by which he advised him to remove the War into *Sicily*. He could not succour the Isle of *Rhodes*, which was taken that Year by *Solyman*, upon *Christmas* day. He sent Cardinal *Cajetan* into *Hungary*, to provide for the Defence of that Realm against the *Turks*; and lastly, he appointed *Francis Cheregatus* Bishop of *Teramo*, or according to others *Fabriano*, whom he knew in *Spain*, to go as his Nuncio to the Diet, which was to be held at *Nuremberg*, in the Absence of the Emperor, that he might take fit Measures for the Defence of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and for the Suppression of *Luther's* Schism. But he thought it necessary in the first place to reform the Discipline of the Church, and particularly the Abuses of the Court of *Rome*, and the manners of the Clergy, which had given an Occasion, and were made use of as a pretence for the Schism. And for that end he sent for to *Rome*, *John Peter Caraffa* Archbishop of *Chieti*, and *Marchellus Gazellus* of *Gaeta*, who were the first Founders of the Congregation of the *Theatines*, Men of a most exemplary Life, and regular Conversation, that he might have their Advice in the Reformation of the Church. He began with revoking all the Privileges granted to the *Franciscans*, by the Promulgation of Indulgences, and was much more reserved than his Predecessors, in granting them for the future. He resolved to retrench by little and little, all those Offices which *Leo X.* had newly created and sold. He abolished part of the *Reservations*, *Accessions*, *Regresses* (a), and such like inventions, which, saith *Onuphrius*, they call the Snares of the Court of *Rome*, and which were very easily introduced in the times of his Predecessor, because it happened, that by those means the most considerable Benefices were filled with such Persons, as were a disgrace to the Church, either for their Ignorance, or Irregularities; since Money could gain any thing at the Court of *Rome*, whereas persons of Probity and Learning being in want, were able to get nothing. To prevent this disorder, he gave several Benefices to persons of Worth, who never desired them, or so much as dreamt of them, by sending them *Provisions Gratis*. He also resolved to abolish, or at least moderate the Fees paid to the *Datary* for Dispensations, to grant but very few, to revoke several Privileges, and take away several Impediments of Marriage, that he might root out a great Number of Dispensations. Cardinal *Cajetan* also persuaded him, that it was convenient to slacken the *Penitential Canons* in use, and to impose more suitable Penances. Lastly he designed to reform the Discipline of the Church, the Abuses of the Court of *Rome*, and the Manners of the Clergy and Laity. It cannot be deny'd but that these designs were very commendable, and useful for the Church; but the Opposition which some Cardinals and Officers of the Court of *Rome*, who could not endure a Reformation so contrary to their Interests, made, hindered the Execution of it. *Adrian* was much affected, that these his good intentions could not obtain an Effect, as he told *William Enkenword* (b), and *Theodericus Hezeus*, his most intimate Confidants, to whom he said, that the condition of the Popes was most unhappy, because they had not the Power to do all the Good they would, though they had a Will, and sought the Means. Yet he did not quite lose his Hopes of working this Reformation, but put it off, 'till after his Return from the Voyage, which he designed to make into *Germany*, and in the mean time he commanded the Officers of the Court of *Rome*, to be very sparing in granting Indulgences, Dispensations, Regresses, and Co-adjutories, leaving the thing to their prudence and discretion, 'till new Regulations should be made about them.

[(a) *Regress* is a Term in the Canon Law; it is an Action, by which the Resignee may enter upon a Benefice upon a Resignation or upon a Change, when the Resigner has

either made a fraudulent Conveyance, or has not perform'd the Articles mutually agreed on.]

[(b) *Enkensfurt*: *Seckendorff*.

C H A P. XIV.

The Return of Luther to Wittemberg. The Alterations made there by Carolostadius, disapproved by Luther. His Writings against the Bishops and Princes. His Translation of the New Testament into the German Language.

LUTHER weary of his Retirement, returned to *Wittemberg*, in the beginning of the Year 1522. without asking leave of the Elector of *Saxony*; and fearing that that Prince should take it ill, he wrote a Letter to excuse himself, and give him an account of his Return, which was this, *First*, that the Church and People of *Wittemberg* had invited him by their Letters, in which they were importunate for his Return, and that the Reformation of Religion, being begun in that Church by his Ministry, he could not refuse to go and assist it. *Secondly*, that the Devil in his Absence had disturbed his Flock, and raised such Troubles, as could not be allayed by his Writings, so that his presence was absolutely necessary. *Thirdly*, that he was afraid some great Sedition would happen in *Germany*, because many would not receive the Truth: That he hoped that these Reasons, and several others, which he could bring, would excuse him to the Elector, and he trusted in Jesus Christ, who is more powerful, as he said, than his Enemies, that he would defend him against their Fury.

Carolostadius having changed, as we have said, or rather quite over-turned the Discipline of the Church of *Wittemberg*, *Luther* being displeased that it was done without his Authority, and not in a fit time for such an Enterprize, made a Sermon upon the first Sunday in *Lent*, in which he blamed them for abolishing the Mass, pulling down Images, leaving the Monkish Habits, and using the Sacrament as a prophane thing. He reprov'd the Authors of that Action, as acting without a Mission, and performing it in an unsuitable manner. 'Not, says he, as if it were not a good thing to abolish the Mass, but it ought not to be done rashly, and so as to give Offence, and if the Mass were not an evil thing in itself, I would restore it. I could wish that all the Images of the World were destroyed, but we ought to begin to root out the Notions of them first out of the Peoples Minds by good Instruction, and then the material Images will fall of themselves.' This was the beginning of the Difference between *Luther* and *Carolostadius*, which made more Noise some time after.

But *Luther* now made open War with the Pope and Bishops, and contrived all he could to make the People condemn their Authority. That he might be revenged upon the Pope because he had included him in the Bull, in *Cœna Domini*, he wrote a Book in the *German* Language, full of Reflections and gross Abuses, against the Excommunication of the Pope. He attacked the Bishops and Ecclesiastical Princes more seriously in a *Latin* Work entitled, *Against the Order, falsely called, the Order of Bishops*. He declares in the Preface, that he is by the Grace of God, a Preacher (a) and Evangelist of Jesus Christ and of

the Truth; that he did not fear the Persecutions of Men; That he had taken Horns to beat down the Errors which the Bishops would settle by Force and Violence; that for the future he would have no respect for them, nor submit his Doctrine to their Judgment, no, nor to that of an Angel; and that he should judge not only all the Bishops, but Angels by that Doctrine. The Body of this Book is full of Invectives against the Bishops, whom he accuses of Ignorance, Debauchery, and Tyranny, but especially of being Enemies to the Gospel and the Truth, and Idolaters, because they follow the Traditions of Men, and worship their Idol the Pope. He says, that Monasteries, Cathedral and Collegiate Churches are the Gates of Hell, and Shops of useless Ceremonies. He declaims against Celibacy and Vows. Lastly, he omits nothing that may render the Clergy odious, and stir up the People, hiding his Malignity under an appearance of Zeal for the Truth; and citing several Texts of Scripture to shew, that the Doctrine and Behaviour of the Bishops of his Time, were opposite to those that *St. Paul* requires in a Bishop. Lastly, he says, his design is to perform the Office of a publick Herald, to make it manifest every where, that the Bishops, who govern the greatest part of the World are not of God's appointment, but by the Delusion of Satan, and by the Error and Traditions of Men, and in one Word, the Nuncio's and Vicars of the Devil (b).

Luther the same Year, wrote a Letter to the Assembly of the States of *Bohemia*, to assure them, that he was labouring to establish the Doctrine of the *Bohemians* in *Germany*, and hoped by degrees to unite with them in the same Gospel, and to exhort them not to return to the Communion of the *Roman* Church, nor suffer themselves to be deprived of the Communion under both Kinds. He advises them not to be concerned, that there are Sects and Divisions among them, since the Papists are not without them, and says, that they ought to remedy it, by causing their Pastors to preach the Gospel with Purity. He adds, that tho' they are not perfect, yet they will find some *Paul* to reform and heal their Distempers, provided they do not wholly abjure the Truth, nor abandon themselves to Tyranny. This Letter is dated July 29. 1522.

In this Year also, *Luther* published his Translation of the New Testament in the *German* Language, in which he allowed himself a great deal of Liberty (c). He was immediately accused of corrupting the Gospel in several places, and some of his Adversaries affirmed, that there were above a thousand Errors, or False-renderings in it. Particularly they found fault with his Prefaces and Notes, but no body dared absolutely to condemn the Translation of the New Testament into the *Vulgar* Tongue. On the

[(a) *Ecclesiastes.*]

[(b) It is an easy thing to give hard Words, and upon this Occasion we may expect, that a Papist who gives an Account of this Book of *Luther's* would do so: But his Zeal here was certainly in the right Place. A long Study of the Scriptures (which *Luther* was now translating into the *German* Language) had convinced him, that the Opposition which he made to the

horrible Abuses of that Age was from God. His Adversaries were now chiefly the Pope, Cardinals, and Bishops; those therefore he looked upon, and treated as Enemies of the Truth; for nothing could daunt his truly Heroical Spirit: But as it appears from this very Tract of *Luther*, he valued those that were Bishops indeed, that governed their Flock according to the Rules prescribed by *St. Paul* to *St. Timothy* and *St. Titus*, of whom judged at that time there were very few, if any.]

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Witten-
berg, &c.

contrary, *Jerome Emser*, who criticized upon *Luther's* Version, made another, and the King of *England* writing to the Princes of *Germany* upon that subject, acknowledged, that it is useful to have the Scripture in several Languages, but that it is dangerous to permit corrupt Versions made by Hereticks to support their Errors.

Several
Princes
Edicts
against
Luther's
Translati-
on of the
New Te-
stament.

Luther's
Book
against
them.

The King
of England
his Com-
plaint a-
gainst Lu-
ther.

Luther's Translation having been printed several times, and being in every body's Hands, *Ferdinand* Archduke of *Austria*, the Emperor's Brother made a very severe Edict to hinder the publication of it, and forbad all the Subjects of his Imperial Majesty to have any Copies of it, or any of *Luther's* Books. Some other Princes followed his Example, and put out the like Prohibitions, but those that favoured *Luther's* Interests and Party, allowed his Books still to be sold, and his Doctrine to be preached in their States. *Luther* was so angry with those Princes, that he made a Treatise against them, intitled, *Of the Secular Power*, in which he accuseth them of Tyranny and Impiety, and treats them in a most outrageous manner without any respect to their Dignity. This Action stirr'd up Prince *George* of *Saxony* against him, and did not please the Elector, but *Luther*, was now grown so powerful, that he durst not attempt to punish him (d). Some time after, the King of *England* made his Complaints to the Princes of the House of *Saxony*, of the rude treatment which he had recei-

[(c) *Seckendorff* vindicates this Translation of *Luther's* against *Emser's* and *Cochlaus's* Cavils at large in his History of *Lutheranism*. Lib. 1. §. cxxvii. and Addit. 1.]

[(d) *Seckendorff* positively denies, that *Luther* displeased the Elector by this Book; it was dedicated to his Brother *John*, who was afterwards Elector. It is very probable, that *Du Pin* takes what he has of this Book out of *Cochlaus*; for it was written in *High-Dutch*, and, as *Seckendorff* thinks, was never

translated from *Luther*, and shewed them, that it was dangerous for them and for all *Germany*, to suffer him; that they ought not to look upon the matter with contempt or indifference; that one or two persons had laid the Foundation of the *Turkish* Empire, and that the Miseries of *Bohemia*, might teach them to oppose these Evils in their birth. Prince *George* answered the King of *England's* Letter very civilly, shewing, that he was very much displeased at the Sharpness with which *Luther* had written against him, and assuring him, that he had forbidden *Luther's* Book to be sold in his Countries, and punish'd the Bookseller, that brought the first Copies. He also declared, that he was very angry with *Luther*, and promised he would not allow his Books to be sold in his Dominions, and that ever since the Dispute at *Leipsick*, he had foreseen, what would be the Event of this Affair. Several Divines thought it an Honour to defend the King of *England*, by confuting *Luther's* Book, which he wrote against him. In *Germany*, *John Eckius* answered it in *Latin*, and *Thomas Murner* in *High-Dutch*. In *England*, *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, wrote a Book to maintain the Doctrine which the King had laid down in his, and Sir *Thomas Moor* writ another under the Name of *William Ross*, in which he shews what the Character of *Luther* is.

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berg, &c.

translated into *Latin*. *Seckendorff* allows, that the Book was written with *Luther's* peculiar Acrimony of Style, who when he thought the Cause of God was concerned, spared no Man. But then it is plain from the large *Excerpta*, which *Seckendorff* there produces, (*Hist. Lutheranism*. Lib. 1. §. cxxviii.) that *Luther* so explains himself in other places of that Book, as that no good Prince had any manner of Reason, to take what he said amiss.]

C H A P. XV.

The Diet of Nuremberg. The Pope's Bull to the Diet. The Instruction of Cheregatus the Nuncio. A Memorial of the Hundred Grievances of the German Nation sent to the Pope. The Edict of the Diet. Diverse Writings of Luther. The taking away of nine Nuns.

The Diet
of Nu-
remberg,
&c.

THE Diet of the Empire was held at *Nuremberg*, at the end of the Year 1522. in the Emperor's Absence, who appointed his Brother *Ferdinand* to supply his place. The Nuncio *Cheregatus* was sent thither by the Pope, and *Hieronymus Rorarius*, one of his Holiness's Chamberlains, was sent before with a Letter to the Duke of *Saxony*, in which the Pope tells him, that he heard with Joy, that there was to be a Diet at *Nuremberg*; and that he was the better satisfied, because that Prince was to be there: that he hoped, that in an Assembly of so many Christian Princes, they would provide for the Security of the Faith, and remedy the Evils with which the Church was afflicted: That he resolved to send his Nuncio thither, and had sent his Chamberlain *Hieronymus Rorarius* before, to bring a Letter to him, to assure him of his paternal Favour and good Will, which he had for the common Good: That he exhorted him to maintain the Dignity of the Holy Apostolick See, and to procure the peace of Christendom, as his Ancestors had done, and desired him to give credit to what *Hieronymus Rorarius* should relate as from him. This Letter bears date Octob. 5. 1522.

The Pope's
Breve to
the Diet:

About the end of *November*, the Pope sent *Cheregatus* with a Breve directed to the Electors, Princes, and Deputies of the Cities of the Empire assembled at *Nuremberg*, and with an Instruction to be communicated to the Diet. The Breve imports, that since God had raised him beyond his Merit, and without his expectation to the Papal Dignity, 'twas

his only Care to perform the Duties of a good Pastor, by endeavouring to call back the scattered Sheep: That he had done all he could to procure Peace among Christian Princes, and to succour the Isle of *Rhodes*: That to pass from outward to inward Evils, he had heard with Grief, that *Martin Luther*, after the Sentence of *Leo X.* which was ordered to be executed by the Edict of *Worms*, continued to teach the same Errors, and to put out Books daily full of Heresies, which corrupted a great Part of *Germany*, and that he was supported not only by the People, but by several Persons of Quality, so that they began to shake off the Obedience due to the Clergy, to plunder their Goods, and to raise Civil Wars: That nothing could be more pernicious to Christendom in this present Conjunction, when it was assaulted by the *Turks*; for how can they oppose their Progress, when the Christian World is divided by an Heresie, which would infallibly cause Seditions and Civil Wars? That tho' we might hope to conquer our Enemies without, yet it would be of little benefit, whilst we are inwardly tormented with Heresies and Schisms: That having heard in *Spain* of the Novelty of *Luther*, he was the more troubled, because they sprang up in the Country, where he was born; but this comforted him, that his Doctrine was so visibly bad, that he could not believe it would be tolerated; and that he was persuaded, that these poisonous Plants could not grow in a Country which had always produced Enemies of Heresie and Infidelity; that this ill Plant having never-

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of Nu-
remberg,
&c.

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Nurem-
berg, &c.

nevertheless taken Root, and shot forth large Boughs thro' the Negligence of those that did not oppose it as they ought, at the first Rise of the Error, they ought to be careful, that the Nation upon the account of that Toleration be not accused to have consented to the Evil; that 'tis strange, that so large and so religious a Nation could be seduced by a wretched Friar, who had apostatized from, and left the Way, which our Lord, the Apostles, Martyrs, and so many illustrious Persons for Doctrine and Holiness, and lastly, their Ancestors had followed to that very time; that this was but a Fore-runner of those Evils, which *Luther* and his Followers would bring upon *Germany*, who begin already to discover their Designs by the Robberies they exercise; that having contemned, torn and burnt the Holy Canons and Decrees of Councils and Popes, we have no reason to believe, that they will have more Respect for the Laws of the Empire; that since they have shaken off their Obedience due to Popes, Bishops, and Priests, 'tis not to be hoped, that they will obey Magistrates; that having spared neither Persons, nor Things dedicated to God, 'tis not likely, that they would spare the Persons, Houses or Goods of the Laity. Wherefore he exhorts them, and commands them to labour with one consent to extinguish this Flame; to use their utmost endeavours to make *Luther*, and the other Authors of these Tumults to return to their Duty, and if they would not hearken to this wholesome Advice, to proceed against them, and punish them according to the Laws of the Empire, and the severity of the last Edict. This Breve was dated Nov. 25. 1522.

The In-
structions
to the Nun-
cio Che-
regatus.

The Instruction given to the Nuncio was this; that he should represent to the Assembly, how much the Pope was troubled for the Progress of *Lutheranism*, and particularly for the Loss of so many Souls in a Nation, which always had been most faithful and religious, and with what Zeal he desired, that they would speedily remedy so contagious an Evil before it should befall *Germany*, as it did *Bohemia*; that he should tell them, that for his part, he was ready to do all that he could, and that he exhorted others to do the same for these Considerations; 1. Because the Glory of God, and Love of their Neighbour obliged them to it. 2. Because they should be careful of the Honour of their Nation, which always had been esteemed most Christian. 3. Because their Honour engaged them to behave themselves as the Posterity of those Fathers, who had condemned *John Huss* and other Hereticks to the Fire, and to keep their Promise which they had made, to execute the Emperor's Edict against *Luther*. 4. Because *Luther* did an Injury to his Ancestors, in publishing another Faith, besides that which they were bred up in, making them pass for Infidels and Hereticks, and consequently damned. 5. Because *Luther's* Design was to take away all superior Power, under a pretence of Evangelical Liberty. 6. Because this Sect hath caused, and doth cause daily many Troubles, Robberies, Quarrels, Contests and Scandals in *Germany*. 7. Because *Luther* takes the same methods to seduce the People, that *Mahomet* used; for as *Mahomet* allowed Men to have several Wives, and divorce them when they pleased, so *Luther* to draw the Monks, Nuns, and lascivious Priests to him, allowed them to marry: That having represented these things to them, he should exhort the Princes, Prelates and People to rouse up themselves to oppose the Injuries which the *Lutherans* do to God, and to Religion, and the Disgrace which they bring upon the whole *German* Nation, and to cause the Pope's Sentence, and Emperor's Edict to be executed, pardoning those that will abjure their Errors, and punishing the Obstinate, that they may be Examples to others: That if any one object, that *Luther* is condemned without being heard, the Nuncio must answer, that it is just that he should be heard as to Matters of Fact, that is to say, whether he preached or wrote such a Doctrine, but not to be

The Diet of
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berg, &c.

allowed to defend what he hath taught about Matters of Faith, because most of the Truths which he opposeth have been determined by General Councils, and such things ought never to be called in question, as have been once approved by those Councils and all the Church. Lastly, the Pope charged the Nuncio to own ingenuously, that all this confusion was the effect of Mens Sins, and particularly of the Clergy and Prelates: That for some Years past many Abuses, Abominations and Excesses have been committed in the Court of *Rome*, and all things have been out of Order; that the Evil passed from the Head to the Members; from the Popes, to the Bishops, and other Ecclesiasticks; to promise them for his part, that he would take all the care he could to reform the Court of *Rome*, that as that had been the Original of all the Corruptions, which have spread thro' the whole Body, so it might be the Beginning of Recovery and Reformation; to shew them how much he laid this Business to Heart, and to assure them, that he would not have accepted the Papacy, unless it had been to reform the Catholick Church, comfort the Oppressed, prefer and reward Men of Merit and Virtue, who have been neglected, and do all the Duties of a Pope, and the lawful Successor of *St. Peter*. In fine, that they ought not to wonder if all these Abuses were not soon corrected, because the Disease being inveterate and complicated, the Cure must be managed step by step, and they must begin with the worst and most dangerous, for fear lest by reforming all at once, the whole be destroyed. Then he ordered his Nuncio to promise in his Name, that he would observe exactly the Concordates made with that Nation; and that as far as he could lawfully, he would send back to the places to which they belonged, all such Causes as were brought to the *Rota*. Lastly, he charged him to solicit the Members of the Diet to answer his Letters, and inform him, what means they judged most proper to extinguish *Luther's* Schism.

He added a private Advice to the Nuncio, which was to get him the Names of such learned Men, as had an aversion to the Holy See, because unworthy Men were considered before them in the Collation of Benefices, that he might provide for them. He also recommended to him the Business of *Hungary*, about which he had given him some Instructions when he went away.

The Diet answered the Nuncio by Writing, that they had read the Pope's Breve, and Instructions with respect, and thank'd God for his Exaltation to the Papacy, and for his good Intentions, which they hoped would conduce to the Good of the Church, and Peace of *Europe*, and Defence of *Hungary*; they prayed him to use his endeavour to make a Peace, or at least a Truce among Christian Princes, that they might be in a condition to oppose the Progress of the *Turks*: That as to the Schism of *Luther*, 'twas no less trouble to them, than it was to his Holiness, to see the ill Effects of it; that they had done, and were still ready to do any thing, that could be required of them to root out those Errors; that they had not put in execution the Pope's Sentence nor his Imperial Majesty's Edict, for very great and urgent Reasons, and for fear of causing greater Evils; because most of the people had been informed by *Luther's* Books, that the Court of *Rome* thro' diverse Abuses hath caused several Troubles and Evils to the *German* Nation, and if they should in this Conjunction, endeavour to execute by force the Sentence and Edict, the People would imagine that it was done to destroy the Truth of the Gospel, and maintain those Abuses, which would certainly cause Troubles and Civil Wars; that the design which the Pope had above all things to reform the Court of *Rome*, and cause the *German* Concordates to be executed, was very good; but that he must in particular apply a Remedy to the Abuses and Grievances of which they would give him a Memorial, which was the sole Means by which they could re-establish Peace

The Answer
of the Diet
to the Nun-
cio.

The Diet of Nuremberg, &c. and Concord between the Ecclesiastical and Secular Orders: That the Princes of the Empire having consented to the Annates upon condition only, that they should be employed in the War against the *Turks*, and the Popes having put them to another Use, they pray his Holiness not to exact them, but to let them go to the Imperial Treasury, that they be applyed to the Use of the War against the *Turks*. As to the Advices the Pope desired, they answered, that since they did not only relate to the Business of *Luther*, but also the Extirpation of many other Errors, Abuses, and Vices rooted by Custom and Time, and maintain'd by the Ignorance of some, and Malice of others; they saw no better, or more efficacious Remedy, than to call assoon as could be, with the consent of the Emperor, a pious and free Council in some convenient Place in *Germany* as *Strasburgh*, *Mentz*, *Cologne*, or *Metz*, without deferring the calling of it above one Year, and to give liberty to the Clergy and Laity to consult upon what they should judge convenient for the Glory of God, and the Salvation of Souls, notwithstanding any Oath or Law to the contrary; that to appease the Troubles in the mean while, they would solicit the Elector of *Saxony*, that *Luther* and his Followers should not write, print, or put any thing out in publick, and they would take care, that the Preachers should say nothing for the future, that might excite the People to Sedition, or lead them into Error, but preach only the true, pure, sincere, and Holy Gospel, and approved Scripture, with Piety, Modesty, and in a Christian Manner, according to the Doctrine and Exposition received and allowed by the Church; that they should abstain from things, which it is better for the People to be ignorant of than to know, and from Subtleties which they cannot understand; lastly, that they should not meddle with Controversies and Disputes in their Sermons, till the Council had determin'd things; and to that end, that the Bishops and other Prelates, should employ in their Dioceses, virtuous and learned Men to watch over the Preachers, and correct them, when there should be occasion; that they should hinder any new Books from being printed, and particularly Libels full of Calumnies and Abuses. That the Magistrates should appoint Men of Probity and Learning to License new Books; that by this means they hoped to keep things quiet 'till the future Council, which should determine all things. As to the Priests who are married, and the Monks who have left their Convents, against whom the Nuncio had made Information, they thought it sufficient, that they should be punished by their Ordinaries according to the Canons, by Deprivation of their Benefices, or the like, since the Civil Laws had ordained nothing against them; that all the Secular Powers could do, was not to hinder the Ordinaries from exercising their Jurisdiction; but if these persons, who have broken their Vows, should commit any Crime against the Publick, the Prince or his Magistrates should punish them. Lastly, the Diet prayed the Pope to take this answer in good part, as proceeding from a Pious, Sincere, and Christian Mind, assuring him, that they desired nothing so much as the Happiness of the Catholick Church, and of his Holiness.

The Nuncio's reply to the Diet. The Nuncio reply'd, that he was not at all satisfied with this answer, which he did not expect; that *Luther* having not only persevered in his Errors since the Emperor's Edict, but having also taught many new Ones afterwards, they ought rather to increase than lessen his Punishment; that the Negligence which they had shewn in this Matter was in the first place, offensive to the Divine Majesty, and then to the Pope, Emperor, and whole Empire; that the reason which they alledged to excuse the Non-execution of the Pope's Decree, and Emperor's Edict to avoid Scandal, was not good, because

The Diet of Nuremberg, &c. we must not permit Evil to procure Good, and the Salvation of Souls is to be prefer'd before all other Interests; that they ought principally to consider, that the Pope promised to labour after the Reformation of the Church: That he conjured the Assembly not to depart till they had ordered the Execution of the Emperor's Edict; that in short, the Pope would labour to procure Peace, and Union among Christian Princes; that as to the Annates he had no Power to Treat about them, but the Pope should send his Resolution either to the Emperor, or the next Diet. As to their request for a Council, he hoped that the Pope would agree to it, but he wished it had been expressed in other Terms, and that they would strike out such Words as might offend the Pope, such as these; that his Holiness ought to call a Council with the consent of his Imperial Majesty, that it should be free, or held in such or such a City, which might seem to limit the Pope's Power. As for Preachers they ought to observe the Regulation made by the Pope, that none should preach, but such as are approv'd by the Bishop of the place. As to Printers, he thought the Emperor's Edict should be observed, to burn the Books, and punish the Printers; and for the future, they should put in Execution the Decree of the Council of the *Lateran*, by which it is forbidden to Print any Book about Matters of Religion, that hath not been allowed by the Ordinary. About the Article of Married Priests, he said, that the Answer of the Diet did not displease him, if it had not had this Clause at the end; that the breakers of their Vows, if they committed any Crime should be punished by the Secular Magistrates; pretending that this was contrary to the Liberties of the Church, and that the Judgment of such persons belonged to the Ecclesiastical Judges.

A Memorial of 100 grievances sent to the Pope. The Members of the Diet did not think fit to answer the Nuncio's reply, and only declar'd to him, that he ought to submit to the first Resolution of the Diet, till they had sent their Memorial of the *Grievances* of *Germany* to the Pope. The Nuncio departing before that writing was ready, they sent it to the Pope, with this Protestation, that they neither could nor would endure those Oppressions, and Ex-tortions, the necessity of their Affairs obliging them to find out means to relieve themselves; We have already observ'd, that the *Germans* in the time of *Maximilian*. had propos'd ten *Grievances* against the Court of *Rome*, about which that Emperor made an Edict. The number of their complaints was much increased since that time, and this new Memorial contained an 100 *Grievances* or *Heads*, about which the *German* Nation affirmed, they had reason to complain of the management of the Court of *Rome*. The Articles to which these hundred *Grievances* may be reduced are these (a).

The first was about Constitutions, they complain-ed that there was too great a Number of Humane Constitutions about things, which are neither commanded, nor forbidden by the Commandment of God, as among others, the hindrances of Kindred, and Affinity, legal and spiritual, about Marriage, abstinence from Meats, &c. which they dispensed with for Money, by which means they got great summs out of *Germany*; besides the Scandals and other Evils, which this multitude of Laws caused. The second was about Indulgences, that they were become an insupportable Yoke, by which much Money was squeezed out of the *Germans*, Piety destroyed, and a door set open to all sorts of Crimes, because by that means Men are freed from punishment for Money; that the summs which were gathered by those Indulgences, which ought to be employment for the defence of Christendom against the *Turks*, was consumed by the Popes in maintaining the Luxury of their Relations and Family; that the Stations and Indul-

[(a) P O P E *Adrian's* Breve to the Diet, his Instructions on *Cheregatus*, the Answer of the Diet to the Pope's Letter, and Instructions, the Nuncio's reply, with the *Centum*

Gravamina, are all Printed in the *Fasciculus Rerum expetendarum, & fugiendarum*, first published by *Orthunius Gratius* at *Cologne*, 1535. and Reprinted at *London*, 1690.]

gences granted to certain Churches, were not less scandalous, nor did less injury to the Poor. The third was concerning Ecclesiastical Causes, they complained of the Appeals to the Holy See at the first Instance, of the Conservators, Commissioners, and Exemptions which the Pope granted, in prejudice to the Power of the Ordinaries; the fourth was about the Collation of Benefices. This Article furnished them with many grievances about the Artifices, which the Court of *Rome* used, in bestowing Benefices in *Germany*, in prejudice to the right of Patrons, and Ordinaries. The fifth was about Annates, which they desired might be abolished, that the Clergy and Churches might contribute to the necessary Expences for the defence of the State against the *Turks*. The sixth was about the exemption of Ecclesiasticks in criminal Causes, which they shewed to be prejudicial to the publick. The seventh was about Excommunication, which they would not have made use of in Temporal Matters, nor several Persons to be interdicted, or excommunicated for one Man's Crime. The eight was about the great Number of Feasts, which they would have to be lessened. The ninth was about the Goods of Clergy-men, and Churches, and the Impositions, which the Bishops, and other Officers laid upon Churches, the summs which they required for Ordinations, Consecrations, &c. The tenth was about the Encroachments of Ecclesiastical Judges, in Lay-mens Causes, and the Malversations which they committed in their Judgments. The eleventh was about the Exactions of the Clergy for the Sacraments, Burials and Masses, &c. and even for Licences to keep Concubines. The twelfth was about the summs, which the Mendicant Friars received from the Nunneries, which depended upon them, to send to *Rome*. The thirteenth was about the Faculties given to the Pope's Legates, and Nuncio's to legitimate Bastards, bestow Benefices, &c. The fourteenth was about the Monks, and Nuns in *Germany*, who were Heirs to their Relations, but their Relations were not allowed to be Heirs to them, which was unjust, and to remedy it, they desired, that all that made Vows for the future should declare it to the Magistrate, and that their Relations should give them a reasonable allowance to maintain them in the Monastery, to renounce their Succession. Lastly, they declared, that there were several other Grievances besides, which they reserved to be proposed, when Justice was done them in these. They prayed the Pope to do this for them, declaring, that if he gave them not Satisfaction, they were resolved not to suffer these Charges, and they would seek means to release themselves from them.

This Resolution of the Diet at *Nuremberg*, was made into the form of an Edict, and publish'd *March* 6. 1523. But both Papists, and Lutherans interpreted it, each of them in favour of themselves; for this Decree ordered, that the Gospel should be taught according to the Interpretation of the Doctrine received, and approved in the Church. *Luther*, and his Followers, understood it not of the Doctrine of the present Church, but of the Ancient, which as they affirmed, agreed with theirs, and so they explained the other Articles delivered in general Terms, which both Parties might accommodate to themselves. Only that which concerned the Marriage of Priests, appeared very hard to them, and they could not make it agree to their Doctrine, and the Practice they would have introduced, nevertheless they commended the Moderation, which was observ'd in not punishing the married Clergy with Civil Punishments. Lastly, they thought to get a great Advantage by this Edict, because it seemed to suspend *Luther's* Excommunication, and all Prosecutions of him, till the next Council. These were the Reflections, which *Luther* made in a Writing, by which, nevertheless, he begged the favour of the Princes of the Empire, that they would not oblige him to observe the last Article concerning Celibacy.

V O L. III.

He sent about the same time a Writing in the German Language, to the *Vaudois*, and *Picards* of *Bohemia*, and *Moravia*, who had sent to him their Deputies, and a Catechism of their Doctrine, in which among other Articles there was one, that imported, that the Body of *Jesus Christ* was not contained naturally in the Eucharist, and so ought not to be worshipped. *Luther* desired an Explication of that Article, which seemed to him obscure; nevertheless he declar'd, that he did not doubt but their Doctrine was pure and true, and that they came nearer than any other Society of Christians, to the Purity of the Gospel.

He wrote also another Book, which he dedicated to the Senate, and People of *Prague*, about the Institution of Ministers of the Church, in which he affirms, that there is no other Calling, Mission, Institution, or Ordination, but the Election of the Faithful in every Church. He maintains in another Writing, that all the Faithful were Judges of the Doctrine, and calling of their Ministers, and were their Masters to depose them, if they taught not the Gospel in its Purity. In a third, he opposes the Authority of Tradition and Humane Laws, under a pretence, that the Law of God is sufficient; he observes nevertheless in the Preface, that he disapproves of those impudent and rash Men, who do nothing but make Christianity to consist in Milk, the contempt of Humane Laws, who eat Eggs, Flesh, and Milk indifferently, who do not confess at all, and beat down Images, &c. but he saith, he hath made a Book to comfort and relieve poor, afflicted, and grieved Consciences who are held in the Captivity of Monasteries, and Societies by Humane Traditions. At last he undertook to compose a New Form of Celebrating the Mass, and Communion in the Church of *Wittenberg*. He approves of the Additions made, as he thinks, by the Primitive Fathers, as the reciting one, or two Psalms before the Blessing of the Bread, and Wine, the *Kyrie Eleison*, and the reading of the Epistle and Gospel. Neither is he against the usage of reading a Psalm at the beginning, nor reciting the *Gloria in excelsis*, the *Gradual*, *Hallelujahs*, *Nicene Creed*, the *Sanctus*, and the *Agnus Dei*, but he declares against the other parts of the Canon, as the *Offertories*, *Collects* and *Proses*. He finds fault with Masses for the Dead, and other votive Masses; and this is the Order of the Celebration of Mass, which he prescribes. He preserves the *Introitus* on Sundays, and the *Feasts of Our Lord*. He does not condemn the *Introitus* on the Feast of the Saints taken out of the Psalms, or other Books of Scripture, but does not admit them into the Church of *Wittenberg*. He receives the *Kyrie Eleison* according to the Ordinary use, and the *Collect* which follows, as also the *Gradual*. He rejects the *Proses*, except that of the Nativity, and that of the Holy Ghost. He approves of reading the Gospel, and leaves Men at Liberty to light Tapers, and use Incense. He doth not disapprove the *Nicene Creed*, but abhors the *Offertory*, and all that has a Relation to an Oblation, or Sacrifice. He orders, that after the recitation of the Creed, or Sermon, they take the Sacrament. He leaves Men at Liberty to mingle Water with Wine, or not, but inclines to the latter. He will then have the first Words of the Preface to be said, which are to be followed immediately with the Words of the Institution, recited in the same Tone, as the Lord's Prayer uses to be. Then the Quire is to Sing the *Sanctus*, and the Bread and Wine is to be Elevated at the *Benedictus*: After that the Lord's Prayer is to be said, and immediately after, without any other Prayer intervening, the *Pax Domini*. Then after that Prayer, which is a kind of Absolution, the Priest receives, and then the People, while the *Agnus Dei*, is singing; He thinks, that the common form, *Corpus Domini*, &c. may be used, that the last *Collects* should be omitted, because they all speak of a Sacrifice, and instead of them some other Prayer be Read: That instead of, *Ite Missa est*, be always

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said,

The Diet of Nuremberg, &c. said, *Benedicamus Domino*, and that they should conclude with the usual Benediction, or another taken out of Scripture; that the Bishop should have the Liberty to bless both Kinds, and to receive them before he gives them to the People, and to give the People the Bread, before he blesses and receives the Wine, and at last leaves Men at Liberty as to the outwards Rites, and will not have them condemn one another, because of a diversity in these things. As to the Qualifications for the Communion, he will have none admitted to it, but such as can give an account of their Faith, and who know the Nature, Use, and Benefit of the Lord's Supper. He will have those Sinners excluded whose Crimes are publick, but not such whose Sins are secret. He wisheth that those that do receive, may be set in a place by themselves. He thinks private Confession not necessary, nor to be exacted, but thinks it useful, and not to be contemned. He also leaves Men at Liberty to prepare themselves by Prayer and Fasting. Lastly, he appoints, that both Kinds be given, and that those, who will take but in one, shall have neither. He disallows not that *Canonical Hours* be recited, even upon Week Days, but will have *private Masses* to be abrogated; and that on Sundays Men shall go twice to Church, in the Morning to Mass, and in the Evening to Vespers; that in the Morning, the Gospel of the Sunday be expounded, and in the Evening the Epistle, and that all the Feasts of the Saints be laid aside, or kept only on Sundays; the *Canon of the Mass* displeased him so highly, that he made a Book against it, entitled, *The Abomination of Private Mass*, containing impious Notes against that Service. *Jodocus Clichtovæus* confuted these Books of *Luther's* about the celebration of the Mass in a Treatise, entitled, *A Defence of the Church against the Lutherans*.

Cochleus's Writings against Luther. *Joannes Cochleus* put out in 1523. several Books against *Luther*, who answered them by a Book more full of Invectives, (b) than Reasons, which *Cochleus*

[(b) It must have been a most Extraordinary Book in that way, if it out-did *Cochleus's*. His Writings have been made the constant Fund of Maledicence against *Luther* and the Re-

confuted by a New Treatise. *Luther* also in the same Year wrote another Book entitled, *An Example of Popish Doctrine, and Divinity*, which is only a Satyr against Nuns, professing a Monastick Life. He wrote also against the Vow of Virginity, in the Preface of his Commentary on 1 Cor. vii. against *John Faber*, Vicar of the Bishop of *Constance*, and afterwards Bishop of *Vienna*, who had written against him. This Preface of *Luther's* was confuted by *Conradus Collinus*, a *Dominican*. *Luther's* Exhortations were soon followed with effects, and the same Year *Leonard Coppen* a Citizen of *Tergaw*, took away nine Nuns upon Good-Friday among which was *Catherine Bora*, whom *Luther* Married two Years after) from the Nunnery of *Nimpschen*, and carried them to *Wittenberg*. This Action *Luther* dared to extol in a Book in the German Language, where he has the impudence to compare that Deliverance to that of the Souls which Jesus Christ has delivered by his Death.

Lastly, *Luther* desiring utterly to ruin the Monastic Orders, and to draw the Publick into his Side, made a kind of Manifesto in the German Tongue, which he entitled, *The Common Treasury*, in which he affirms, that there ought to be a Treasury made out of all the Revenues of the Monasteries, Bishopricks, and Chapters, and in general out of all Ecclesiastical Benefices; and that one part should be given to the Pastors, and Preachers, and those that should take care of the Treasury; another to the School-Masters of both Sexes, who should be set up in the Monasteries of the Mendicant Friars; a third part for the Old Men and Sick; a fourth part to Orphans; a fifth to the Poor burdened with Debts; a sixth to Strangers; a seventh to uphold the Buildings; and an eight to make Store-houses for Corn. Thus did *Luther* set himself up by his own private Authority to be supreme Law-giver, and undertook absolutely to dispose of the Revenues of the Church.

formation, for all those that have slandered the Protestant Religion ever since.]

C H A P. XVI.

The Progress of Zuinglius's Doctrine in Switzerland. The Conferences appointed by the Senate of Zurich, which produced certain Edicts against the Practices of the Church. The Opposition made against them by the other Cantons. The Mass abolished at Zurich.

The Progress of Zuinglius's Doctrine in Switzerland. The Conferences at Zurich, &c. **Z**uinglius made no less Progress in Switzerland, than *Luther* did in *Saxony*, though he carried himself with more Moderation and Prudence, for after he had propounded his Doctrine to them in his Sermons, which he preached for four Years together in *Zurich*, and so prepared their minds for the Reception of it, yet he would not attempt to make any alterations in the Worship of God, without the concurrence of the Magistrates, and to that end he caused an Assembly to be called by the Senate of *Zurich*, January 29. 1523. that the differences among Preachers in matters of Religion might be composed. The Senate by their Edict invited all the Ecclesiasticks of their Canton, and gave the Bishop of *Constance* notice of it, that he might either be present himself, or send to it, that they might, if they thought convenient, confute by Texts of Holy Scripture, or Sound Reason, the Errors which they affirmed to be taught, that so after that dispute the Senate might give Encouragement to those Opinions, which it found to be best Establish'd upon

the Holy Scripture, and the Word of God, and that afterward if there were any Opposition to the Doctrine, which should be allowed of, it might be punished according to the greatness of the Crime. The Assembly met upon the day appointed, and there appeared a great number of the Clergy at it, and the Bishop of *Constance* sent three Deputies, among whom was *John Faber* his chief Vicar. The Consul opened the Conference with a Speech, in which he declared, that the Sermons of *Zuinglius* have raised many disputes in their City, and *Zuinglius* having offered to give an account of his Doctrine in a publick disputation, the Senate thought that the best way to allay these differences, to appoint a Conference before the Council of two hundred, to which he had summon'd the Clergy both of the City and Country, and the Bishop of *Constance* had sent his Deputies. When this Discourse was ended, *Frederick de' Anwy*, one of the Deputies of the Bishop of *Constance*, said, that his Bishop being sensible, that these contests had disturbed his Diocese, and being desirous to contribute

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tribute his help to allay them, had at the request of the Senate of Zurich, sent his Deputies to the Assembly, to get Information about the Subject of these Controversies, but their Commission extended no farther, than to treat friendly about such things, as might conduce to the Peace and Welfare of the City, and Senate; that if any persons would discover, and detect the Errors, which had been delivered in the Sermons, that had been preached in the Church of Zurich, they would hear their Reasons in the Name of the Bishop of Constance, and endeavour to allay the Heats between the Ministers of that Church, till that Bishop could farther advise with his Council, what more was reasonable to be done. Then Zuinglius replying, said, that the Light of the Gospel having been much more obscured, and almost extinguished by human Traditions; several Persons of late had endeavoured to restore it, by preaching the Word of God to the People in its purity; that he was one of that Number, and tho' he had for five Years past taught nothing but what was contain'd in the Holy Scripture, yet he had been treated as an Heretick, and Seducer, and for that Reason it was that he desired to give an account of his Doctrine before the Senate of Zurich, and the Bishop of Constance, or his Deputies, and he thank'd the Senate for granting him that favour, and that they might the more easily understand his Doctrines, he had drawn them exactly into 67 Propositions, which he was fully persuaded, were agreeable to the Gospel, and if any Persons would accuse him of Error or Heresie in holding them, he was ready to answer for himself.

The Doctrines of Zuinglius offered in the Conference at Zurich.

The Doctrine contained in these 67 Propositions, may be reduced to these following Articles; 1. That the Gospel is the only Rule of Faith; 2. That the Church is the Communion of Saints; 3. That we ought to acknowledge no other Head of the Church but Jesus Christ; 4. That all Traditions are to be rejected; 5. That there is no other Sacrifice, but that of Jesus Christ upon the Cross, and that the Mass is no Sacrifice, but a Commemoration of the Sacrifice of Christ; 6. That we have need of no other Intercessor with God but Jesus Christ; 7. That all sorts of Meat may be eaten at all times; 8. That the Habits of Monks smell of Hypocrisy; 9. That Marriage is allowed to all the World, and no Man is obliged to make a Vow of Chastity, and that Priests are not at all obliged to live unmarried; 10. That Excommunication ought not to be inflicted by the Bishop alone, but by the whole Church, and that only notorious Offenders ought to be excommunicated; 11. That the Power which the Pope, and Bishops assume to themselves, is a piece of Pride which hath no Foundation in Scripture; 12. That none but God can forgive Sins; That Confession of Sin to a Priest is only to beg his ghostly Advice, and that Works of Satisfaction proceed from human Tradition; 13. That the Scripture doth not teach us, that there is such a place as Purgatory, and that the Fate of Christians Souls in another Life, is only known to God; yet that he did not condemn those, who prayed to God to be merciful to the Dead; 14. That the Character, which the Sacraments are said to impress is a modern Invention, of which the Scripture makes no mention; 15. That the Scripture acknowledges none for Priests, or Bishops, but such as preach the Word of God. Lastly, he promises to deliver his Judgment about Tythes, the Revenues of the Church, the Condition of Infants not baptized, and about Confirmation, if any person desire to dispute with him upon those Points.

Faber's Answer.

John Faber answered, that he was not come to enter into a Disputation about Ceremonies and Customs, which had for many Ages been used in the Church, nor did he think it fit to debate of that matter at this time, but to refer it to the General Council, which was to meet shortly according to the Constitution of the Diet of Nuremberg.

Zuinglius replied, that we ought not to regard, how long a thing has been, or has not been in use, but observe only, whether it be agreeable to the Truth, or Law of God, to which Custom could not be opposed; that the present Assembly could very well determine the Matters in Question, without referring them to a Council; and so much the more, because the present Bishops were very different from those, who made up the ancient Councils, and that the Proposition of holding a Council within a Year, could not be put in practice; that in this Assembly were learned Men, who were very well able to judge of the things in dispute; and there were private Christians so enlightened by the Spirit of God, that they could easily discern who were those that understood the Scripture well or ill; Zuinglius concluded this Discourse, with an earnest Exhortation to the People of Zurich, to leave their Citizens no longer in doubt of what concerned their Salvation. The Council then declared, that if there were any person present, that had any thing to alledge against Zuinglius, he had free liberty to speak, and Zuinglius made a publick Challenge three times.

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Zuinglius his Reply.

When no Man said any thing, Jacobus Carpenterius affirm'd, that the Bishop of Constance had lately published a Decree, by which he ordered all persons to keep, and observe the ancient Rites, and forbid any Alterations, till a Council should appoint otherwise, but it was his Opinion, that no Man was obliged to obey his Command, but the Word of God ought to be preach'd in it's Purity, without any Mixture of human Tradition. He complained also, that the Minister of Filisback had been apprehended for teaching the same Doctrine with Zuinglius. Upon this Faber thinking himself obliged to vindicate his Bishop, said, that tho' he did not exactly know the purport of that Order, because he was engaged in other Affairs when it was published, yet as to the person mention'd, he was a poor ignorant Fellow, who being questioned about the Intercession of Saints, and the Virgin, was found to hold impious and irreligious Opinions. Zuinglius, who sought only an opportunity of coming to a Dispute, took this occasion to oppose the Intercession of Saints. Faber perceived plainly then, that he was fallen into it unawares, and not being able to retreat fairly, he made a very general Discourse about the Authority of the Church, and Councils, which had condemned the ancient Hereticks, and lately the Bohemians, Wickliffe, and John Huss, whose Errors were now again revived; adding that the Intercession of Saints was a Doctrine, which had been long settled in the Church, and authorized by the practice of all Nations; that such Customs ought not to be abolished by any Allegations out of Scriptures, or pretences, that they were contrary to them, but it ought to be considered, whether they are rightly understood, for all persons are not capable of judging of the true Sense of them; that such Questions as these ought properly to be debated among Divines only, as in the Universities of Paris, Cologne, or Louvain. Zuinglius replied, that he desired of him only to resolve, whether the Scripture made any mention of the Intercession of Saints? Whether Councils be infallible? Whether Traditions, and Customs, tho' never so ancient, ought not to be rejected, when they are not grounded upon the Authority of Holy Scripture? Whether it is not clearly expressed, that Jesus Christ is our only Mediator? From this Question of Intercession of Saints, they passed to the Celibacy of Priests, and these two Questions were the subject of a long Contest between the Deputies of the Bishop of Constance, on the one part, and Zuinglius, Leo Juda, and some other Ministers on the other, the former supported their Opinions by Tradition, the Authority of the Church, and the Canons of the Councils, but the latter would yield to nothing but the Holy Scripture.

All the Morning being spent in these Debates, the Consul dismiss'd the Assitants about Noon, and joined

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Edict of the Senate of Zurich.

The Protestation of Faber, and the Contest about it.

ed with the Senate to consult about the matter, which however important it was, and they very improperly Judges to determine it, yet they being prepossessed, soon came to a Resolution, and making it immediately into an Edict, called the People together after Dinner to publish it. The substance of it was this, that the Senate had appointed, that Zuinglius should go on to teach and preach the Doctrine of the Gospel, and the Word of God after the same manner, that he had hitherto done, and forbid, all Pastors, and Teachers both in the City and Country, to teach any thing that could not be proved by the Gospel, and Holy Scripture, enjoying them to forbear all Accusations of Heresie or other Crimes.

Faber neither approving nor disapproving this Edict of the Senate, entred his Protestation, shewing, that they had delivered many things that day contrary to the ancient Usages of the Church, the Pope's Decrees, and the ancient Constitutions, which he had offered to prove before the Universities; that this being the first time, that he had an opportunity of seeing Zuinglius's Propositions, he had discovered many things in them contrary to the Rites established in the Church for the Honour and Glory of God, which he would prove by clear and convincing Arguments; this Declaration begat a fresh Dispute about the Authority of the Church, and the Necessity of a Judge to interpret the Holy Scripture. Zuinglius would accept of none, but the Scripture it self, the reading of which he recommended to all Men. The Minister of Glafeld asked him, if they might read and quote St. Gregory, and St. Ambrose. He could not deny, but that they might read them, but he was not ashamed to say, that they ought not to name them (a). 'Every one, said he, is allowed to read them, but if we find any thing in their Works, which is either conformable to the Gospel, or taken out of it, there is no necessity to cite St. Gregory, or Ambrose, because the principal Glory of every thing is due to Jesus Christ, and the Authority of the Gospel ought to recommend our Doctrine, which is not only my Opinion, but it is the Judgment of Gregory, and Ambrose themselves, who grounded their Assertions upon the Holy Scripture, and are often mistaken, when they follow their own Reason.' Faber then added, that he would demonstrate, that Zuinglius's Doctrine was contrary to St. Paul's. Zuinglius challenged him to do it, and promised him a Cheese of Hares Milk, if he could prove any of his Doctrines erroneous by the Gospel, or Holy Scripture. Faber replied, that there were several things forbidden, which are not expressly mention'd, as prohibited in the Gospel, and instanced in the Marriage of the Uncle with the Niece. Zuinglius could not disengage himself from this Argument, but by saying, that the Scripture having forbidden Marriage in more distant Degrees of Consanguinity, this ought to be look'd upon as included, tho' it is not particularly express'd. And thus this Dispute ended.

It is easy to imagine, that after an Edict so favourable to Zuinglius was published, his Doctrine, which most of the Pastors had before embraced, was preached under the Name of Evangelical Truth in almost all the Churches of the Canton of Zurich; but because the outward Worship was contrary to their Doctrine, and they durst not abolish it without Authority, Images still remained, and Mass was celebrated in their Churches; Zuinglius to perfect his Design, engaged the Senate to call a new Assembly upon the Munday before the Feast of St. Simon, and St. Jude, that these Matters might be debated before the Senate, who thereupon might advise what was fit to be done, and to make the Assembly of greater Authority, they invited the Bishops of Constance, Coire, and Basil, with the University of this latter

City, and the XII. Cantons of Switzerland, to send their Deputies, and the most learned Men, that were among them.

The Senate being assembled upon the Day appointed, chose Joachim Vadianus, Sebastian Hofman, and Christopher Chapplerus to be Arbitrators of the Dispute: Zuinglius, and Leo Juda were Respondents, and all persons present were allowed to object what they pleased. The first Question which was propounded was, What the Church is, and where it is? Zuinglius distinguished, and said, that the Church was taken in two Senses. 1. For the Congregation of all true Christians, of whom Jesus Christ is the Head. 2. For the particular Congregation of Christians in one place, and maintain'd, that the Congregations of Cardinals, and Bishops, were not the Church. Hofman remonstrated, that the Bishop of Constance had charged them, to allow of no Innovations in Religion, and that the Pope, and Emperor had condemned them, and for his part, he would not enter into any Dispute, but would obey the Bishops, and Provost of his Chapter, according to the Oath that he had taken. Zuinglius replied, that all these Reasons were needless, and that they ought to prove by Scripture, that his Doctrine was not to be regarded; he declared, that he made no great account of the Councils, and spoke contemptibly of the Pope's Decree, and the Emperor's Edict, Leo Juda carrying on the Discourse said, that it was very dangerous to allow of any other Proofs, than such as are drawn from Scripture, and then proceeded to oppose the Use of Images by Texts of the Old Testament, in which it was forbidden the Jews, to make or worship any graven Images, and by such places of the New Testament, in which the Adoration of Idols was prohibited. This Opinion was approved by Sebastian Hofman. One inquired, if it were not allowable to have them privately, and he was answered No. Another asserted, that we ought to hold, that only the Images of false Gods are forbidden, for Moses caused the Brazen Serpent to be made, and the Ark was adorn'd with Cherubims; but the reply was made, that Images are forbidden in general, and that the making of the Serpent, and Cherubims, were Exceptions made by God himself, and ought not to be made use of to justify the Use of other Images. A third was of opinion, that Images ought to be still allowed for the help of the Weak, and that they should begin with better Instruction of the People, and that it was his opinion, that the Commandment not to make any graven Images, seemed to him to be one of those Commandments of the Law, which are now abrogated. Zuinglius constantly maintain'd, that Images were in no case to be tolerated, because they are forbidden not only in the Old Law, but also in the New. A fourth inquired whether it were not lawful to have Images, provided they paid no Worship to them. Zuinglius would not hearken to that middle Opinion, but still affirmed, that the Law of God forbade them absolutely, besides that it was customary to worship them, when they had them. He also condemned the Worship of Saints. Lastly, In this Conference several of the Assistants who were believed to be Enemies to Innovations were obliged to speak, and their Words were turned into Ridicule. The Resolution of this first Conference was, that no Images were to be allowed among Christians.

In the second Conference they discoursed about the Mass. Zuinglius maintained, that the Mass was no Sacrifice that one could offer for another, and that it was only a Commemoration of the Sacrifice of Jesus Christ upon the Cross. This Proposition being laid down, Vadianus said, that for Order sake, it was convenient to ask the Abbots, and Ministers one by one, what they had to say against this Assertion of Zuinglius. There was none but the Preachi-

[(a) i. e. NOT to bring in their Authority as decisive upon any particular Point in question: Otherwise not only Popes, and General Councils, but every Fa-

ther must be infallible: Their Opinions are valuable, but their Authority ought not to be decisive.]

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The second Conference at Zurich.

The Progress of Zuinglius his Doctrine in Switzerland. The Conference at Zurich, &c.

er of *Schaffhausen*, who dared to defend the Doctrine of the Church, by proving, that the Mass was a Sacrifice; 1. From the Text in *Malachi*. 2. Because Jesus Christ, who instituted the Eucharist, is by all acknowledged to be a Priest after the Order of *Melchisedek*, and so his Priesthood is eternal. 3. Because the Church, which is influenced, and governed by the Holy Spirit hath always held it to be a Sacrifice. 4. Because the Mass doth represent to us the Sacrifice of Jesus Christ upon the Cross, and because the Body, and Blood of Jesus Christ, which were sacrificed upon the Cross, are really there. *Zuinglius* and *Leo Juda* answered these Arguments confusedly. The other Abbots, and Clergymen, who were present at this Conference, betrayed, or deserted the Cause of the Church, thro' Ignorance, or Malice. Towards the end of this Conference, the Question about Purgatory began to be debated, but they went not very far upon that subject. It was again proposed in the next Conference, but no body would undertake to defend the Doctrine of the Church. And so they began to discourse afresh upon the Mass, and one of the Assembly supposing, that he had fully proved, that it was not a Sacrifice, which could be offered for the Quick and Dead, said, that it could only be a Sign, Mark, or Seal of our Faith in Christ, and that no other Words ought to be used in the Celebration of it, but the Words of Jesus Christ; that the Word of God ought to be preached at every Mass, and that it ought to be celebrated in the Vulgar Tongue, which the People might understand, and that all present ought to receive in both Kinds. *Zuinglius* was fully of the same Judgment, and did not fear to say, that 'twas his Opinion, that Singing, and Ceremonial Habits ought to be abolished, but he added, that it ought to be done at a convenient Season, when the People were well instructed, that it might occasion no Tumults. It was demanded, whether leavened, or unleavened Bread should be used in the Celebration. *Zuinglius* answered, that either of them might be used indifferently, provided there was no affectation in the Form. He also determined that Water ought not to be mingled with the Wine; that it was not necessary to communicate in the Morning fasting; that the Priest might give it to himself, and all others ought to receive it from his Hands. *Frabricius* proposed, that before Images were removed, and the Mass abolished, the People should be first instructed, and an Abridgment of Christian Doctrines drawn up, and given to every Pastor in the Canton, who should be obliged by an Edict to teach no other Doctrine. He stirred up the Magistrates to use their utmost abilities to establish the Truth of the Gospel, and to oppose the Attempts of the Bishops to hinder it. The three Arbitrators appointed by the Senate, gave Sentence, That the Abuses of Images, and Masses were sufficiently proved by the Word of God, but it did not belong to them to determine, what was to be done, but they left it to the Senate, to enquire how they might be abolished without offence. This was the result of this Conference, which was followed with an Edict, by which it was forbidden to the Priests, and Monks to make any publick Processions, to carry the Holy Sacrament, or to elevate it in the Church, that it might be worshipped. Relicks were taken out of Churches, and it was forbidden to play upon Organs, to ring the Bells, to bless Palm-Bran-ches, Salt, Water or Tapers, and to administer Extreme Unction to the Sick. In a word, Part of the outward Worship, and Ceremonies of the Church were at that time abolished in the Canton of *Zurich*.

Edict of the Senate of Zurich.

The Decree of the Swiss Cantons assembled at Lucern.

Sacrament, to confess their Sins to the Priests, ordering that in *Lent*, the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church should be observed, that every one should submit themselves to their Pastor, receive the Sacraments from him, pay him their Duës, and shew him a due Respect; that none should eat Flesh on the Days upon which it is forbidden, and that in *Lent* they should eat no Eggs, nor Cheese; that they should not teach the Doctrine of *Zuinglius*, that they should not meddle with the Images, or Pictures of the Saints; that none should molest those, who should carry Relicks in Procession; that they should observe the Constitutions of the Bishop of *Constance*, and the Magistrates should see to the Execution of this Decree,

These Cantons at the same time sent their Deputies to the Senate of *Zurich*, to complain of the Innovations they had made in their Canton. The Senate of *Zurich* returned an Answer, that having been for five Years last past instructed in the Truth of the Gospel, and of the Word of God, they understood, that Celibacy, Abstinence from Meats, the Worship of Relicks and Saints, the Ornaments of Churches, private Confession, and the several Orders of Monks, are but human Inventions, for which no Laws ought to be made; that they revered the Sacraments, which were of our Lord's Institution, but did not think, that they ought to use the Lord's Supper for an Oblation, or a Sacrifice; that for the future they would endeavour to remedy these Abuses, but could not in conscience do otherwise, unless they were convinced, that they were in an Error, and prayed the other Cantons, if they believed the Doctrine of *Zuinglius* to be contrary to the Holy Scriptures, to prove it to them before the end of *May*, and they would wait for an Answer till that time from them, and the Bishops, and the University of *Basil*: When that time was passed, the Senate of *Zurich* call'd together the chief Ministers of the Churches, who with the 12 Senators, and *Eschevin* of the City went into the Churches, and pulled down all the Images as well in the City of *Zurich*, as in the other Towns and Villages. This happened about the end of *June*. But they durst not yet quite abolish the Mass, that was put off to another Opportunity.

Images pulled down in the Cantons of Zurich.

Whilst all these things were doing, *Zuinglius* wrote several Books in defence of his Doctrine. The first was a large Explication of the 67 Propositions, which he had delivered in the first Conference. The second was a Discourse dedicated to all the Cantons of *Switzerland*, in which he exhorts them not to hinder the Progress of his Doctrine, nor to be dissatisfied with Priests Marriages. The third is an Answer to the Advice, which the Bishop of *Constance* had given to the Senate of *Zurich*, to oppose Innovations, and not to tolerate the Disobedience of Priests, or to suffer the ancient Traditions, and Usages of the Church to be abolished. This Advice of the Bishop is dated *May 24. 1522.* and *Zuinglius's* Answer was dated *August 23. the same Year.* He also presented a Petition to that Bishop at the same time in his own Name, and in the Name of many of his Followers, to intreat him not to hinder the Preaching of the Gospel, and to allow, or at least to tolerate the Marriages of Priests. He wrote also an Answer to certain Articles of Accusation brought against himself, and a Letter against such Impediments of Marriage, as were thought to be made by spiritual Affinity. A Book also about the Certainty and Evidence of the Word of God: Two Treatises against the Canon of the Mass: An Answer to *Jerome Emser's* Book, and a Letter about the Grace of Jesus Christ. All these Books were published by *Zuinglius*, from the Year 1522. to the Year 1525.

Zuinglius his Writings for the defence of his Doctrine.

The Bishop of *Constance* thought himself obliged to answer the Challenge, which had been sent him by the Senate of *Zurich*, and to that end caused a Book to be composed about Images, and the Mass; in which he first proveth, that the Images condemn-

A Book written by the Bishop of Constance.

The Progress of Zuinglius his Doctrine in Switzerland. The Conference at Zurich, &c. ned in Holy Scripture are very different from those which are approved by the Church, and which have been long in use. 2. He shews, that in the Judgment of the Popes, Fathers, and Councils, the Sacrament is an Oblation and Sacrifice. This Treatise was presented to the Senate of Zurich in the beginning of June, 1524. and being read to them, Zuinglius made an Answer to it in the Name of the Senate, dated August 18. and sent it to the Bishop of Constance.

The Mass abolish'd in the Canton of Zurich. On the 11th. of April, in the next Year Zuinglius, Leo Juda, Engelhardus, Megander, and Miconius petitioned the Senate of Zurich to abolish the Mass, and the Adoration of the Elements in the Sacraments. No body would undertake the defence of the Doctrine of the Church, but the Town-clerk, who maintain'd, that the Words of the Gospel, *This is my Body*, &c. proved beyond all contradiction, that the Bread was become the Body of Christ. Zuinglius urged, that the Word, *is*, might be taken for *signifies*, and Engelhardus undertook to demonstrate, that the Bread could not be in any sense the natural Body of Christ. The Town-clerk answered, that the Senses were not less repugnant to the Mystery of the Incarnation, than to the carnal Eating of the Body of Jesus Christ. Four Senators were appointed to examine this Matter with Zuinglius, and the other Divines, and to make their Report the next Day to the Senate. Zuinglius discoursed further of it, and notwithstanding the Arguments of the Town-clerk, the Senate made a Decree to abolish the Mass for ever, and the next day the Sacrament was received after another manner. Nevertheless the difficulty still remained about the sense of the Words used at the Institution of the Eucharist, from which Zuinglius had a great deal of difficulty to disengage himself. He would have them understood figuratively, but could not yet find any Example in Scripture, to authorize such an Interpretation, tho' he was obliged to prove by Holy Scripture, that the Words ought to have such a figurative sense. In the Evening before he was to preach upon that subject he had a Dream, in which he thought he was disputing again with the Town-clerk, and not being able to give him a satisfactory Answer, one appeared to him of a sudden, and said to him; Why do you not answer him, with this Instance in *Exodus*, *This is the*

Passover, i. e. *the Lord's passing over*. Hereupon, he says himself pleasantly, that he did not know, whether the Person, that appeared to him, were white or black; however he thought the Example very proper to vindicate his Assertion, and accordingly he made use of it the next day.

The Form of administering the Sacrament prescribed by Zuinglius The Form of celebrating the Lord's Supper prescribed by Zuinglius, was much more different from that of the Church than Luther's. He ordered the Table to be covered with a white Cloth, and a Patin full of unleavened Bread, and Vessels filled with Wine to be set thereon. The Minister and Deacons stand by the Table, and having exhorted the People to approach with Reverence, one of the Deacons reads the Institution of the Lord's Supper, taken out of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* (a), and another repeats a Part of the sixth Chapter of *St. John*, and then having read the Creed, the Minister exhorts all the Communicants to try, and examine their own Consciences, that they may not be guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord, by receiving them unworthily. After this Exhortation, the Minister and the People say the Lord's Prayer upon their Knees, and when that is ended, the Minister takes the Bread in his Hands, and says with an audible Voice the Words of the Institution of the Lord's Supper; then giving the Bread and Wine to the Deacons, who distribute them to the People, he reads the Discourse, which our Saviour had with his Disciples before his Passion, as it is related in the Gospel of *St. John*. This was the Form of administering the Sacrament, which Zuinglius appointed to be used. As to his Doctrine about the Sacrament, this is the Summ. He maintain'd that these Words of Jesus Christ, *This is my Body*, *This is my Blood*, are thus to be understood, *This signifies my Body and Blood: This Bread, and this Wine are a Figure of my Body and Blood: This is a Testimony and Pledge, that my Body shall be delivered up, and broken for you upon the Cross, and my Blood shall be shed for you*; from which it follows, that not only the Bread and Wine exist after Consecration, but also that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are not present in the Eucharist, neither *Under*, nor *In*, nor *With* the Bread and Wine, which are only a Figure of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, and are communicated to us, only in a spiritual Manner by Faith, so that the Wicked, and Sinful do not receive them at all.

[(a) *Corinthians* it should be.]

C H A P. XVII.

The Death of Pope Adrian VI. and the Election of Clement VII. Campegius sent to the Diet at Nuremberg. The Decrees of that Diet condemned at Rome, and rejected by the Emperor.

The Death of Pope Adrian VI. and Election of Clement VII. &c. **P**ope Adrian VI. dyed October 24. 1523. aged 64 Years, 6 Months, and some Days, without being able to remove the Evils which disturbed the Church, either within or without. The greatest Encomium, which one of his best Friends could give him, when he made his Epitaph was, that he counted it one of the greatest Infelicities of his Life, that he ever reigned: *Hadrianus VI. hic situs est qui nihil sibi infelicius in Vita, quam quod imperaret, duxit.* A little before his Death he canonized Benno, who was Bishop of Meissen, in the time of Gregory VII. and one of the most zealous Defenders of the Interests of the Holy See. Luther imagining, that it was done directly to oppose him, and to draw away the People from him by this new Feast, drew up a Book against this Canonization with this Title,

Against the new Idol, and old Devil set up at Meissen, in which he cruelly bespatters the Memory of Gregory VII. and spares not Adrian VI. Jerome Emser, who had formerly written the Life of Benno, made an Apology for his Canonization against the Aspersions of Luther, and defended the Conduct of Adrian VI.

The Election of Clement VII. The Holy See was not long vacant after the Death of Adrian VI. for the Cardinal Julius de Medicis, Cousin German to Leo X. who had a strong Party in the Conclave, was chosen, Novemb. 19. 1523. and took the Name of Clement VII. He was the Son of Julian de Medicis, who was slain at Florence in 1478. in the Conspiracy of the Pazzi, and left a Woman, with whom he was familiar, great with Child, who was brought to Bed of this Julius a Month &

Month after his Decease. *Lawrence de Medicis* took care of his Education, but afterward he attended the Fortune of *Leo X.* who being made Pope, created him Cardinal, *September 23. 1513.* He managed great part of the Publick Affairs during his Papacy, and not being able to procure his own Election after his Death, he let it fall upon *Adrian VI.* in hopes of another Vacancy soon. And indeed when *Adrian* was dead, the Conclave was divided, being part for him, and part for *Pompeius Colonna.* This last was supported by the Old Cardinals, and *Julius* by the young ones. These two Factions were almost of equal Strength, but *Julius* obliged *Pompeius* to give place, and leave his Votes to him, by the threatening to give his Votes to Cardinal *Urfini,* the professed Enemy of the Family of the *Colonna's.*

The first Business that *Clement VII.* did was to send a Legate into *Germany* to the Diet which was to be held at *Nuremberg* in the beginning of the Year 1524. He chose for this purpose Cardinal *Campegius,* a Man able in Negotiations, who had been already sent into *Germany* by *Leo X.* to the Emperor *Maximilian,* to whom he was so acceptable, that he caused him to be made Bishop of *Feltri,* and created Cardinal. *Clement VII.* sent him with a Breve to the Elector of *Saxony,* to stir him up to procure the Peace of *Germany,* and the Church. *Campegius* departed from *Rome* the first of *February,* and arriv'd in a little time at *Nuremberg,* where he was receiv'd by all the Princes of the Empire. The Duke of *Saxony* being gone away before his coming, he sent the Pope's Breve to him with a Letter, wherein he declar'd how sorry he was that he could not meet him at *Nuremberg,* remonstrating in his Letter that he wanted to treat with him about an Affair of the utmost consequence, and which ought not to be passed by: That several had given out a Report that he favour'd the new Heresies, but neither the Pope nor himself would believe it, and he exhorted him to let the World see that he did not degenerate from the Piety of his Ancestors, by causing the ancient Usages of the Church to be restor'd in his Dominions, and putting him in mind, that if he neglected to do it 'twas to be fear'd that these Innovations might stir up Troubles, Seditions and Wars in *Germany,* which would be no less prejudicial to the Princes and their Countries than to the Holy See, Bishops, and Church.

The Diet having given Audience to *Campegius,* he made an Oration, in which he began with endeavouring to obtain the Favour of the Assembly, by assuring them of the Paternal Affection of his Holiness to the *German* Nation, and the particular Obligation he had to advance the Interests of a Nation to which he was beholding for his Preferments. Then he promis'd them in general that he would do all he could fairly to remove the Grievances they complain'd of, and in the last place told them that he was order'd to require two things of them, the one concerning Religion, and the other about the War with the *Turks.* As to the first he declar'd, that it was no small Astonishment to him to see so great Princes to suffer such an Alteration to be made in Matters of Doctrine, and to tolerate a Religion which abolish'd the Ceremonies and Usages in which themselves and their Ancestors had been educated: That he could not imagine what would be the end of these Innovations, and to what they could tend, but he fear'd that unless there was a speedy stop put to them, they ought to expect nothing but Troubles and Seditions: That the Pope foreseeing this Misfortune had sent him on that Embassy, that he might with them find out some proper means to prevent such Evils. That his Holiness's Intentions were not to prescribe or to require any thing particularly of them, but to consult with them about such Means as would be effectual Remedies to remove so publick a calamity; that if they refus'd his Holiness's Advice they could not accuse him of neglecting his Duty, nor cast the blame on him. As to the War with the *Turks* he confess'd, that all the Money which had been rais'd upon that

account had been otherwise employ'd, but that for all that the State ought not to be abandon'd in such a pressing Conjuncture, and at a time when *Hungary* was ready to fall into the Hands of the *Turks,* without speedy Assistance.

The Princes answer'd, that they thank'd the Pope for his Good-will, and that they were so sensible of the danger they were in that they had sent to Pope *Adrian* the last Year a Memorial of such things as they thought proper to put an End to these differences; that if he had any Instructions about satisfying the contents of that Memorial they pray'd him to impart them to them, that they might proceed to some Resolutions about what was to be done. As to what concern'd the War with the *Turks* they said they were very solicitous about it, and that it concern'd not only the Empire, but all the other Princes of Christendom.

The Legate reply'd, that he knew nothing of any Memorial that had been sent to the Pope or Cardinals about the means proper to compose the differences in Religion; that the Pope was a Person of the best Intentions in the World, and had given him full Power to act; that it chiefly belong'd to them to find out Means to settle things firmly; that the Emperor had made an Edict at *Worms* with their consent, which ought to have been executed in all *Germany;* that nevertheless some only observ'd it, and others regarded it not; that he could not understand from whence this diversity of Judgments proceeded in the Members of the Empire; that he was not come to raise any Dissensions, and desired nothing but that those who had withdrawn themselves from the Church, and the Observation of the Decrees of Councils, and Emperor's Edicts, might be again united to them; that as to the Memorial of Demands mention'd, he did not know whether it was drawn up to be carry'd to *Rome;* that there was but three copies sent to private Persons, one of which fell into his Hands, that the Pope and Cardinals could not think that it was drawn up by the Princes, but that it was the Work of some private Person; that he had no Instructions about that matter, but yet had sufficient power to treat of it; that nevertheless there being some Articles which derogated from the Pope's Power, and border'd upon Heresy, he could not meddle with them, but as for those which were not contrary to the Pope's Authority, but were just and reasonable, he would not refuse to consider upon them, tho' he thought it better for them to make their immediate Addresses to the Pope; and lastly, that they had done very ill in causing that Memorial to be printed and divulg'd; that the Pope was sensible that the War with the *Turks* requir'd great Preparations, and that to make it successful 'twas necessary that the Christian Princes should be at Peace among themselves, and that he would do all he was able to procure it; that his Holiness had a Summ of Money ready to carry on that War, and was raising a greater Summ, that they ought chearfully to assist the young King of *Hungary,* who was their Kinsman and Ally, but if they would not hearken to the Voice of their Pastor he could do nothing more for the *Germans,* and whatever besel them he would bear it patiently, and submit it to God. The Emperor sent *John Haunart,* one of his Secretaries of State, to the Diet with a charge to urge them earnestly to the Execution of the Edict of *Worms,* and the Princes answered, that they would do all they could to have it executed.

After many of these Treaties, which continued all the *Lent,* the Diet at length came to these Resolutions: That the Pope, with the consent of the Emperor, should call a free Council soon in *Germany,* to allay the disputes of *Luther;* that in the meantime a Diet should be held at *Spires,* after the Feast of *St. Martin,* to consult what should be done at the opening of the Council; that the Princes should make choice of Persons of Learning and Piety, and give them a Commission to collect such Propositions

The Death of Pope Adrian VI. and the Election of Clement VII.

Campegius sent Legate into Germany.

Campegius's Oration to the Diet of Nuremberg.

The Death of Pope Adrian VI. and the Election of Clement VII.

The Princes Answer to Campegius's Discourse.

Campegius's Answer to the Princes.

The Resolutions of the Diet of Nuremberg.

The Death
of Pope
Adrian
VI. and
the Electi-
on of Cle-
ment VII.
&c.

The Death
of Pope
Adrian
VI. and
the Electi-
on of Cle-
ment VII.
&c.

out of *Luther's* Books as they might think fit to be presented to and examined by the Diet, that Matters might be prepared for a Council; that in the *interim* the Magistrates should take care that the Gospel should be preached according to the Sense and Interpretation of such Writers as are approved by the Church, and that none should be permitted to put out any Libels or make any Pictures to disgrace the Pope or Bishops, and lastly, that in the Assembly of *Spires* they should consider upon the Grievances contained in the Memorial drawn up by the former Diet, but desired the Princes nevertheless to do all they could to have the Edict of *Worms* put in Execution. As to the War against the *Turks*, it was agreed, that all Christian Princes should join their Help for the defence of *Hungary*, but the way of doing it was left to the Diet at *Spires*. These Resolutions were made, April 18. *Campegius* undertook only to give the Pope an account of their desires to have a Council. As to the other Heads he did not approve of them, because he alledg'd that Secular Persons are not to meddle with Ecclesiastical Affairs. *Campegius* also in this Diet gave a Commission to the Bishop of *Strasburg* to proceed against the marry'd Priests, and remove them out of the City. The Senate also gave him their permission, but withal petition'd the Bishop to punish such Priests as kept Concubines, and not to tolerate that Abuse for the future. The Deputies of the City of *Strasburg* stood up strongly in the defence of their Judges against the Bishop, and hinder'd the Regulation he intended.

The Assem-
bly of Ra-
tisbon.

The Legate not being satisfy'd with the Decrees of the Diet of *Nuremberg*, held a private Assembly July 6 and 7 at *Ratisbon*, with some Princes, and several Bishops of the Empire, in which two things were agreed on: The first was, that the Edict of *Worms* should be put in Execution, and pursuant to that all Persons should be hinder'd to explain the Gospel otherwise than it is expounded by the Fathers approv'd by the Church; that no person should preach unless he were first allow'd by the Ordinary; that there should be no Alterations made in the Celebration of the Mass, Administration of the Sacraments, and other Ceremonies of the Church, nor in the Prayers, Fasts, Offerings, and other ancient Usages; that the Marriages of Priests and Monks should be hinder'd, and those punish'd that should do the contrary; that Printers should not commit any Book to the Press till it had been examin'd and approv'd; that those who had any Children educating in the University of *Wittemberg* should take them away in three Months, and that for the future none of the Students of that University should be capable of any Benefices; that no Prince should entertain a *Lutheran* in his Dominions who had been banish'd the Country of another Prince. The second thing which the Legate caus'd to be settled in this Assembly for the Satisfaction of the *Germans* about the complaints they had made, was the publication of certain Constitutions made for the Reformation of the Clergy of *Germany*, contain'd in thirty five Articles, by which it was ordain'd, 1. That all Preachers should deliver the Word of God according to the Explication of the Holy Fathers, and should forbear all Legendary Apocriphal Stories; that Divine Service should be celebrated in the Churches after the ancient manner, with suitable Reverence. 2. That the Clergy should lead Lives agreeable to their Profession, and should wear such Habits as are according to their Degrees, as a long Cassock, with short Hair, and a Crown. 3. That they should not go to Taverns, Stage-plays, publick Feasts, or any other Meetings, where their presence might give Offence. 4. That the Curate should not deny the Sacraments or Burial to such persons as had no Money to give them; that they should not require excessive Sums, but the Bishops should appoint the Dues which should be paid to the Curates, and that there should be no more Feasts made in Taverns for such Priests as attend at Funerals. 5. That Confessors

might absolve the Laity from all their private Sins, except Murderers, Hereticks, and Persons excommunicate, whom they should send to the Bishop. 6. That Vicars should not be accepted by their Parishes, but by the Authority of the Bishop. 7. That Beneficed persons should be careful to keep their Houses in good repair. 8. That Curacies should not be given to the Monks, but the Abbots, or Heads of Monasteries, should appoint such Vicars for the Cures belonging to them as should be allow'd of by the Bishops. 9. That no Priest that is a Stranger shall be allow'd to celebrate Divine Service in any Diocese, unless he shew his Letters of Ordination, and a certificate of his Life and Conversation under the Hand of his Bishop. 10. That Priests that keep Concubines shall be severely punish'd. 11. That none shall pretend to desire Alms, or preach up Indulgences, unless he has Letters of Approbation of his Bishop, and this too without any Diminution of the Privileges of the Mendicant Friars. 12. That Church-wardens shall not have power to dispose of the Revenues of the Church without the consent of the Curate. 13. That the chief Vicars of Bishops shall not require any thing for the Consecration of Churches and Altars. 14. That the Number of Festivals shall be reduc'd to these that follow: *Sundays*, the Feasts of the *Nativity*, *St. Stephen*, *St. John*, and the *Holy Innocents*, Circumcision, Epiphany, *Easter*, with *Monday* and *Tuesday* in the following Week, *Ascension-day*, *St. George*, *Whitsunday*, with the *Monday* and *Tuesday* following, the Feast of the Holy Sacrament, the Purification, Annunciation, Assumption, and *Nativity* of the Virgin, and the Feasts of the Apostles, *St. John Baptist*, *St. Mary Magdalene*, *St. Laurence*, *St. Michael*, *All-Saints*, *St. Martin*, *St. Nicholas*, and *St. Catherine*, and the Feasts of the Dedication, and the Patrons of Churches. 15. That Marriages shall be celebrated in a full Congregation in the Church, unless there be a necessity to ask the Bishops consent, except in *Lent*, the last Weeks of *Advent*, at the Feast of *Easter*, *Whitsuntide*, and the *Nativity*, and their Octaves, and the Rogation-days. 16. That the whole Town where a Clerk is murder'd shall not be put under an Interdict, but only the Person that shall have committed the Murther. 17. That Bishops shall not hereafter inherit the Estate of Clerks, whether Patrimonial or acquir'd. 18. That Monks and Priests that marry shall be proceeded against, and if the Ordinaries neglect to do it, the Pope shall appoint Judges upon the places where they live to punish the Guilty. 19. That the Bishops shall no longer exact Pensions, Tenths, or mean Profits of Benefices. 20. Provincial Councils shall meet every three years. 21. That Beneficed persons shall be obliged to say Divine Service, under the pain of Deprivation of the profits if they neglect it. 22. That Christian Burial shall be deny'd those who die without Confession, and receiving the Communion at *Easter*. 23. That Blasphemers of God, the Virgin, and the Saints, shall be punish'd. 24. That the Constitutions against Simony shall be observ'd. 25. That such Clergy-men as use Enchantments and Divinations shall be degraded, or cloister'd up in Monasteries, and that Hereticks shall be proceeded against. 26. That neither Clergy-men or Lay-men shall dispute rashly about Matters of Faith, especially at Meals or Feasts. 27. That Priests shall diligently attend to the reading of the Old or New Testament. 28. That the Ordinaries shall take care to provide a sufficient Maintenance for perpetual and immovable Vicars. 29. That Bishops shall hold a Synod every Year, and see that these Canons be executed.

The Deputies of the Imperial Cities, who for the most part favour'd the Doctrines of *Luther*, met in July at *Spires*, and explain'd in their own Favour the Decrees of *Nuremberg*, which order'd, that the Imperial Cities should appoint such Persons as understood the Scriptures to give their Judgments upon the points of Religion in controversy, and present

The Assem-
bly of
Spires.

The Death of Pope Adrian VI. and the Election of Clement VII. &c. Luther's Writings against the Imperial Edicts.

sent them to the Senate of every City, who should give them to the Deputies whom they should send to the Diet.

Luther at the same time wrote a Book against the two Edicts put out by the Emperor, to shew contradictions in them. This Treatise is full of Reproaches and Invectives against the Emperor and the Princes (a). He threatens Germany with a terrible Tempest, and dares to assert, that the Turks have more Probity and Moderation than the Christian Princes, and so no Man ought to join in a War against them. The Popish Princes for their part oppos'd Lutheranism with their utmost Vigour, as well by punishing those that profess'd it as by suppressing and burning the Books of Luther and his Followers, and also by causing their Divines to write against them, and collect several Heretical and Erroneous Propositions out of Luther's Books to present them to the Diet or Council.

The Pope's Resolutions about the Affairs of Germany.

While these things were doing in Germany, the Court of Rome, being certify'd of what was determin'd at the Diet of Nuremberg, was in great perplexities; the Pope was positively against a Council, and much more such an one as was propos'd at the Diet. The Assembly which was to meet at Spire about the Grievances of Germany could not but be very prejudicial to the Court of Rome, and all this while the Edict of Worms remain'd unexecuted. The Pope thought, and that with reason, that this Business was of that Importance as to need the Advice of his Cardinals, and therefore call'd a Congregation, in which they came to these Resolutions. 1. That the Emperor should be earnestly press'd to put the Edict of Worms in Execution, and the Kings of England and Portugal should be desir'd to oblige the free Cities of Germany to do the same, by threatening them to deprive them of all commerce with their Kingdoms. 2. That to prevent the meeting of the Assembly of Spire the Legate should importune the Popish Princes, and especially the Ecclesiasticks, to oppose it with all their power, and not to appear at it if they thought it would be a means to prevent it, and if they went to it to enter a Protestation to preserve the Rights of the Pope; and that his Holiness should desire the Emperor to dissolve that Assembly, or at least put it off. 3. That the Legate should say, if a Council were demanded, that the Pope had reason to desire it, that Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction might be restor'd, but they ought

to wait till the Christian Princes were at Peace. 4. That as to their Grievances, the Legate should answer them, that most of them were removed by the Council of the Lateran, which the Pope had ordered to be put in Execution, and if they thought that there was any thing more to be done, his Holiness would labour about it before the Council met, and call a Congregation on purpose upon that account.

The Decrees of the Diets of Nuremberg, were not more welcome at the Emperor's than they had been at the Pope's Court. His Imperial Majesty complain'd of the former, as not being severe enough against the Lutherans, and in some measure Derogatory to that of Worms; but when he received the latter, he was very angry, and wrote a Letter to the Princes of Germany, wherein he complain'd, that whereas the Heretical Doctrines of Luther, and all his Books in the general were forbidden by the Edict of Worms, which was made by the concurrence of all the Princes, and Members of the Empire, they had restrain'd this prohibition only to scurrilous Libels; that they had made an Order for the holding of a Council in Germany, without his consent, and enjoined the Legate to treat with the Pope about it upon their account, whereas they ought to have addrest to him, to have begg'd his leave. But the calling of an Assembly at Spire, to make Constitutions about Religion was that which offended him yet more. He told them in his Letter, that he neither could nor would in any wise permit, or suffer that Assembly, which would bring down the Anger and Wrath of God, and the Pope upon the Empire, and would raise infinite Troubles in Germany; that he engaged, and enjoyned them by the Oath, which they had taken to him, and upon pain of High-Treason, of being put to the Ban of the Empire, and deprived of all their Goods, and Privileges granted by his Predecessors, to execute the Edict of Worms in every point, to do nothing, that might weaken it, nor attempt any thing concerning Religion, till the general Council should be called. This Letter was dated at Burgos, July 15. 1524. In pursuance of this Letter it was, that the Diet of Spire was neither compleat nor regular, there were only some Princes and Members of the Empire there, who did not come to any settled Resolution; and only met, to consult how they should govern themselves till the Council was called, without giving any Offence by their Behaviour.

The Death of Pope Adrian VI. and the Election of Clement VII. &c.

(a) S Eckendorff allows that Luther's Book against these two Edicts was extremely bitter. Maimburg in his History of Lutheranism says, Luther was in the right in asserting that the Edicts of Nuremberg and Spire contradicted each other; for says he if the Edict of Worms, which condemn'd Luther as an Heretick, was good, why should the Diet of Nurem-

berg, which order'd that Edict to be put in Execution, at the same time order Luther's Book to be re-examin'd at Spire? And if an Examination was to be made of Luther's Writings, why was he to be condemn'd as an Heretick before such Examination?]

C H A P. XVIII.

The separation of Luther, and Carolostadius. The History of the Anabaptists. Their Defeats, and the Death of Muncer, their Leader. Luther's Marriage and Writings.

The History of the Anabaptists, &c.

WE have observed already, that Luther had some disputes with Carolostadius, about his pretended Reformation of the Church of Wittemberg. The difference increased every day upon the account of Carolostadius's Opinion about the Sacrament, which Luther not being able to endure, Carolostadius was at last forced to leave Wittemberg in the beginning of the Year 1524. and to retire to Orlamunden, where he was chosen their Pastor by

the Magistrates, and People. He raised new Disturbances in that City by his furious Discourses, and was accused to the Elector of Saxony of favouring the Anabaptists, and the Rebellion of the Peasants. Luther being sent to Orlamunden, by the Elector to inform him of the Truth of the Matter, and appease the People, as he pass'd thro' Jena, August 23. (a) preached zealously as his manner was, against Carolostadius, who was then present, yet not naming him,

The History of the Anabaptists, &c.

[(a) Aug. 22. says Seckendorff.]

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saying,

The History of the Anabaptists, &c.
 saying, that the Sacramentarians, and Image-fighters (b), were acted by the Spirit of *Muncer* the leader of the Anabaptists. As he went out from Sermon *Carlostadius* went to him, to the *Black-Bear* Inn where he lodged, and railed at him for what he had said, protesting, that he had no correspondence with *Muncer*, nor did in the least approve his Actions, or his Doctrine. He added, that supposing he were in an Error, *Luther* transgressed the Laws of Christian Charity, in inveighing against him publicly, before he had given him any private Admonition, or Reproof, and lastly, that *Luther* contradicted himself in what he had writ upon the Sacrament. Nevertheless he offered to change his Opinion, if he would shew him, that he was in an Error. *Luther* answered him, and after a long Discourse on both sides, when the contest grew hot, *Luther* being naturally passionate, challenged *Carlostadius* to write against him, and taking a piece of Gold out of his Purse, gave it him, saying, *Take it, write against me as strongly as you can.* *Carlostadius* took it, and said to his Friends, and Assistants, *Brethren, see the sign, and earnest of the Powers which I receive against Doctor Luther, I pray you be Witnesses.* Then they shook Hands, and drank each others Health. The next day, *Luther* arriving at *Orlamunden*, *Carlostadius* went to him, and saluted him: What he said to him besides, was this: *Carlostadius, You are my Adversary, and you have receiv'd a Florin to declare your self against me.* He would not have had him present at the Conference which he had with the Inhabitants of *Orlamunden*, who received *Luther* very roughly, so that he was oblig'd to leave the Place. Soon after, the Elector of *Saxony* at his earnest request, commanded *Carlostadius* to depart out of his Countries. *Martinus Reinhardus* Preacher at *Jene*, was also banished with him. *Carlostadius*, after his departure, wrote a Letter to the Inhabitants of *Orlamunden*, which was read in a full Congregation of the People called together by the tolling of a Bell, and in it he complains, that *Luther* had banished him without being heard or convicted. Being settled at *Strasburg*, he put out two Books upon the Lord's Supper, to maintain his Notion of it, and his Interpretation of our Lord's Words at the Institution, namely, *That the Body of Jesus Christ is not in the Sacrament, which is only a Commemoration of the Body and Blood of Christ given and shed for us*, and that these Words, *This is my Body given for you, This is my Blood shed for you*, have no Relation to the Bread and Wine, but to the Body of Jesus Christ, then present and visible. The Magistrates of *Strasburg* forbid these Books, and imprisoned the Printers of them, nor did *Carlostadius's* Interpretation please the other Sacramentarians, and tho' *Zuinglius* did not absolutely condemn his Opinion, yet he rejected his Interpretation, and blamed his Conduct.

The Writings of Carlostadius.

The Original of the Anabaptists.

About the same time there sprang up in *Germany*, another more extravagant Sect, and which soon had a tragical End, and that was the Sect of the Anabaptists, of whom *Nicholas Stork*, and *Thomas Muncer* were the Authors. They had been both of them Followers of *Luther*, and left him upon pretence, that his Doctrine was not pure (c): The former of them was an Inhabitant of *Zuickau*, in the Marquise of *Misnia*, and the other of *Stalberg* (d) in *Saxo-*

The History of the Anabaptists, &c.
The Attempts of Thomas Muncer.
 ny. They boasted that they had Revelations, and taught, that Men ought to guide themselves by them. They contemned both Ecclesiastical and Civil Laws, and slighted the Sacraments, and all outward Worship. They rejected the Baptism of Infants, and rebaptized all those that entered into their Communion. To prepare their Followers to receive the Holy Spirit, they appointed them to use Austerities and Fastings, to wear coarse Garments, to have no care of their Body, to speak little, to have a mortified Look, to let their Beards grow, and to live in common. Then they engaged them to leave the World, to meditate upon Religion, and to beg of God to give them a Sign to know the True one. They stirred up in their Followers, a contempt and hatred of the Magistrates, Powers and Nobility, they would have all Goods to be common, and that all Men should be free, and independant, and promised others an happy Kingdom, where they should reign alone, after they had destroyed all the Wicked. *Nicholas Stork* was immediately banished from *Wittemberg*, and *Thomas Muncer* from *Zuickau*, where they began to teach their Doctrine (e). What became of the former of these is not known, but the last of them fled to *Alstadt* in *Thuringia*, where he taught his seditious Doctrine, and gained a great party. The Elector of *Saxony*, who was Lord of that Town, being advertized of it, caused him to be expelled out of it in the beginning of the Year 1523. But tho' *Muncer* left that City himself, yet there still remained in it a great number of Men of his opinion, and besides, he sent many of his Followers into all Parts of *Germany* to stir up the Peasants to revolt, and to take Arms against their Governors. He went himself into *Switzerland*, passed thro' *Suabia*, and after he had gone thro' high *Germany*, came down to *Nuremberg*, where he had such success, that the People were ready to rise, had not the Magistrates wisely prevented it, by banishing *Muncer* out of the City. Nevertheless he printed a seditious Book, and dispersed the Copies of it every where, which caused much trouble in many Places. From *Nuremberg*, he fled to *Mulhausen*, a City of *Thuringia*, where he had already made some Converts when he was at *Alstadt*, who procured him a Place to teach in. The Magistrates of that City not favouring him, he had so much credit with the People, as to cause them to create new ones, and was chosen himself with them. At length he caused the Monks to be ejected, seized the Monasteries and Abbies, and made himself almost sole Master of the Government. The People hearkened to him as an Oracle, and obeyed whatsoever he said, which Humour in them he nourished by teaching them, that all Men's Goods ought to be common, and all Men free, and independent. That God would no longer permit the Oppressions of Kings, and Injustice of Magistrates, and that the time was come, that he was appointed to depose them, and set up Men of Honesty, and Religion in their places.

The Rebellion raised by the Anabaptists.
 This seditious Doctrine being dispersed in *Germany*, caused a Rebellion among the Peasants in all Places, who were encouraged to a Revolt by *Muncer's* Letters. The Peasants of *Suabia* were the first who took Arms against the Count of *Lupsen*, in the end of the Year 1524. and their Neighbours soon fol-

[(b) *Luther* was always a vehement Enemy to all Innovations in publick Worship, which were made without the Authority of the Magistrate; and that was one of his Accusations against *Carlostadius*, that he had pulled down Images in Churches of his own Head.]

[(c) That *Stork* was *Luther's* Disciple I no where find, and believe he was not. That *Muncer* was never his Disciple personally is certain: He commended indeed *Luther's* Doctrine at first, only censured it as imperfect.]

[(d) What Authority *Du Pin* has to say, that *Muncer* was of *Stalberg* I know not. He was at *Zuickau*, and afterwards went to *Alstadt* in *Thuringia*, where he stayed for a good while, till towards the breaking out of the Peasants War, when he, after several Rambles settled at *Mulhausen*.

[(e) *Du Pin* seems not to know the History of those Men exactly. *Stork*, and two more, *Marcus Stubnerus*, and *Martinus Cellarius* went in 1522. when *Luther* was in *Wartemberg* Castle, to *Wittemberg*, from *Zuickau* to preach their fanatical Doctrines. *Melanchthon* who lived at *Wittemberg*, with the rest of the Reformers wrote to the Elector of *Saxony*, and to *Luther* about these Men. They took them to be Enthusiasts, but were not absolutely certain what the Spirit was, that they were guided by. *Luther* gave them Directions how they should examine these Mens Doctrines, namely, whether they stood by the written Word of God. When they were discovered to be Fanaticks, the Elector drove them out of his Territories. *Stubner* and *Cellarius* stay'd at *Wittemberg*, till *Luther's* Return, where he had a Conference with them, and discovered them to be downright Enthusiasts.]

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lowed their Example, so that in a little time all Germany was set on Fire with this Flame. The States of the Empire met at *Esslingen*, to allay these disturbances, and proposed a Truce, with some conditions to end the difference, which pacified the Peasants, and so the Sedition ceased for a time; but in the beginning of the Spring in the next Year, there arose a new Tempest in *Suabia*, and high Germany. The Peasants and People, rose against their Magistrates, and Bishops, and entered into a League to maintain the Truth of the Gospel, and vindicate their own Liberty (f). The Magistrates to satisfy them, promised to hear their Complaints, and do them Justice; whereupon they drew up a Manifesto of their Demands, which they reduced to twelve Heads. The 1st. was, that they might choose the Ministers of their Churches, who should teach the Word of God in its Purity, without any mixture of human Traditions, and depose them if they pleased; 2^{dly}. That they should pay no other Tythes, but of Corn, and that they might appoint such Persons in every Parish yearly, to gather them as they thought fit, and that the whole should be divided into three Parts, one for the Ministers, another for the Poor, and a third for the Reparation of Churches (g). The 3^d. was, that the Nobility should not hereafter use them as their Slaves. The 4th. was, that Hunting and Fishing should be common to all Mankind, at least the Lords of the Towns should not pretend an indisputable Title, that they had bought of the Inhabitants the Right of Fishing upon the Banks of any River. The 5th. was, that the Forests should be common to all the neighbouring Inhabitants, to take Wood out of them, for their Firing, and Building. The 6th. was, that their Suits and Services should be utterly abolished. The 7th. that their Quit-rents should be settled again in the same manner they were at their first Institution, and that they should have no power to raise them. The 8th. that all the Lands held at a certain Rent, by the Peasants of their Lords, should be visited by such as should understand them, and if it should be found, that they are let for as much or more than they will produce, they shall be reduced to such a Rent, as that those who till them, shall have a convenient Maintenance from them, after they have paid their Lords. The 9th. that the Lords should do Justice impartially, under the Penalty of losing their Right of administering it. The 10th. that the Meadows, which the Lords had gotten into their own Hands, should again be turned into common Pastures. The 11th. that Herriots and Fines, should be abolished, which is a Right which the Lords in Germany pretend to have of seizing the Goods and Chattels of Persons deceased, as soon as they are dead, and of exacting one Year's Profits. The 12th. that they should have present Satisfaction in the preceding Articles of their Complaint, and if they have forgot any other, they should have a Power to propose then, when they should judge it convenient, and require Satisfaction.

This Manifesto being dispersed throughout all Germany, was, as it were, a Signal of the Rebellion and War designed, and almost at the same time vast multitudes of Peasants rose in the ten Circles of the Empire, who plundered the Country, robbed and burnt the Churches, Monasteries and Castles, slew the Priests, Monks, and Nobility, and made a strange Desolation in all Places. The first Commotions began in *Suabia*, where the Peasants formed themselves into three Bodies of armed Men, the one at *Biberac*, the other at *Algau*, and the last about the Lake of

Constance; but as these Troops were made up of raw undisciplin'd Men, so they were soon routed by *George Truchses* Count of *Walpurg*, who commanded the Army of the Confederate Princes. The first Foil which the Rebels met with, was at *Lippen*, near *Ulm*, where a Party of their Men was slain, and the rest put to flight. The other Bodies, which were at *Algau*, and near the Lake of *Constance*, quickly submitted at discretion, or were dispersed. But at the same time another Body of Peasants, which were got together in *Franconia*, possessed themselves April 16. of the City of *Winsperg*, where they exercised a thousand Cruelties upon the Inhabitants, and put the Count of *Helfestein* to Death, who commanded the Garrison there, and had married the Natural Daughter of the Emperor *Maximilian*. *Truchses* also marched against them, defeated them, and made great Slaughter of them. A third Party of Peasants had taken *Wirtzburg*, and were besieging the Castle, when *Truchses* led his Army against them, by long Marches, and the Peasants having News of his Approach, drew out against him at *Engelstadt*. The Fight was a long time very resolute, and the Success doubtful, but the Elector *Palatine* coming fitly with his Assistance, gained a compleat Victory over the Rebels, who were almost all slain, and *Wirtzburg* recovered out of their Hands.

Some of the Rebels sensible of the Misfortune which attended them in Germany, resolved to go into *Lorraine*, and joyn with several Malecontents in that Country. The Duke of *Lorraine* being certified of their Design, raised an Army, and sent for the Duke of *Guise* his Brother, to assist him, who accordingly came and joined him with 5000 French Troops under his command. The Duke of *Lorraine* with these Aids gave them Battle, and defeated them in three Engagements in the Month of May, and slew above 18000 of them upon the spot. The Elector *Palatine* also cut off another Party of them, which lay at *Petersheim* near *Worms*.

At length, the Peasants being worsted on all sides in Germany, laid down their Arms every where, except in *Thuringia*, where *Muncer* had settled the chief Residence of his Utopian Kingdom at *Mulhausen*. Here he had gathered some Troops of Peasants, and made some Pieces of Cannon of the Bells, which he had caused to be melted. One *Phiffer* a bold Fellow, joined with him, and said, that God had revealed it to him, that now was the time to take Arms, and drive out all the Nobility. *Muncer* being more timorous, would have waited till their Forces were increased, and to that end, wrote to the Labourers in the Mines, and the Rebels of *Franconia* to come and joyn them immediately, but *Phiffer* impatient of all Delays, went out with some Troops, and plundered the Country, robbing the Churches and Castles. *Muncer* encouraged with this Success, left *Mulhausen*, and marched to *Franckhausen*. Count *Mansfield*, whose Country they wasted, met them with some Troops, slew 200 of the Rebels, and forced the rest to fly into the City of *Franckhausen*. The Army of the confederate Princes came immediately to his Assistance. Prince *George* of *Saxony*, and *John* Elector of *Saxony*, who had a little before succeeded his Brother *Frederick*, the Prince of *Hesse*, and Duke of *Brunswick*, were in the Army in person. The Army of the Rebels was encamped upon an Hill near *Franckhausen*, and were within such a Retrenchment of Carts, that it was very hard to force them from their Post, but they had little Artillery, and most of their Men wanted Arms, and

Muncer's War.

[(f) *Du Pin*, and indeed all the Popish Writers, are willing to make us believe that the preaching of the Gospel was the sole occasion of these Stirs: But *Seckendorff* has demonstrably proved that Grievances of a Civil nature gave the true rise to these horrible Tumults; nay, in these very Insurrections, there were but few of the Peasants comparatively, that were *Lutherans*, or that pretended to be so; particularly those in *Suabia*, were most of them Papists, and rose chiefly upon a Civil ac-

count. *Muncer* preached to the Boors in *Saxony* and *Thuringia*, who were of a different Gang.

[(g) Our Author knows full well, that this was the old Method of Distribution of the Goods of the Church, with this only difference, that then the Goods of the Church were divided into four Parts instead of three, of which one went to the Bishop, the other three as they are here divided.]

were not disciplin'd. The Princes moved with compassion for so great a number of Men, who were thus led to Destruction, offered them Pardon if they would lay down their Arms, and deliver up the Author's of the Rebellion. *Muncer* fearing, that he should be forsaken, made a Discourse to them, in which he promised them in the Name of God Victory over their Enemies, and observing a Rainbow in the Heaven, which then appeared by chance, he encouraged them in the conclusion of his Discourse with these Words. 'Do you not see that God declares himself in your favour? Behold the sign and testimony of his good Will. Lift up your Eyes, and behold the heavenly Bow! This very Bow being painted upon our Standards, is a visible sign that God hath given us, that he will guard us in this Fight, and by it threatens Destruction to the Tyrants. Wherefore set upon your Enemies courageously, as being certain that God will assist you, and that he will not have you to be at Peace with the Wicked'. *Muncer* to make these Men the more resolute and desperate, as having no hopes of Pardon, caused a young Gentleman to be slain, whom the Princes had sent to exhort them to accept their Proposals. This News being brought to the Princes Army, enraged them so, that they resolved forthwith to attack *Muncer's* Camp, which consisted but of 8000 Men. They first batter'd it furiously with their Artillery, which slew a great number of Rebels, contrary to the Predictions of *Muncer*, who had promised them, that it should do them no harm. Their Retrenchments were soon forced, and their Troops intirely routed; one part were slain, another fled to *Frankhausen*, and a third part drew up upon the top of the Mountains, but fled at the first charge, and so *Frankhausen* was taken immediately. There were above 7000 Men slain upon the Place. *Muncer* hid himself in an House in the Town, where he was discovered a few days after, and executed at *Mulhausen*, with *Phiffer* and some others of the chief Rebels. Some say, that *Muncer* shewed much Sorrow, renounced his Errors, and returned again into the Communion of the Church; that he confessed his Sins to a Priest, and received the Sacrament under one Kind: Others say, that he recited the *Lutheran* Confession of Faith, which the Duke of *Brunswick* was pleased to dictate to him. *Sleidan* adds, that *Muncer* was then under so great trouble and consternation of Mind, that he could not give any account of his Faith. But however that was, 'tis agreed on all hands, that being upon the Scaffold, he acknowledged his fault in stirring up and encouraging the People to Rebellion, implored the Princes to be merciful to the poor unfortunate Peasants, assuring them, that it was the properest means to prevent a Rebellion for the future, and advised them to read the Books of the Holy Scripture, where they should find the Duties of Kings.

Luther declared himself from the very beginning, against the Doctrine and Carriage of *Muncer*, and wrote to the City of *Mulhausen* not to join with him. When the Rebellion began, he put forth a Treatise by way of Admonition to the People to hinder their Rebellion. In it he exhorts the Magistrates to do their Duty, and the People not to rise against their Princes and Magistrates. Neither does he approve of the Use of Arms to oppose the Church of *Rome*, and to settle his own Doctrine. He looks upon the Rebellion stirred up by *Muncer*, as an Artifice of the Devil to bring the Gospel, that is to say, his new Doctrine into disgrace. *Luther* also made a Reply to the Peasants Manifesto; in which, after he has approved the necessity of obeying Magistrates,

and Princes, he answers their first Article, that it is reasonable that the People should chuse their own Ministers, provided that it be done peaceably, and orderly, but if the Maintenance of Pastors be given them by the Magistrate, it belongs to him to appoint them, but if he will not do it, then the People may chuse them, and maintain them at their own charge: And lastly, that if the Magistrates will not allow of him, whom the People have chosen, he must withdraw himself, and 'tis free for all such, as will, to follow him. As to the second Article concerning Tythes, he says, 'tis altogether unjust. Nor doth he more approve of the third, which he confutes by the Example of *Abraham*, and several other holy Men, who had Bond-servants, and adviseth those that opposed it, to read what *St. Paul* says about Slaves. As for the other Articles he leaves them to the Lawyers. On the other side, *Luther* published an Admonition to Princes, in which he denounceth the Judgments of God as certainly to fall upon them, unless they stop the Prosecution of the Doctrine of the Gospel, and cease to oppress the People. Here he speaks more favourably of the 12 Articles of the Peasants Manifesto, than in his former Book, and says, that several of them are just and reasonable. Lastly, he exhorts both Princes and People to Peace, and shews the bad Consequences of Civil Wars to them both. He proposed it to them, to refer their Differences to Men of Honesty, and to yield on both Sides, that there might be an agreement. The Exhortations of *Luther* proving ineffectual, as he saw when the Peasants were in Arms, he composed three bloody Treatises against them, in which he encourageth the Magistrates not to spare them, and the Subjects to fall upon those wild Beasts, and destroy them. At last, when he heard the News of *Muncer's* Death, and Defeat, he made a Tract, to triumph over his Memory, under this Title. *The terrible Judgments of God upon Thomas Muncer* (b).

While these Troubles were in Germany, *Lutheranism* increased, and settled it self in several Cities. The Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and Duke of Brunswick, professed it. The City of *Strasburg* received it, and the Senate of that City maintained the married Clergy, and *Lutheran* Preachers in opposition to the Bishop. At *Frankfort* upon the Main the People rising, drove out two Deans from the great Churches. *Frederick Martrose*, and *John Cochlaus*, and robbed the Monastery of the Preaching Friars. Then these seditious People deposed their Magistrates, chose a new Senate of 24 Men out of the Commons, and drew up 47 Articles to regulate the Government. There were the like Commotions at *Mentz*, and *Cologne*, but they came to nothing in those Cities; whereas at *Frankfort*, *Lutheranism* prevailed even after the Sedition was at an end. In a word, in almost all the States of the Empire, unless in the Emperor's Hereditary Countries, *Luther's* Doctrine was preached, and gained many Followers.

In the same Year, 1525. *Luther* married *Katherine Bora*, a Person of Quality, who had been a Nun, and was taken, (as is above said) out of the Nunnery of *Nimptchen*, in 1523. He had a design, as the Historian (i) that writes his Life, says, to marry her to *Glacius*, Minister of *Oralamunden*, but she not liking his Person, *Luther* married her himself, June 13. without acquainting his Friends with it. This Action of his was blamed not only by the Catholics, but also by those of his own Party, who found fault, as *Melanchthon* himself observes, that in so unlucky a time he should betray his own Weakness. It was indeed, if we lay aside the Respect to Reli-

[(b) The Severity of *Luther's* considering his Circumstances at that time was necessary. D. George of Saxony was his near and bitter Enemy. He, and the Writers whom he employed, were continually possessing the People with an Opinion that *Luther's* Doctrine occasioned all these Stirs. When *Muncer* was taken, D. George would not suffer him to be strictly examined concerning his Religion, that thence a handle might

be taken to calumniate *Luther*, in whose Faith the Papists pretended that *Muncer* died. So that if *Luther* had not been very explicate in his Declarations against these Peasants Insurrection, he had confirmed the Suspicions of his Enemies, and drawn an Odium upon himself, which might have been very prejudicial to the Reformation.]

[(i) *Melchior Adam*.]

gion, an indecent thing in a Man, then 46 Years Old, who would be thought the Restorer of the Gospel, and Reformer of Mankind, to involve himself in the Business of Marriage, either thro' Incontinence, or upon any other account whatsoever. *Luther* himself was ashamed of it, and much out of humour; insomuch that those Friends of his that did not approve of his Action, were forced to comfort him, but it was not difficult to ease his Grief according to his Principles, for he not only defended the Fact without blushing, in the face of the World, but he took the boldness likewise to exhort the great Master of the Teutonic Order, and the Archbishop of *Mentz* (k) to do the like. The first of them took his Advice, but the other slighted his Letter so much, that he would not answer it. At the same time *Luther's* Friends advised him to reconcile himself to Prince *George* of *Saxony*, and the King of *England*, whom he had disoblged. He wrote very submissive Letters to both of them, in which he declared his Sorrow, that he had angered them, tho' without recanting what he had said; but these two Princes shewed by their Answers, that they were not less offended at the Liberty he had taken in these last Letters, than at his Behaviour all along. The King of *England* was chiefly angry, because he had said, that his Book upon the Sacraments was made by another, and put out in his Name, and because he had abused the Cardinal of *York*. *Luther* soon repented of his Submission to the King of *England*, and wrote a Book intituled, *An Answer to the abusive and slanderous Book of the King of England*. The Letter, which he wrote to the Duke of *Savoy* to exhort him to favour his Doctrine, was not better received. Those which he sent to the People of *Antwerp*, and into the *Low-Countries*, against the *Anabaptists*, were dispersed abroad; but because there were none that professed themselves to be his Followers in those Parts, they did little Service, either to advance his Doctrine, or to confute the *Anabaptists*.

The Writings of E. rasimus & Erasmus had been much courted by the Pope, and Luther

about Free-will. [(k) *Luther* writ to the Archbishop of *Mentz*, before he married himself, so he could not urge his own Example, and

Catholick Princes, to write against *Luther*; but he had always avoided the Dispute, being satisfied, that that was not an effectual way to end the Differences, and establish Peace; but at last being importuned by his Friends, and being desirous intirely to remove the Suspicion which some had of him, that he favoured *Luther's* Doctrine, that he resolved to write against him, and chose Free-will for his Subject. The Book that he wrote upon it, was intituled, *A Diatriba, or Conference about Free-will*. It was written with much Moderation, and without any Reflections upon *Luther*. The general Respect, which *Erasmus* had thro' all *Germany*, made many Persons averse to the Doctrine of *Luther*, when they saw, that he declared against it. In the Preface he says, that *Luther* ought not to take it ill, that he was not of his Opinion, since he allowed himself the liberty of dissenting from the Judgment of the Doctors of the Church, Councils, Popes, and Universities. *Erasmus* wrote his Book in *Latin*, because he thought it not convenient to debate these Questions before all sorts of Persons, and because they tended little to the Edification of the People. *Luther* was a long time in answering this Work of *Erasmus*, but at length it being translated into the *German* Tongue by *Emser* and *Cochleus*, he wrote a Treatise against it, call'd, *De seruo Arbitrio*, or, *Of the servitude of Man's Will*, and tho' *Melanchthon* had promised *Erasmus*, that *Luther* should answer him with the same Moderation, with which he wrote, *Luther* had so little respect to that Promise, that he never wrote any thing more sharp; insomuch that *Melanchthon* himself did not like his way of writing, but shew'd a great concern at it. He accused *Erasmus* of being careless what became of Religion, provided that the World were in Peace, and that his Notions were more philosophical than Christian. This Work of *Luther's* was no sooner published, but *Erasmus* compos'd a Defence in ten days, which he named, *Hyperaspites*, divided into two Books. In the first he answers what *Luther* had said against the Preface of his Book concerning *Free-will*; and in the second, which he put out soon after, he answers the Affronts and Abuses of his Adversary.

his own Marriage was a very few Days in Agitation.]

C H A P. XIX.

The Diet of Spires. The Overthrow of the King of Hungary. The Quarrel between the Emperor, and the Pope. Rome taken twice. The Pope imprisoned.

The Diet of Spires, &c. THE Disturbances in *Germany* increased every day, and the War with the *Turk*, which brought it into Danger, forced *Charles V.* at length to call a Diet at *Spire* by his Letters, dated May 24. 1525. After he had given the Reasons why the Diet was not held the Year before, as it was appointed, he said, that 'twas not, because he thought, that the Imperial Diets ought not to meddle with Matters of Religion, for he acknowledged, that on the contrary 'twas his Duty to protect the Christian Religion, and to maintain the Rites, and Customs settled, and practised by his Ancestors, and to prevent any pernicious Doctrines, or Novelties to be preached; that he really intended to call a Council with the Pope's consent, but could not do it so soon; and, that being certified, that the Edict of *Worms* was not executed in some Parts of *Germany*, that there had been Commotions and Rebellions in some Places, that the Princes and Members of the Empire

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had many Quarrels among themselves, that the *Turk* was ready to break in upon the Territories of the Empire; and lastly, that there were many Disorders which needed a Reformation: He had upon these Accounts, appointed an Imperial Diet to meet at *Ausburg*, October 1. in which the Affairs of State should be debated, and particularly the Matter of their Assistance against the *Turks*. The Meeting of the Diet was put off by *Ferdinand*, to the Feast of St. *Martin* in the same Year, but because the Princes could not meet at *Ausburg*, by reason of the popular Tumults, it was put off to May 1. in the next Year, and the City of *Spire* was fixed upon for the Place of its Meeting. However, it was agreed on in that Assembly, that the Magistrates should take care, that the Preachers should deliver, and expound the Word of God to the People, according to the Sense of the Fathers of the Church, and not preach seditiously.

D d d

This

The Diet of Spire, &c. This Diet was held at *Spire* in the end of *June*, 1526. The Emperor was not present in Person, but *Ferdinand* his Brother, and six other Deputies acted in his Name. The Elector of *Saxony*, and the *Landgrave of Hesse*, who were of *Luther's* Opinion, came to it. At the opening of the Diet, which was on *June 25*. the Emperor's Deputies propounded such things as they were to consult about, and said, that 'twas the Emperor's design, that the Members of this Diet should prescribe with one common consent the means to secure the Christian Religion, and the Ancient Discipline of the Church derived to us by Tradition; the punishments that they should suffer, who did any thing contrary; how the Papish Princes should suppress their Enemies; and lend one another mutual Assistance, in executing the Edict of *Worms*. The Deputies nominated to debate this Matter among others, were the *Landgrave of Hesse*, *Sturmius* Deputy of *Strasburg*, and *Cressæus*, Deputy of *Nuremberg* who embraced *Luther's* Doctrine. But when their Judgments were divided, which made them fear, that they should never come to any Resolution conformable to the Edict of *Worms*, the Imperial Ministers called the Members together *August 3*. and caused the Emperor's Letter dated at *Sevil*, *March 23*. to be read to them, which signified, that his Intention was to go into *Italy*, to be Crowned there, and consult with the Pope about the calling of the Council, and in the mean time, he would have them order nothing in this Diet, contrary to the Ancient Usages, Laws, and Ceremonies of the Church, and keep themselves to the Edict of *Worms*, and wait till he had treated with the Pope about the Council, which he assured them should be very soon. Most of the Cities, especially in Upper *Germany*, answered, that they were ready to comply with, and submit to the Emperor, but the disputes in Religion increased daily, and chiefly those about Ceremonies, and the abuses of Discipline; that if heretofore it was not possible to observe the Edict of *Worms*, it would be much more hard to do it now; that they had demonstrated this to the Legate in the former Diet, and the Emperor himself would have been convinced of it, had he been present, and understood the State of things; that as to the meeting of a Council, they might have had some hope, that it should be held when the Emperor wrote that Letter because the Pope and he were Friends; but being since at Odds, they could no longer hope for it; that they thought it convenient to send Deputies to the Emperor to represent to him the State of *Germany*, and to let him know the danger there would be in delaying the business of Religion, and putting the Edict of *Worms* in execution, and to pray him to call a National Council to determine the Controversies, and prevent the Evils with which *Germany* is threatened; that if his Imperial Majesty did not like of this Expedient, they humbly begged that he would dispense with the Execution of the Edict of *Worms*, till the meeting of a General Council, and that as long as they disagreed among themselves, it was not easie for them to afford Assistance to others. The next day some Members of the Diet presented a Memorial, to advise the lessening of the Number of Mendicant Friars; to permit those that would live in any other State of Life, to do it within a Year; to revoke the Exemptions, and Privileges of the Clergy; to repeal the Ecclesiastical Laws about Abstinence from Meats; to give every one their Liberty to use such Ceremonies only, as they thought convenient; and to allow the Doctrine of the Gospel to be preached every where. The Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy, who were at the Diet, after they had hear'd the Emperor's Letter, were of Opinion, that nothing was to be attempted in matters of Religion, so long as the Pope and Emperor were at Odds, but to wait a more favourable Juncture: These disputes with the preaching of the *Lutherans*, had so stirred Mens Spirits, that all the Consultations of the Diet were interrupted, and things had

near come to a Civil War. The Elector of *Saxony*, *Landgrave of Hesse*, and their Party, were ready to withdraw, but *Ferdinand*, and the Emperor's Deputies, foreseeing, that if the Diet broke up in these Heats, and come to no Conclusion, all *Germany* would be in danger of falling into Quarrels, used their endeavour to pacifie their exasperated Minds, and brought them at last to make the Resolution following; that it being necessary for the welfare of Religion, and the publick Peace to call a National Council in *Germany*, or a General one of all Christendom, which should be opened within a Year, Deputies should be sent to the Emperor, to desire him to look with compassion upon the miserable condition of the Empire, to return as soon as ever he could into *Germany*, and to hold a Council; that in the mean time the Princes and States, should so demean themselves as to the Edict of *Worms*, as to be able to give an Account of their Carriage to God and the Emperor.

Before this Resolution of the Diet appeared, the Elector of *Saxony* and *Landgrave of Hesse*, propounded to the Deputies of *Strasburg* and *Nuremberg*, to make a League for the Defence of those that should follow the New Doctrine, and bring the Cities of *Frankfort* and *Ulm* into it. The Deputies could then give no other Answer, but that they would consult their Cities about it. They also agreed in this Diet, to send Assistance to the King of *Hungary* against the *Turks*, but the Diet not rising till the end of *August*, the *Turkish* Army was enter'd first a great way into that Kingdom, and King *Lewis* giving them Battle in the Plains of *Mobats*, was conquer'd, and drowned in his flight. The greatest part of the Nobility were slain in the Fight, and all the open Country over-run by the *Turks*, and overflown with the Blood of almost 300000 Inhabitants. *Ferdinand* the King's Brother, making a Title by the Right of *Ann* his Wife, Sister of King *Lewis*, and by the Treaties made by his Predecessors with the Kings *Matthias*, and *Uladislaus*, procured himself to be Elected King of *Hungary*, by a Party of *Hungarians*, but *John Zepusensis*, *Vayvod* of *Transilvania*, was chosen by another Faction, and put himself under the Protection of the *Turk* to vindicate his pretence, which caused a New War in *Hungary*.

Affairs were not in less confusion in *Italy*, than in *Germany*, for Pope *Clement VII*. who was forced to Treat with the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, after *Francis I*. was taken at the Battle of *Pavia*, which was fought *February 24*. 1525. made a New League against the Emperor with the *Venetians*, and with the King of *France*, as soon as he was set at Liberty. To cover that Action with a plausible pretence, he wrote a long Breve to the Emperor in the form of a Manifesto, in which having recited all that he had done to gratifie his Imperial Majesty, he complained, that instead of a grateful Acknowledgement, he had dealt very ill by him, and had invaded the Lands and Territories which belonged to the Church of *Rome* in *Italy*; that he had denied to do him Justice, and to fulfill the Conditions of the Treaty, which was made with the Vice-Roy; that he had concealed the Articles of the Treaty of the King of *France* from him; that he had made Laws in *Spain* and *Naples*, contrary to the Liberties of the Church and his Dignity; that he had raised a New War in *Italy*, by sending *Charles* of *Bourbon* thither with his Army; that these Reasons had constrained him to make a League for the benefit and quiet of *Italy*; that if his Imperial Majesty would join in the Peace, 'twas all in good time; but if he would not, he did not want Troops nor Forces to defend *Italy*, and the Common-wealth of *Rome*. This Breve was dated *June 23*. 1526.

Two days after he wrote a shorter, and in milder Terms, in which he only tells the Emperor that he was forced for the Freedom of *Italy*, and security of the Holy See to use such Methods, as would be beneficial to his Imperial Majesty, if he would make use

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A League propounded.

The Defeat and Death of the King of Hungary.

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use of such means as would be easie and glorious for him to apply upon that Occasion; that this would be the way to settle Peace in *Italy*, and to free himself from such troubles, as he might justly fear if he joined with the other side.

These two Breves were sent by the Pope's Nuncio into *Spain*, who gave them severally to the Emperor, one day after another. His Imperial Majesty also resolved to answer them severally, the first in words full of Anger, and Resentment. And the Second the next day in more moderate Expressions. The first Answer was very long, in form of an Apology. It was delivered to the Nuncio by *Mercurius Gatinara* the Emperor's High Chancellor, who read it to him before he sealed it. In it the Emperor complained of the Pope's Actions, upbraided him with the Kindness he had done the Holy See, his Family, and Person, and of the Wrong which he had received from his Holiness and his Predecessor *Leo X.* He accused him of soliciting the King of *France* to enter into that League, of dispensing with the Oath that he made at the Treaty of *Madrid*, of declaring War to drive him out of *Italy*, and of promising the Kingdom of *Naples* to the Marquess of *Pescara*. Then he cleared himself from those things, which the Pope had blamed him for, declaring, that tho' the *Milanese* belonged to him upon many Accounts, yet he left it to *Sforza* for the Quiet of *Italy*, but *Sforza* becoming guilty of High Treason, he had given it to *Charles of Bourbon*: That he had not concealed from the Pope's Nuncio's the Conditions of the Treaties made with the King of *France*; that the Laws of which the Pope complains, were made to secure those Rights of Patronage which *P. Adrian* had granted to him; that the Pope had no reason to be exceptionous, since he received more Money out of his Dominions, than out of those of all the Kings of *Christendom* beside, and yet he would not hearken to the Complaints, which the Princes of *Germany* had made about that matter against the Court of *Rome*; that tho' he had given him no cause of Displeasure, yet he had required him passionately to lay down his Arms; that he had born all this, and would pass by the Injuries, which he had received of his Holiness: but if he still made use of Arms (which did not become a Pastor and Father, and suited only the head of a Faction) there was no reason, that he should be Judge of the Matter in dispute, and so he should be driven to appeal to a General Council, that he might vindicate himself; that in the mean time he advised him for God's sake to appoint a safe and convenient place for the holding it within a certain time, and to secure himself against all the threatnings and injuries he might do to him, he appealed to a future Council. This Letter is dated *September 17.*

The next day the Emperor answer'd the second Breve, that he was very much pleased, that his Holiness shewed some inclination to Peace, and spoke with more moderation; that he could wish a General Peace might as easily be obtained as others could promote a War; that his Holiness and his Confederates should know the Sincerity of his Intentions; that he hoped he would change his Mind, and conform himself to the Publick Good; that he desir'd him therefore to regard the miserable condition of *Christendom*, and to believe that he was always ready to give proof, that he sought nothing but the Glory of God, and the Safety of his People.

October 6. The Emperor wrote to the Cardinals about the causes of his dislike of the Pope's Management, and about the Letter which he had sent to him. He blames him for disturbing the General Peace, which he had obtain'd by the Treaty of Peace with the King of *France*. He tells them, that there

was no Prince, that had a greater respect to the Holy See, and was more ready to advance the Interest of the Church of *Rome*, as might appear by his shutting his Ears against the Complaints and Petitions, which were made in the Diet of *Worms*, against the Court of *Rome*; that he had forbidden the Diet of *Spires* to be holden, because he foresaw, that it would draw *Germany* from their Obedience to the Pope; that to pacify the Princes he had promised them a Council, and that when he wrote to the Pope, his Holiness thanked him for dissolving the Assembly of *Spires*, but put off his Petition for a Council to another time; that if his Holiness was still for a War, he prayed them to admonish him of his Duty, and advise him to a Peace, and if he refused it and would not call a Council, or put it off too long, they were to call One in the usual form, and if they delayed it, he would use his Authority to provide suitable means to establish the Peace and tranquility of the Church. These Letters were delivered to the Pope and Cardinals *December 12.* Printed in *Spain* and *Germany*, and dispersed throughout all *Europe*.

The Pope for his part made a Speech in the Consistory, wherein he lamented the troubles of *Christendom*, and the Death of the King of *Hungary*, as the signs of God's displeasure for the Sins of Men, and especially for the irregularities of the Clergy. He added, that Repentance must begin at the House of God to remove his Anger: And that he would shew them an Example. He excused his preparations for War, and declared, he was so very desirous of Peace, that he would go to meet the Princes himself to further it. And after that would summon a General Council.

From Words they proceeded to Deeds. The *Colonna's* and *Hugh de Moncada* marched towards *Rome* with the Troops they had raised, and enter'd it *September 20.* The Pope escaped into the Castle of *St. Angelo*, but the Church of *St. Peter*, and the Palace of the *Vatican* were Plundered. The *Ursini* and the Pope's Troops made as good Defence as they could, and saved the rest of the City from suffering the like; but because the Imperial Army increased daily by the Succours which came from *Naples*, the Pope was necessitated to make a Truce for Four Months with *Hugh de Moncada*, under these Conditions, that the *Colonna's* and *Neapolitans* should relinquish *Rome*, and the Pope should recall his Troops out of *Lombardy*, and withdraw his Fleet, which was then Besieging *Genoa*. This Agreement was performed by both sides, but the Pope having remanded his Troops, thundered out an Excommunication against the *Colonna's* and their Adherents, seized the Lands and Castles that belonged to them, and degraded Cardinal *Pompejo*, because he appealed from his Sentence to a Council. *Hugh de Moncada* understanding that the Pope had broken the League, went speedily to *Cajeta* with his Troops to assist the *Colonna's*, and march'd directly towards *Rome*, notwithstanding the Thunderbolts, which the Pope cast out against him. On the other side *Charles of Bourbon*, the General of the Emperor's Army, invaded the Ecclesiastical State with 13000 *Germans*, almost all *Lutherans*, whom *George Fronsperg* had brought to him, because he had promised that he would lead them to *Rome* to plunder the City and strangle the Pope. (a) *Clement* being affrighted at the approach of these Troops, obtained a Cessation of Arms for eight Months of the Vice-roy of *Naples*, upon Condition that the Pope should pay him 600000 Crowns, take off the Excommunication pronounced against the *Colonna's*, and restore the Cardinal. But *Charles of Bourbon* would not agree to the Truce, being forc'd by his Soldiers to go straight to *Rome*, because they were to have the Plunder of that City for their Pay. He encamp'd

[a] *Eckendorff* denies that *Fronsperg* made that an Article of his going to help the D. of *Bourbon*. He went at the Command of Arch-Duke *Ferdinand*, who was his Brother's Vicegerent in *Germany*. When he went into *Italy*, his Army

mutiny'd for want of necessaries, and then it was natural to promise them the plunder of *Rome*, if they would go on, as they afterwards did, when *Fronsperg* had left them upon his Sickbeds.]

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against the City May 5. 1527, and assaulted it the next day. The Pope's Troops and the Youth of the City made a vigorous Resistance at first, and beat off the Enemy twice. At the third Charge Charles of Bourbon was slain with a Musket-shot, but at length his Soldiers, after two Hours Fight, broke into the Town, pass'd over the Tiber about Night, and entered into the City, plundered the Houses and Churches, took the Cardinals Prisoners, and exercised all manner of Barbarities, Sacrilege and Cruelties. The Pope was besieged in the Castle of St. Angelo, and forced to surrender himself to the Emperor's Captains, who kept him Prisoner.

As soon as the Emperor heard the News he expressed very great Sorrow outwardly for it, and caused all the publick Rejoycings which were then making at Valladolid for the Birth of his Son to cease, but yet he kept the Pope Prisoner Six Months, till he had brought about his designs, by making him ac-

cept of all the Conditions which he pleased to lay on him. He had also some thoughts of carrying him into Spain, but the Spanish Bishops and Grandees not liking the Proposal he changed his Mind, and at length agreed at the end of the Year to set the Pope at Liberty, yet upon these Terms, that he should not cross his Designs any more upon Milan and Naples, and should give him these cautionary Towns, Ostia, Civita Vecchia, Civita Castellana, and the Fort of Forli, with his Nephews Hippolitus and Alexander for Hostages, and that he should grant him the Revenues of the Crusado in Spain, and the Tenths of all Ecclesiastical Preferments in all his Dominions. The Pope being allowed to depart out of the Castle of St. Angelo, Dec. 9. left it the Night before in Disguise, and went with a small Retinue to Montefiascone, from whence he departed to Orvieto.

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of Spire,
etc.

CHAP. XX.

The Disputations between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, and the Books written on both Sides. The Conferences at Baden and Bern between the Papists and Zuinglians. The Growth and Favourers of the Sect of the Anabaptists.

The Dis-
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Lutherans
and Zuing-
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While the Princes were thus busy'd in making War there were great disputes in Germany and Switzerland, not only between the Catholick Divines and Reformers, but between the Lutherans, Zuinglians, and Anabaptists. Luther had declared himself, as we have said already, in the Year 1524 against the Doctrine of Carlostadius and Zuinglius about the Lord's-Supper. Oecolampadius was of their Party, and taught the same Doctrine in the City of Basil. He was born at Aufschia in Switzerland in the Year 1482, and after he had study'd hard and had made himself very skilful in the Languages was had in great Esteem for his Preaching. He withdrew himself from the World in 1520, and became a Monk of the Order of St. Bridget, in the Monastery of St. Laurence, near Augsburg. It appears by a Letter that he wrote some time before (in 1517.) to Erasmus that he had a great Sense of Religion: He was so far from admitting any changes in Religion that he wrote a Book against Luther, to prove that the Mass might be call'd a Sacrifice. Erasmus describes him in his Letters as a Person that lik'd well of the State of Life he had made choice of, and perform'd his Duty. Nevertheless he soon alter'd his Judgment, and left his Monastery within two or three Years after he went into it. He retreated to Basil, where he was made Curate and Preacher of the Church of St. Martin, and quickly introduced the Novelties of Luther. He began to administer Baptism, and celebrate Divine Service in the vulgar Tongue, and give the People the Communion under both Kinds. Then he taught that the Mass was not a Sacrifice, and abolished the greatest part of the Ceremonies. Soon after he received the Doctrine of Zuinglius about the Sacrament, and marry'd in 1528. Erasmus laughs at him for his Marriage. thus: 'Oecolampadius, says he, has marry'd a pretty young Wenck, probably because he designs to mortify the Flesh. Some say that Lutheranism is a Tragedy, for my part I think nothing can be more comical, for the Conclusion of their Plays is always some Marriage. Nuper Oecolampadius duxit Uxorem, Puellam non inelegantem, vult, opinor, affligere Carnem. Quidam appellant Lutheranismum Tragediam, mihi videtur esse Comœdia, semper enim in

Nuptias exeunt tumultus. Altho' Oecolampadius agreed with Zuinglius in the Nature of the Doctrine, yet he gives a different Sense of our Lord's Words. For whereas Zuinglius places the Figure of these Words, *This is my Body*, in the Verb, *is*, which he holds to be taken for *signifies*, Oecolampadius lays it upon the Noun, *Body*, affirming that the Bread is call'd the *Body* by a Metonymy, which allows the Name of the thing signify'd to be given to the Sign.

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Lutherans
and Zuing-
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The Lutherans in Suabia and Bavaria took much Pains in their Sermons to decry the Doctrine of Oecolampadius, which oblig'd him to dedicate a Treatise upon the Words of the Institution of the Lord's Supper to them, printed at Strasburgh in 1525, and afterward in the German Tongue at Basil, where it was at first forbidden. Brentius answer'd it, in the Name of all the Lutheran Ministers of Suabia, in a Book entitl'd, *Syngramma Suevicum super Verbis Cœne*, in which he asserts, that Jesus Christ is present in the Sacrament, and in the Action of the Supper, and that his Body and Blood are receiv'd, altho' in an invisible manner, by Faith, as Remission of Sins is receiv'd by Baptism. Nevertheless he seems to intimate, that the Body and Blood of Christ are present only by Faith, and are receiv'd only spiritually. Oecolampadius made a Reply to Brentius's Book, which he entitl'd, *Anti-Syngramma*. The *Syngramma* was translated into the German Language by John Agricola, and approv'd by Luther, who put a Preface before it, in which he saith, that the Sacramentarians had already 5 or 6 Leaders, the first Carlostadius, who applies the Pronoun *This* to the visible Body of Jesus Christ; the second Zuinglius, who expounds the Word *is* by *signifies*; the third Oecolampadius, who places the Figure upon the Word *Body*; a fourth perverts the Order of the Words. He brings a fifth upon the Stage, who will alter the Places of the Words; and the sixth is not yet produc'd, who will chicaner about the Words; and we may soon perhaps see a seventh, who will overthrow all. Oecolampadius return'd an Answer in the German Language to Luther's Preface and the *Syngramma*.

Carlostadius did not continue firm to his own Opinion long, but after he had convers'd some time in the Upper-Germany with the Anabaptists he had like

Carlostadius's Fall.

The Disputes between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, &c.

like to have been taken at *Rotemburg*, and having made his Escape with difficulty he applyed himself to *Luther*, and dedicated two Books to him, one to prove that he was not at all concern'd in the Rebellion of the Peasants, and the other, in which he tells him, that by what he had written about the Sacrament he had no intention to determine any thing positively, but only to propound such Doubts as might serve to clear the Truth. *Luther* accepted of his Excuse, and prevailed with the Elector of *Saxony* that he might have leave to remain in his Dominions. He liv'd in an House in the Country, near *Wittemberg*, and employed himself in Husbandry, without any Reputation or Regard. Being weary of this way of living he removed to *Zurich*, about the Year 1530, and abode some time with *Zuinglius*, who made him Deacon of his Church. When *Zuinglius* was dead he went to *Basil*, where he was chosen their Minister and Preacher, and dy'd upon Christmas-day, 1541.

The Design for an Union between the Lutherans and Zuinglians.

The Ministers of *Strasburg* being desirous to put an end to the Differences between the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians* sent *George Chaselius* to *Wittemberg*, to tell *Luther* and the *Lutherans* that they would cause very great Disorders if they wrote one against another and fell into Parties at that time, when they ought most strictly to unite for the Destruction of the Pope's Power, and pray'd them, that whatever their Sense might be of the Words of the Institution of the Lord's-Supper they would live together as Brethren, and be in Charity one with another. *Luther* gave them no other Answer, but that he was forced to write against *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius*, who had disturbed the Minds of the Faithful by their Writings upon the Sacrament, and had opposed his Authority, and that either he or they were Ministers of Satan, and that they ought to be hindred from deceiving others. *Johannes* [*Bugenhagius*] *Pomeranus*, *Billicanus*, and *Brentius*, wrote against the *Zuinglians*. *Zuinglius* answered them, and *Bucer*, *Comardus Pelicanus*, and *Leo Juda*, were his Seconds.

The Conference at Baden against Zuinglius.

The Papists finding that the *Zuinglians* were much more to be feared than the *Lutherans*, us'd their utmost endeavours to prevent the spreading of that Sect in the Popish Cantons of *Switzerland*. *J. Eckius* had long desired a Conference with *Zuinglius* before the Cantons, to confute the Doctrine he had delivered at *Zurich*. The Senate of *Zurich* offered him a Safe Conduct to come into their City, but he had reason to think, that that was not a fit Place for him to defend his Opinions in with liberty, and without disturbance. The other Cantons appointed an Assembly to meet in *May* 1526. at *Baden*, and invited the most learned Catholick Divines to it, and summoned also *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius*, and as many more of their Party, as would come, to maintain their Opinions by a publick Dispute, promising them all manner of Security, and Assurance. *Zuinglius* excused himself from going upon several Pretences, but he sent *Oecolampadius*: *John Faber*, *Eckius*, and *Thomas Murner* appeared to dispute with the *Zuinglians*. The Bishops of *Constance*, *Basil*, *Lausanne*, and *Coire*, sent their Deputies. All the Cantons had theirs also there, except *Zurich*, who would not send any. *Eckius* disputed publickly against *Oecolampadius*, and some other *Zuinglians*, who opposed these seven Propositions, that he had asserted. 1. That the real Body and Blood of Christ are present in the Sacrament of the Altar. 2. That they are truly offered in the Sacrifice of the Mass for the Quick and Dead. 3. That we ought to call upon the blessed Virgin and Saints, as our Intercessors. 4. That the Images of Jesus Christ, and his Saints, ought not to be taken down. 5. That there is a Purgatory after this Life. 6. That Infants are born in Original Sin. 7. That the Baptism of Jesus Christ takes away that Sin, which the Baptism of St. John could not do; *Eckius* satisfied the Assembly in the Truth of these Propositions, whereupon they made a Decree against the Doctrine of *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, by which they forbade any

V O L. III.

Change in the Sacrifice of the Mass, in the Administration of the Sacraments; or in the Ceremonies, and other Usages of the Church, and ordained, that in every Canton Super-Intendents should be appointed, who should with the other Magistrates and publick Officers prevent all Innovations, and inform against and punish all Offenders. *Zuinglius* who durst not go to the Conference at *Baden*, wrote a Book against the seven Propositions asserted by *Eckius*, and in two small Discourses attack'd some of the Reasons which he had used against *Oecolampadius* in that Conference.

John Faber, who was appointed to dispute with *Zuinglius*, not finding his Adversary, sent those things to him in Writing, which he had to say against him, and *Zuinglius* answering publickly in a Book, which he dedicated to the 12 Cantons; *Faber* wrote a Reply, which he intitled, *Antigraphon*; *Zuinglius* continued to answer him; and *Faber* replied, by publishing a Book intitled, *Novelties*. *Zuinglius* answered that also, and composed some other Tracts against *Faber*, but at last the Dispute sunk into personal Quarrels. *Thomas Murner* wrote also against the Behaviour of *Zuinglius*, and represented him to be an impious and wicked Person, who had stolt the Goods of the Church, committed Sacrilege, and offended all good Men. The *Zuinglians* desirous to have it thought that *Erasmus* inclined to their Opinion about the Sacrament, and *Pelicanus* having published a Writing to prove it, *Erasmus* put out his Letters, which he had written to him, and declared, that they falsly charged him, for he never was of their Judgment. *John Fisher*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and *Jodocus Clichdovæus* wrote also against the Sacramentarians.

But the *Zuinglians* were less concerned at the Writings of the Catholicks than of *Luther*, and his Followers, who still held on openly to condemn their Doctrine about the Lord's-Supper, and to write against it. *Luther* published a Sermon at *Wittemberg*, about the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, which he made against the giddy-headed Spirits, *Contra Spiritus vertiginosos*, as he called the *Zuinglians*. It is chiefly built upon the Words of the Institution, which he maintains to be meant plainly, of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, as really present in the Eucharist. He says, that the Devil makes use of the *Zuinglians* to insinuate that damnable Maxim, that there is nothing in the Sacrament but Bread and Wine, and shewing how the Body of Jesus Christ may be in several Places at once, he advanced this Paradox, which afterwards made so much Noise, namely, that Jesus Christ is not only every where present by his Divinity, but also by his Humanity, tho' he believes, that he is present in a special manner in the Sacramental Bread, tho' 'tis hard to define it. He adds, that when the Body of Jesus Christ is in any place, it being glorious, it may easily enter and penetrate the Bread, as the Sound of the Voice pierces the Ears of several, or the Light of the Sun disperses it self through the Universe. Lastly, he acknowledges, that the Papists in their Processions do carry the true Body of Christ. *Zuinglius* on the other side wrote a Confutation of this Sermon of *Luther's*, and sent Letters to *Nuremberg* and *Esslingen*, to bring them over to his Opinion. He also answered the Letters, which *Billicanus*, and *Urbanus Regius* had written against him, and composed a Work, intitled, *An Instruction about the Lord's-Supper*, in which he delivers his own Opinion, and answers the Objections of his Adversaries. In the Year 1527, he drew up an Apology against a Book of *Jacobus Straussius*, wherein he explains the Lord's-Supper at large, dedicated to *Luther*, and answers *Luther's* Sermon at *Wittemberg* against the Sacramentarians.

Bucer also wrote several Tracts in defence of the *Zuinglians*, against *Brentius*, and *Johannes Pomeranus*, *Lutherans*. *Luther* on the other side in answer to diverse Treatises of *Zuinglius*, and *Oecolampadius* wrote a Book on purpose upon the Eucharist in the German Language, in which he proves the Ubiquity

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The Writings of Faber and Zuinglius.

The Disputes and Writings between the Lutherans and Zuinglians.

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of the Body of Jesus Christ by this Argument, that in all Places where the Divinity of our Saviour is, there his Humanity ought also to be present, and confutes all the Arguments, and Answers of *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius*, who immediately replied to it; and *Luther* to defend it, drew up a long Explication of the Doctrine of the Lord's Supper against them, in which he proves a-new the Ubiquity of Christ's Body, which is present in all Places where his Divinity is, but the manner is indiscernable and incomprehensible, for his Body penetrates other Bodies, and it may be actually the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist, so that it is a Mixture of the Body of Jesus Christ with the Bread, and of his Blood with the Wine. In this Book he says, that the Question, Whether the Bread and Wine remain in the Eucharist, or whether they are transubstantiated, is of little consequence, but we ought to acknowledge, that there is a carnal Bread, and a bloody Wine, and therein he maintains the Confession of Faith made by Pope *Nicholas* against *Berengarius*. *Zuinglius* composed three long Answers to these Works of *Luther*, which were not published till the end of the Year 1528. *Oecolampadius* and *Bucer* confuted also the large Confession of *Luther*. *Brentius* on the contrary opposed their Opinion in his Exposition upon St. *John's* Gospel, and the other *Lutherans* persisted resolutely in the Condemnation of it. In a word, these Innovators divided themselves into two considerable Sects, the *Lutherans*, and the Sacramentarians, or *Zuinglians*. The *Saxons* continued firm to the Doctrine of *Luther*, and the *Switzers*, and some Cities of the *Upper-Germany* received that of *Zuinglius*.

The Confe-
rence at
Bern.

The Canton of *Bern*, willing to recover the bad Success, which the *Zuinglians* had met with in the Dispute at *Baden*, and to allay the Contentts among their Ministers appointed by their Circular Letter, dated *December 17. 1527.* a Conference to be held *January 7th.* following, and invited to it not only the other Cantons of *Switzerland*, but also the Bishops of *Constance*, *Basil*, *Sion*, and *Lausanne*, enjoining them either to come, or send, upon pain of losing all their Estates in their Canton. The Rules to be observed in this Conference were, that nothing but Texts of Scripture either of the Old, or New Testament, should be of any authority; that all Reflections, or abusive Speeches should be forborn, that every one should propound his Opinion modestly, yet freely; that there should be Secretaries to write down all that was said; that the Assembly should afterwards give their Judgment, and whatsoever should be decreed, should be observed in their Canton, but that it might be known what Points should be disputed on, and that all might come prepared, ten Propositions were published which were to be the Subject of the Conference. 1. That the Church, of which Jesus Christ is the only Head, is derived from the Word of God, and ought not to be understood any other way. 2. That it ought to observe no other Laws, and is not subject to the Traditions of Men. 3. That Jesus Christ hath satisfied for the Sins of all the World, and they that seek to attain Salvation, or to expiate their Sins any other way deny Jesus Christ. 4. That it can't be prov'd by any testimony of Scripture, that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ is corporally received in the Sacrament. 5. That the Mass, in which it is pretended, that Jesus Christ is offered to our heavenly Father for the Quick and Dead, is contrary to Scripture, and derogates from the Sacrifice of Christ. 6. That Jesus Christ is to be pray'd to, as the only Intercessor and Advocate for Mankind with the Father. 7. That the Scripture no where mentions any Place after this Life, where the Souls of Men are purged from their Sins, and consequently the Prayers, Ceremonies, and Annual-Services for the Dead are useless. 8. That the Holy Scriptures forbid us to make any graven Images, and worship them, and so all the Images and Pictures in Churches ought to be pull'd down.

9. That Marriage is not forbidden any Person, but is allowed, and commanded in Scripture to avoid Fornication. 10. That all lewd Persons ought to be put out of the Communion of the Church, as the Scripture teacheth us, for nothing is more unbecoming the Order of Priesthood, than a lewd and unchast Celibacy.

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The Catholick Cantons of *Switzerland*, having received this Letter from the Canton of *Bern*, sent them a kind of Manifesto to divert them from this design, telling them that they ought not to act against the Law, which had been so lately made in the Assembly of *Baden*, to which they themselves had consented, that it was not allowable for a Country or Province to alter the established Religion, or Doctrine, but it belongs to a General Council only, beseeching them not to suffer themselves to be led into Error by a few Foreigners, but to remain stedfast in the Religion of their Fathers, and their Ancestors, assuring them that they would send no body to this Conference, nor allow a free Passage, to those who refused to be present at the Conference of *Baden*. The four Bishops also sent their Answer to the Letter of the Canton of *Bern*, in which they remonstrate that Disputes about Matters of Faith ought not to be determined by Scripture only, because every one would explain it according to his own humour: That the Council of *Bern* were not proper Judges of Questions relating to Religion, and the Sense of the Holy Scripture, and that it was to be suspected, that they had a design of gaining some advantage for the Cause of *Zuinglius*, and *Oecolampadius*: That the Law of God had provided another way to decide all doubts in Religion, which is to apply themselves to the Pope, and acquiesce in his determination; that Heresies arose from the corrupt Explication of Scripture. Lastly, that the Tribunal, which they set up, having no Right, or Authority to judge, they could not own it in any wise.

The Canton of *Bern* not regarding this Declaration of the other Cantons, nor the Advice of the four Bishops began the Conference upon the day appointed. The Cantons of *Basil*, *Schaffhouse*, *Zurich*, and *Appensel*, the Inhabitants of *St. Gal*, and *Mulhausen*, the *Grisons*, and the Imperial Cities of *Strasbourg*, *Ulm*, *Augsburg*, *Lindau*, *Constance*, and *Isne*, sent their Deputies. The Disputation was particularly upon the Proposition of the Sacrament. *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Bucer*, *Capito*, *Blaurerus*, and several other Sacramentarians maintain'd it against the *Papists* and *Lutherans*. There was none to defend the Catholick Doctrine, but *Conradus Trigerus*, an *Augustine* Friar, whom they immediately commanded to be silent, because he used such Proofs, as were not in Scripture. *Andreas Althamerus* was also commanded to be there, who had written for the bodily Presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, and defended it in the name of the *Lutherans*, and *Catholicks*; *Zuinglius* made a long Sermon in the City upon the Lord's Supper, to explain, and prove his Notion of it. Nevertheless they could come to no Agreement, as *Bucer* owns. The Assembly broke up on the 26th. of *January*. The 10 Articles were approved, and pursuant thereunto the Magistrates of *Bern*, and some other Cities forbade all Persons to submit to the Bishops for the future, and abolish throughout all their Dominions the Mass, Prayers for the Dead, the Monastick State, and the other Usages and Ceremonies of the Catholick Church. The City of *Constance*, which had before begun to approve of these Innovations, followed the Example of the Canton of *Bern*, and abolished likewise Images, Altars, the Ceremonies, and the Mass. The City of *Geneva* did not delay to do the like. The Bishop and Clergy left the City, when they saw these Alterations. The Cities of *Strasbourg* and *Basil* did not go about it, till the beginning of the year 1529. and then it was done with more opposition. especially at *Basil*, where this change was made against the

The Disputes between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, &c. the consent of the Magistrate, by the People, who in a tumultuous manner ran thro' the City, and threw down the Altars and Images in all Places.

The Growth and Favourers of the Anabaptists. The Lutherans and Sacramentarians were not the only Sects, which increased in Germany and Switzerland; for the Anabaptists got ground in several Places, notwithstanding the Magistrates, and Ministers used their utmost endeavours to suppress them. They were chiefly favoured by Balthasar Hubmeier, Minister of Waldshut in Suabia, he was born at Friedbert, a City in the County of Hesse, and was one of Zuinglius's Friends, but in 1524. Muncer going from Bas-

Balthasar Hubmeier, who immediately preached them at Waldshut, and persuaded the greatest part of the Inhabitants to be Anabaptists, who seeing themselves the strongest expelled the other Inhabitants, and seized their Goods, but the Catholics falling on them by surprize, became Masters of the Town again, and drove out the Anabaptists, who fled into Switzerland. Hubmeier withdrawing to Zurich, was apprehended by the Magistrate's Order, and because he had offered several times to come to a Dispute with Zuinglius, the Magistrate forced him to keep his Word, and brought him to a Conference with him and the other Divines of Zurich. Hubmeier being in a strait, and not knowing what to answer, offered to make a publick Recantation without being constrained to it, since the only punishment which was inflicted on the Anabaptists at Zurich, was to expel them their City. In the mean time the Emperor's Ambassador came to Zurich, to demand, that Hubmeier should be delivered to them to be condemned, and punished for Rebellion, but the Magistrate refused to do that upon the Account of a Law then in use among them, which forbade that any Prisoner should be accused or punished for any other Crime, than that for which he is seized, unless he be set at Liberty. Hubmeier read his Recantation, which he had drawn up, and subscribed with his own Hand in the Abby-Church. But Zuinglius having preached afterwards, Hubmeier could not forbear renouncing his Recantation, and speaking against Infant Baptism, and for rebaptizing. He was immediately remanded to Prison, and having continued above a Month, he offered to make a second Recantation, and when he had done, he was set at Liberty, upon Condition that he should depart directly out of their City and Canton. But being in danger of being seized by the Order of the Emperor, or the Catholic Cantons, if he left them immediately after his Retraction, the Senate at the request of Zuinglius, and the other Divines of Zurich, permitted him to stay a little longer, and leave the City privately. He went to Constance, and immediately upon his arrival declared himself an Anabaptist, complaining of the Violence he had met withal at Zurich, and bragging that he confounded Zuinglius, and the other Ministers in the dispute he had with them: Hubmeier, when he departed from Zurich, left several Converts, and the Number of the Anabaptists increasing daily in that City, the Magistrates endeavoured to put a stop to their Doctrine, and appointed a publick disputation between the Anabaptists and Divines of Zurich, but perceiving them to grow more obstinate in their Opinions, they made most severe Edicts against them, imprisoned several of them, banished the least Guilty, and punished with Death, those who were convicted to have stirred up the Rebellion, so that they were forced to leave Zurich, and to hold their Meetings for some time in a Village, near the City. But the Magistrate giving Orders again to disperse them, they settled themselves in the Bailiwick of Grunningen, and spread themselves in several places of Switzerland, where they raised Troubles and Rebellions. The chief Instruments of these disorders, and the Heads of the Anabaptists in Switzerland were George Blawrok, Conradus Grebelius, and Felix Manz. The first of them was a Man of a turbulent Spirit, who, like Muncer, promised himself an Imaginary Kingdom, by the Destruction of the Powers

of the Earth. He grew so impious at last, as to apply what is said in Scripture of Jesus Christ, to himself, and say, that he was the Restorer of the Baptism of Jesus Christ, and the Bread of God. Grebelius, and Manzius preached also against the Magistrates and Powers, which they would have put down; they forbade paying of Tribute, and asserted, that all Men's Goods ought to be common. There were also great Numbers of Anabaptists in the Cantons of Basil, Schaffhouse, in the Territory of St. Gal, and several other places. They rebaptized every where, and stirred up the People to rebel against their Magistrates. Very severe Edicts were made against them, and they were banished out of several places, several went into the Low-Countries, and carried their Doctrine thither. Hubmeier having wandred about a long time, went into Moravia, where he brought Jacob Hutter over to his Errors, and being at length apprehended he was burnt at Vienna, in the Year 1527. Felix Manzius being also apprehended by the Order of the Magistrates of Zurich, was drowned January 5. 1527.

Blawrok was also cudgelled the same day, and banished the Canton of Zurich. He departed into Tyrol, where he dyed miserably. This did not hinder the Anabaptists in Switzerland from assembling, and stirring up the Peasants to rebel in the Cantons of Zurich and Basil, but great numbers of them were seized, and several put to Death.

At the same time appear'd Gaspar Schwenkfeldius, a Gentleman of Silesia. He first studied the Civil Law, but afterwards betook himself to Divinity, and received the Doctrine of Luther in 1524, and composed a Book in defence of it, dedicated to the Bishop of Breslau; but afterward he was Author of a New Sect, and was banished out of his own Country in 1527. He denied the Humane Nature of Jesus Christ, condemned the Baptism of Infants, would not submit to Magistrates, and maintained, that it was not lawful to swear, called the Scripture a dead Letter, boasted of Revelations, and to be illuminated after a very particular manner by God's Holy Spirit. He first went to Nuremberg, and from thence to Ulm, Tubing, and Strasburgh, where he wrote against Luther. He disputed afterwards at Ulm before the Senate, and died in 1561.

In the Years 1525, or 1527, David George vented his Heresie in the Low Countries. In 1528 he was beaten with Clubs at Delft, had his Tongue bored through, and was banished for 6 Years; but being returned home, he brought his own Mother over to his Error, and her Head was cut off in that City; but he escaped in a disguise which he often wore. He put out a Book of such impious Doctrines that the other Anabaptists excommunicated him, so that he made a distinct Sect by himself.

On the other side Melchior Hoffman began to preach in Upper Germany the Doctrine of the Anabaptists. He is said to be the first that taught their dangerous Opinions about the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. He was first apprehended at Strasburg and imprison'd, but being freed he went to Embden, where he gain'd a considerable Party, settled a pretended Episcopacy, and fram'd to himself a Model of a Monarchy, and first laid the Foundation of the Kingdom of Munster. Hoping that he could make himself Master of Strasburg he return'd thither in 1532, leaving John Tryp-maker in his place at Embden, but he met not with the Success he hoped for at Strasburg, for as soon as he was discovered by the Magistrate he was put in Prison.

About the same time James Kautz taught the Doctrines of the Anabaptists at Worms, and preach'd in a rebellious manner. He publicly fix'd up Seven Articles, upon which he declared that he was ready to dispute with two Lutheran Ministers that had preach'd against his Doctrine. They also on the other side set up Seven Propositions contrary to them; and this difference had raised some disturbance in the City, if the Elector Palatine had not driven out both

The Disputes between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, &c. Kautz and his Adversaries. *John Cochleus* wrote against the Propositions of both Parties, and sent a Letter to the Senate of *Worms* to advise them to abandon *Luther's* Doctrine, which had spawn'd so many new Sects.

The *Anabaptists* in *Moravia* deny'd that *Jesus Christ* was God, and held that the Gospel ought not to be preach'd publickly, but only in private; that the day of Judgment would come within two Years. Others held that *Jesus Christ* did not descend into Hell, and that the Patriarchs and Prophets were never there; that the Souls of the Dead sleep till the day of Judgment; that the Tortures of the Devils and Damned shall one day have an end. Three Hundred of them were such Fools as to meet upon a Mountain in *Switzerland*, near *Appenzel*, being confident that they

should be translated from thence both Soul and Body into Heaven. In a word, *Switzerland*, *Germany*, and the *Low Countries*, were full of Fanaticks, who preached without any Mission or Knowledge whatever came into their Brain, who stirred up Men every where to Rebellion, who acted contrary to all Laws, and committed a thousand Sacrileges, and a thousand Abominations, the Princes and Magistrates did all they could to stop these disorders, by putting as many as they could discover into Prison, and executing a great Number of the most obstinate; but notwithstanding all their Severity and Care they increased so fast, that in a little time they were strong enough to make themselves Masters of *Munster*, and maintain a considerable War.

The Disputes between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, &c.

C H A P. XXI.

The Diet of Spires in 1529. The Opposition which the Protestant Princes and some Cities made to the Determination of that Diet. The Contests between the Zuinglians and Lutherans: The Conferences at Marpurg. The Coronation of Charles V.

The Diet of Spires, &c. THE Troubles of *Germany* increasing every day the Emperor was forced to call a Diet at *Spires* in *March* 1529, to require the Assistance of the Princes of the Empire against *Solyman*, who had taken *Buda*, and threatned forthwith to invade all *Hungary*, and to find out some way to allay the disputes about Religion, which increased daily. The Pope sent *John Thomas* Earl of *Mirandula* to it, to encourage the Princes to a War against the *Turks*, promising to afford as great Assistance for his part as his Troops, which had been exhausted by their long Disgraces, would give him leave, to take care to compose the differences between the Emperor and King of *France*, and to call a Council to settle Religion in *Germany*. The *Anabaptists* were not suffer'd to come to this Diet. They endeavoured also to exclude the Deputies of *Strasburg*, and those other Cities who had, contrary to the Edicts of the preceding Diets, abolished the Mass, and other Ceremonies by their own Authority, which caus'd great Heats among them. The Catholics labour'd all they could to divide the *Lutherans* and *Sacramentarians*, and had effected their design if the *Landgrave* of *Hesse* had not hinder'd their Divisions from breaking out. In this Diet were long and hot disputes about Religion, and after several Discourses the Decree of the former Diet of *Spires* was again agreed to, in which it was order'd, that as to the Execution of the Edict of *Worms* the Princes of the Empire should act in such a manner as that they might give a good Account of their Management to God and the Emperor. But because some had made an ill Use of those general Terms, by taking occasion to maintain all sorts of new Doctrines, they made a new Decree upon *April* 13. to explain the former, and by it was appointed, that in those places where the Edict of *Worms* had hitherto been observ'd they should still keep to the Execution of it till a Council should meet, which the Emperor gave them Hopes should be soon; that those who had alter'd their Opinions, and could not leave them without Hazard of some Sedition, should be quiet for the future, and not admit of any new Alterations till the meeting of the Council; that the Doctrine about the Eucharist, which is contrary to the Judgment of the Church, should not be entertain'd; that the Mass should not be left off, nor the Celebration of it be hinder'd even in those places where the reform'd Doctrine prevail'd; that the *Anabaptists* should be

proscribed; that the Ministers of the Word of God should preach it according to the Interpretation of the Church, and they should abstain from speaking of any other Doctrines till the Council should meet; that all the Provinces of the Empire should live in Peace, and should not commit any Acts of Hostility thro' prejudice one to another under a pretence of Religion, nor should one Prince protect the Subjects of another.

The Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, *Ernestus* and *Francis* Dukes of *Lunenbourg*, the *Landgrave* of *Hesse*, and the Prince of *Anhalt*, oppos'd this Decree of the Diet. The Reasons which they brought for their Dissent were, that they ought not to do any thing in prejudice of the Determination of the former Diet, which had granted Liberty in Religion till the holding of the Council; that that Resolution having been taken by the unanimous consent of all the Members of the Empire could not be repeal'd but by the like consent; that in the Diet of *Nuremberg* the Original Cause of all the Differences in Religion was search'd into; and to allay them they had offer'd to the Pope's Legate Eighty Articles, to which his Holiness had given no Answer; that the Effect of all their Consultations had always been, that the best way to end all Disputes and reform Abuses was to hold a Council; that they could not consent to this; that they must be forc'd to leave their Opinions, which they judg'd true and agreeable to the Word of God before the Council was held; that their Ministers had prov'd, by invincible Arguments taken out of Scripture, that the Popish Mass was contrary to the Institution of *Jesus Christ* and the practice of the Apostles, so that they could not agree to what was order'd by the Decree of the Diet, nor allow their Subjects to be present at Mass in the places where it was put down, nor allow that the Lord's-Supper should be administer'd in a different manner in the same Church; that they knew the Judgment of their Churches concerning the presence of the Body and Blood of *Christ* in the Eucharist, but that they ought not to make a Decree against those that were of a contrary Opinion, because they were neither summon'd nor heard; that they did approve of the Clause of preaching the Gospel according to the Interpretations receiv'd in the Church, for that did not determine the Matter, because it was disputed what was the true Church; that there is nothing more certain than the Word of God it self, which explains

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etc.

explains it self, and therefore they would take care that nothing else should be taught than the Old and New Testament in their Purity; that they bare the only infallible Rule, and that all Human Traditions are uncertain; that the Decree of the former Diet was made for the preservation of Peace, but that this last would infallibly beget Wars and Troubles; that if they pretended that some had broken the former, they should not oppose their Prosecution before equitable Judges. For these Reasons they could not approve of the Decree of the Diet, but would be ready to give an account to the Emperor and all the Princes of their Behaviour; that nevertheless they would do nothing that should be Blame-worthy till a Council, either General or National, should be held; that they would preserve the Peace, and not meddle with the Goods of others; that they knew also what they had to do with the *Anabaptists*, and about publishing of Books. Fourteen Cities, (*Strasbourg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Rentlingen, Windsheim, Memmingen, Lindaw, Kempten, Hailbron, Isne, Weissenberg, Nordlingen, and St. Gal*) join'd in this Protestation, which was put in Writing, and publish'd April 19 by an Instrument, in which they appeal'd from all that should be done, to the Emperor, a future Council, either General or National, or to unsuspected Judges; and accordingly they appointed Deputies to send to the Emperor to petition that this Decree might be revok'd. This was the famous *Protestation*, which gave the Name of *Protestants* to the Hereticks in Germany.

The Contests between the Lutherans and Zuinglians.

The Article of the *Protestation*, which concern'd the Doctrine of the *Sacramentarians*, was worded after the manner we have related, on purpose because of the Contest between the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians* about it, that the Princes might take away the difference without approving the Doctrine of the *Sacramentarians*. *Oecolampadius* complains in a Letter written to *Melanchthon* that *Faber*, Bishop of *Vienna*, labour'd all he could to procure the condemnation of their Opinions, and he desired *Melanchthon* to declare on his side. *Melanchthon* answer'd him, that having search'd into the Sense of the Ancients about the Lord's-Supper, because he would not introduce any new Notions into the Church, and examined all that could be said on both Sides, he could not approve their Opinion, not finding any sufficient Reason to depart from the literal Sense of the Words: That if he would act politickly he should speak otherwise, knowing how many learned Men there were among the *Sacramentarians*, whose Friendship would be advantageous to him, so that if he could have concurred with them in their Opinion about the Lord's-Supper he would have spoken freely: That they supposed the Body of Jesus Christ to be absent, and only to be represented in the Sacrament as Persons are represented upon a Theatre; but on the contrary he considered that Jesus Christ had promised to be with us to the End of the World: That it is not necessary to separate the Divinity from the Humanity, so that he was persuaded that the Sacrament was a Pledge of the real Presence, and that the Body of Jesus Christ was truly received in the Lord's Supper, that the proper Import of the Words was not contrary to any Article of Faith, and therefore he had no Reason to leave it, and that it agreed with other places of Scripture where the Presence of Christ was mentioned: That it is an Opinion unbecoming a Christian to believe that Jesus Christ is as it were imprisoned in Heaven: That *Oecolampadius* only propounded some Absurdities and the Judgment of some Fathers against it, neither of which ought to move those that know that the Mysteries of Religion are to be judged by the Word of God, and not by Geometrical Principles, and that many Contradictions are to be met with in the Writings of the Ancients; but that the greatest Number of the Expressions in the most Eminent Authors prove the Doctrine of the real Presence to be the general Sense of the Church, he desires *Oecolampadius* to con-

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sider the Importance of the Question in debate, and the ill consequences of maintaining his Opinion with so much Passion. He adds, that it would be convenient that some good Men should confer together upon that Head. In the Reply which *Oecolampadius* made to this Letter of *Melanchthon* he yields to the necessity of some Conferences about it, and says, that he heartily wish'd for them, but that the Persons pitch'd upon ought to be Men free from Passion, and not of contentious Spirits, lest by that means they might become unable to discover the Truth, and so become greater Enemies one to another.

Pursuant to these Propositions the *Landgrave* of *Hesse* in October following invited *Luther* and *Zuinglius* to a friendly Conference at *Marpurg*; both Parties were unwilling to accept the Proposal, but at last *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Bucer* and *Hedio*, went first to *Marpurg*, and *Luther*, *Melanchthon*, *Justus Jonas*, *Andreas Ostander*, *Brentius*, and *Stephanus Agricola*, came some time after. Before they conferred together publicly *Luther*, *Oecolampadius*, *Melanchthon* and *Zuinglius*, had a private Meeting the last of September, 1529.

The *Lutherans* proposed there such Articles as they objected against in the Doctrine of the *Zuinglians*. 1. That there was no such thing as Original Sin, but it was only a natural Infirmitie and Weakness, and that Baptism did not take away any Sin in Children. 2. That the Holy Ghost is not conferred by the Use of the Word of God and the Sacraments, but without that Word and those Sacraments. 3. That some of them were supposed to have erroneous thoughts about the Divinity of Jesus Christ and the Holy Trinity. 4. That they did not set the Value of Faith as to our Justification high enough, but seemed to attribute Justification to good Works. 5. That they did not think that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ were really in the Lord's-Supper. *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius* clear'd themselves fully of the suspicion they lay under about the Trinity and Divinity of Jesus Christ. They disputed a great while about Original Sin, and the Operation of the Sacraments, and *Zuinglius* agreed with *Melanchthon* in these Points, by explaining or changing his former Opinions, insomuch that they differed upon none of the Articles, but that of the Lord's-Supper, in which, when they could not join, the *Landgrave* of *Hesse* ordered them to debate upon that Article before himself, and some of his Council, some Divines of *Marpurg*, and other Persons of Note. This Conference began October 1. and held three days. *Luther* kept close to the Words of the Institution of the Sacrament, which he affirmed to be full and positive for the corporal Manducation. *Oecolampadius* asserted that they ought to be understood metaphorically, and of a spiritual Presence. *Luther* did not disown the spiritual Presence, but affirmed, that it did not exclude the corporal. Many Reasons and Authorities were produced on both sides, but neither Party were convinced by them. *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius* seeing that *Luther* was no way to be gain'd over to their Judgment, and resolving not to alter their own Opinion, earnestly desired *Luther* that they might own each other as Brethren, tho' they were of different Judgments. *Luther* openly declared, that he would not do it, because he could not in conscience account them as Brethren, or permit them to meet in their Ecclesiastical Assemblies, whom he believed to be in an Error: They then drew up the Articles, in which they agreed about the Trinity, Original Sin, Justification by Faith, the Efficacy of Baptism, the Advantage of Confession, the Authority of the Magistrate, the Necessity of the Baptism of Infants, and the spiritual Eating of Jesus Christ in the Sacrament. Adding in the Conclusion, that tho' they could not agree whether the true Blood and true Body of Jesus Christ were corporally present or not in the Bread and Wine of the Lord's-Supper, yet both Parties should have a Christian

The Diet of Spire, &c. Christian Charity one for another, so far as their Consciences would permit. *Luther* replied, that this ought only to be understood of that Charity which is due even to Enemies, and not of that special Charity which ought to be among Christians of the same Communion. This was all that the *Zuinglians* could obtain of the *Lutherans* in this Conference. The Result was sign'd on both sides, and they were no sooner parted but that all of them, as is usual in such cases, bragg'd that they had the better, and published contrary Relations and Writings of what had pass'd.

The League between the Protestant Princes and Cities. Whilst the Protestant Divines were thus contending one with another, the Princes of the same Party were labouring to make a firm League among themselves, and with the free Cities, that they might be able to defend themselves against the Emperor and the Catholick Princes. This League had been several times before propounded, but after the former Decree and Protestation they judg'd it necessary not to delay it any longer, and so drew up a Form of it at *Nuremberg*. The Deputies of the Princes and Cities being met at *Swabach* the Affair was there propos'd, but the Deputies of the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* alledging, that since this League was made for the Security of the true Christian Doctrine, they ought all unanimously to agree about it. They order'd that a Summary of their Doctrine contain'd in several Heads should be read, that it might be receiv'd and approv'd unanimously by the Assembly. Their Judgments were divided about the Lord's Supper, and the Deputies of the Cities of *Strasburg* and *Ulm* declaring that they had no Commission to treat upon that Subject, they could not concur with that Assembly, whereupon another was appointed in *December* at *Smalkald*.

The Siege of Vienna by Solymán. This Year *Solymán* having invaded *Germany* with a mighty Army laid Siege to *Vienna* in *September*, but was forced to raise it at the end of the Month, and return to *Constantinople*, having lost above 60000 Men. The Emperor, who had made a Peace first with the Pope, and afterwards with the King of *France*, was gone into *Italy*, to be crown'd at *Bononia*. In his way thither he stay'd a little while at *Placentia*, *Parma*, and *Modena*. At *Placentia* the Deputies of the Protestants at the Diet of *Spire* met him, and had Audience of his Imperial Majesty *September* 12. They assured him that their Masters oppos'd the Decree of that Diet, for no other Reason but because they foresaw it would cause many Troubles; they implored his Majesty not to think ill of them, and to believe that they would do nothing displeasing to him, and that they would bear their part in the War against the *Turks*, and other Charges of the Empire, according to their duty; that they begg'd his Protection, and a favourable Answer to the Memorial which they had presented to him. The Emperor having assured them that he was content with their Submission, told them he would give them his Answer when he had communicated it to his Council. *October* 13. following

The Diet of Spire, &c. they received his Answer in Writing to this effect, That the Decree of the Diet seem'd to him very reasonable, and convenient to prevent all Innovations, and to preserve the Peace of the Empire; that the Elector of *Saxony* and his Allies ought to approve of it; that he desired a Council as much as they, tho' that would not be necessary if the Edict which was made at *Worms* by common consent had been duly executed; that what had been once enacted by the major part of the Members of the Diet, could not be disannull'd by the opposition of some of them; that he had written to the Elector of *Saxony* and others to receive and execute the Decree of the Diet, and hop'd they would submit to his Order, and so much the more, because an Union and Peace was necessary at this time, when the *Turk* was come into *Germany*. The Deputies having receiv'd this Answer drew up an *Act of Appeal*, which they caus'd to be presented to the Emperor. This Action enraged him extremely, so that he confin'd the Deputies to their Lodgings, and forbade them to write into *Germany* under pain of Death. One of the Deputies, who chanc'd to be absent when this Order was given, wrote immediately to the Senate of *Nuremberg* about all that had pass'd. The Senate of *Nuremberg* having receiv'd this Letter communicated it to the Elector of *Saxony*, *Landgrave* of *Hesse*, and other Confederates, who met at *Smalkald* at the end of *November*. Here it was first of all propounded to agree upon a Confession of Faith, but because the Deputies of *Strasburg* and *Ulm* did again oppose it, and those of the other Cities said, that they had no Order to treat upon that Subject, the Assembly was adjourn'd to *Nuremberg*, to meet *January* 6. In the mean time the City of *Strasburg* made a League with the People of *Zurich*, *Bern*, and *Basil*. The Assembly at *Nuremberg* was made up only of a few Deputies, and the only Decree they made was, that since the Emperor design'd to call a Diet quickly, every one of them should consider what was fit to be propos'd there, and send it to the Elector of *Saxony* in a Month, that he might impart it to the Confederates.

The Emperor being arriv'd at *Bononia* sent out his circular Letters, dated *January* 21. 1530, to appoint a Diet at *Augsburg* to meet *April* 8. wherein their Consultations were to be about Matters of Religion and the War against the *Turks*. He invit'd all the Members of the Empire to be present at it, and gave them leave to propound whatsoever they had to say about Religion, assuring them of Liberty. When the Ceremony of his Coronation was ended at *Bononia* upon *February* 24, which day he chose, because it was his Birth-day, he set out for *Germany*, in *March* following. The Pope sent Cardinal *Campesius* along with him to attend him, to assist at the Diet as his Legate. He also sent *Peter Paul Vergerius* to King *Ferdinand* with an Order, that he should hinder any new Constitution about Religion to be made in the Diet, and take care that a National Council should not be held in *Germany*.

C H A P. XXII.

The Diet of Augsburg. The Confessions of Faith that were given in to it, with the Answers to them. The Disputations and Conferences that were held at it. The Decrees of the Diet, and the Methods taken by the Protestant Princes thereupon.

The Diet of Augsburg &c. THE Emperor arriv'd at *Augsburg* *June* 13. and was received with much Ceremony by the Electors and Princes, who were got thither before him. The next day, which was the Feast of the Holy Sacrament, he was present at a

Procession, at which the Elector of *Saxony* and the other Protestant Princes refus'd to be, notwithstanding his Imperial Majesty much press'd them to it. Two days after he commanded the Preachers, who had on both sides till that time maintain'd their Doc-

trines

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1 Session.

trines vigorously, to be silent, and ordered such as he would have to preach without reflecting on any Man. On June 20 the first Session was held, and a solemn Mass was said before it. The Emperor ordered the Elector of Saxony to give his attendance at it, and to carry the Sword before him, it being an Office belonging to his Electoral Dignity (a). The Elector consulted his Divines upon it, who told him, that he might go, because he was not summoned to it, as an Act of Religion, but as a Civil Office. Prince George of Brandenburg bore him company, but no other Protestant Princes would be present. Then they went into the Hall where the Assembly sat, where the Emperor's Chancellor read a long Discourse to them, wherein he much enlarged upon the Necessity of opposing the Progress of the Turk, and then proceeding to Matters of Religion he said, that the Emperor had call'd that Assembly that every one might offer in Writing what he thought convenient, and that they might consult upon such Propositions as should be made. The Diet having deliberated upon the Matter, judg'd it best to begin with such things as concerned Religion.

2 Session.
Campegius's Discourse.

In the next Session, held four days after, Cardinal Campegius made a Discourse, in which he exhorted all the Princes of the Empire to obey the Emperor, assuring them, that the Pope would do all he could to bring Men to profess the same Faith, and to carry on the War against the Turk by common consent. The Elector of Mentz answered in the name of the Diet, that the Emperor, as Defender of the Church, would use his utmost endeavour to allay the Differences about Religion, and to carry all his Forces against the Turks, and that the Princes would act in concert with him.

The Confession of Augsburg.

The other Ambassadors having been heard, the Elector of Saxony, and the other Protestant Princes, petitioned the Emperor to suffer their Confession of Faith to be read, but he would not grant it to be read in a full Diet, notwithstanding they much importun'd him, but order'd them to trust it with him, promising them to have it read the next day in his Palace. The Protestants not being able to procure it to be read in a full Diet, pray'd the Emperor to leave it with them till it could be read. It was read the next day in the Presence of the Emperor in a special Assembly of Princes, and other Members of the Empire, and presented to his Imperial Majesty, in Latin and German, with Offers of explaining whatever should be thought obscure, and a Promise, that tho' things could not now be amicably composed, they would refer themselves to the Determination of a Council, to which they appealed, as they had often promised, still adhering to the Appeal they had made.

This Confession of Faith, which was afterwards called, *The Confession of Augsburg*, was drawn up by Melancthon, the most moderate of all Luther's Followers, out of the Memoirs sent to the Elector of Saxony. He had revised and corrected it several times, and could hardly please Luther at last. (b). It was divided into two Parts. The first contain'd 21 Articles upon the chief Points of Religion. The Unity of God, Original Sin, the Incarnation, Justification, the Gospel Ministry, the Church, the Administration of Sacraments, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Penance, the Use of the Sacrament, Ecclesiastical Orders, the Ceremonies of the Church, the Civil Government, the Day of Judgment, Free-will, the Cause of Sin, Faith, good Works, and the Adoration of Saints. The other Part was concerning

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the Ceremonies and Usages of the Church, which the Protestants said were abus'd, such as the Communion in both Kinds, the Marriages of Priests, Confession, Abstinence from Meats, Monastick Vows, and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. It was sign'd by the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg (c), the Princes Ernestus, and Francis Dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, Prince of Anhalt, and the Deputies of the Cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen. Some of those Articles, which were about such Heads as the Lutherans did not contest, were very sound and orthodox. In others of them they either recanted, disguised, or mollified their former Errors, and in the rest they either maintain'd Errors, or condemned catholick Truths or Usages.

After the reading of this Confession the Emperor dismissed the Assembly, that they might consult what Resolutions they should come to in this Affair. Their Judgments were divided. The more hot said, that the Edict of Worms ought to be put in execution; and such as would not obey ought to be forced by the Civil Powers. Others were for chusing a certain number of honest, learned, and indifferent Persons, according to whose Judgment the Emperor was to decide all Matters. A third Party were for giving the Confession of Faith to the Popish Divines to confute, and the Confutation to be read in a full Diet before the Protestants. This last Advice was taken, and John Faber, Eckius, Conradus de Wimpina, Conradus Collinus, John Cochlaeus, and some other catholick Divines were appointed to draw up a Confutation, and having finished it they delivered it to the Emperor, and the catholick Princes, who were of opinion, that all the biting Expressions, which the Divines could not help bringing in, should be taken out. When this was done, the Emperor calling together the Protestants August 3. told them, that he had communicated their Confession of Faith to certain learned and religious Persons to give their Opinion of it, and to observe what was sound, and what was contrary to the Faith of the Church; that they had given their Judgments in Writing, which he himself had approved, and would have read before them, which one of the Secretaries to his Imperial Majesty accordingly did.

The Augsburg Confession answered.

The catholick Divines examined the Protestants Confession of Faith step by step in their Answer, approving some of the Articles fully and absolutely, and rejecting others in the same manner, but there were several of them of which they lik'd one part, and disallow'd the other. The Articles absolutely approv'd of were, the first about the Holy Trinity, the third about the Incarnation, the eighth about the Wicked in the Church, and that the Sacraments administred by wicked Persons are valid, the ninth about the Necessity of Baptism, and about the Baptism of Infants, the tenth about the Lord's Supper, the thirteenth about the Operation of the Sacraments, tho' they judg'd that Article defective, because they did not acknowledge the Sacraments to be seven; the 14th. about the calling of Ministers, provided that they allow of a canonical Ordination; the 16th. about the Authority of Magistrates, the 17th. about the last Judgment and the Resurrection, and the 18th. about Free-will. The Propositions which they wholly rejected were, the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 20th. that Men are not justified by the Merit of good Works, but by Faith alone; the 7th. that the Church is a Congregation of Saints, and that 'tis sufficient to preserve its Unity that Men agree in the Doctrine of the Gospel, and about the Administra-

[(a) AS Chief Marschal of the Empire.

[(b) Maimburg says Luther was exceedingly pleased with the Confession when Melancthon sent him a Copy of it: And Seckendorff does not contradict him, but says, that Luther was very glad that this Occasion was offered of letting the World see what he and his Followers taught. It is probable indeed that Luther would not have tempered his Style with so much Softness, but that was a difficult time; and all Sweetness of Ex-

pression which did not affect the Merits of their Cause was then of necessity to be used.

[(c) This is a Mistake which Du Pin thro' haste has committed before. It was not the Elector of Brandenburg, but George Marquis of Brandenburg, that was then the Protestant. Joachim, then Elector, was violently of the other side. Seckendorff says he and George Duke of Saxony were the greatest Enemies among the temporal Princes of the Empire that the Protestants then had. Hist. Lutheranism. Lib. 2. Sect. 66. Num. 2.

tion of the Sacraments, without following the same Usages and Traditions; the 21st. about the Invocation and Worship of Saints. Those which they partly received and partly rejected were, the 2^d. about Original Sin, which they approved, except the Definition of Sin given in it, which seems to agree better to actual than original Sin; the 11th. also about Absolution, which they allow'd of, but dislike'd what is said in it about Confession; in the 12th. about Repentance, they did not like the Assertion, that Faith is a Part of Repentance, and what concerns Satisfaction; the 15th. is approved as to what is said there, that the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church are to be observed, but rejected it so far as it says, that the Customs received by Tradition, as Celibacy, and Vows, are of no use to obtain Grace or make Satisfaction to God.

As to the second Part of the Confession of *Augsburg*, in which the Protestants assert, that the Communion under one Kind, Celibacy of Priests, the Ceremonies of the Mass, private Masses, the Name of Sacrifice given to the Mass, Monastick Vows, Abstinence from Meats, Fasts, auricular Confession, &c. are Abuses, they maintain in their Answer, that they are not Abuses, but religious and holy Usages, commanded by Scripture, and confirm'd by Tradition; nevertheless, that there are some Abuses in them, which need Reformation, and which the Emperor promised to obtain. They add, that they hope the Protestants will again return to the Communion of the Church, since they already agree with the Catholics in several Points heretofore disputed.

When this Answer was all read, the Elector of *Saxony* said, in the Name of the Protestants, that they were always ready to do any thing which was not prejudicial to their Consciences to come to an Union in Religion: That if they could prove to them by Holy Scripture that they had advanced any Error they would recant it, and if they desired any further Explication they were ready to give it: That since they had approved of some Articles of their Doctrine, and rejected others, it was necessary they should confirm and explain those that were in dispute: That they desired to have a copy of the Confutation of their Confession. The Emperor did not think fit at that time to grant it them, but two Days after he offered them one, upon condition, that they should not publish it, telling them, that he was not willing there should be any farther Dispute. They refused to receive it on that condition, and so this Negotiation had like to have quite broken up, but at the entreaty of the other Princes it was continued, and 17 Persons were nominated by the catholick Party to treat about Religion with the Protestants. This Conference was held the 7th. of *August* at *Augsburg*. The Elector of *Brandenburg* exhorted the Protestants to satisfy the Emperor, by uniting in Matters of Faith with the Princes and Members of the Empire, telling them, that if they did not do it, they would bring great Troubles upon *Germany* by the Wars and Tumults which their Separation would raise. The Protestants gave in their Answer two days after by their Deputy *George Brucke*, and having declar'd, that they took it ill to be threatned, they complain'd, 1. That the Emperor would not suffer them to be heard sufficiently. 2. That they could not be allow'd a Copy of the Confutation of their Confession, but upon hard Terms. 3. That it was expected that they should approve of it without reading or examining it, which they could not do with a safe Conscience. 4. That tho' it was promised and concluded in the last Diet of *Spire* that a Council should be held, nothing was done in it since. This Answer being delivered in Writing the Committee of the catholick Deputies declar'd, that they had no design either to offend them or threaten them, and what they had said of the ill consequences that would happen if the Diet was dissolved before they came to any Agreement in Religion, was intended for the Benefit of the whole Nation: Then they answered

the four Articles. 1. That since the Emperor allowed them to propose whatsoever they pleas'd in that Assembly, and to confer with them about the ways of Agreement, they had no reason to complain of his Imperial Majesty. 2. That the condition on which the Emperor offer'd them a Copy of the Confutation of their Confession was not hard, because he was sensible how they us'd the Edict of *Worms*, and to prevent the like dealings with this last Writing, he thought it convenient not to make it publick before the time. 3. That they might with greater Safety and better Conscience consent to the Doctrine of the Universal Church, than of a small number of Hereticks and Apostates, who could not agree among themselves. 4. That the Emperor had two Wars upon his hands, and so could have no hopes of holding a Council at present, and besides *Luther* had declar'd, that he would not submit to the Judgment of a Council, wherefore they conjured them to join with the Emperor and the Church, and not to continue in a Schism which would so much endanger their own Safety; that if they knew any other way of coming to an Agreement they might propound it, and they would represent it to his Imperial Majesty. The Protestants, after they had excused their Separation, offered to chuse a small number of Persons on both sides, who might treat amicably and friendly together, and consult whether they could not find out some way of Agreement. This Proposition was received, and both Parties named seven Persons to confer about Religion, two Princes, two Lawyers, and three Divines. The Catholics were, the Bishop of *Augsburg*, the Duke of *Brunswick*, the Chancellor of the Archbishop of *Cologne*, and the Chancellor of the Marquis of *Baden*, and the Divines *Eckius*, *Wimpina*, and *Cochlaeus*. For the Protestants were, the Elector of *Saxony's* Son, the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, the Lawyers *Brucke* and *Heller*, and the Divines *Melanchthon*, *Brentius*, and *Schneepfius*. These Persons being met together agreed upon fifteen of the one and twenty Articles of the Confession of *Augsburg*, so that there remained but six, and of them three were only disputed against in part, and the other three were remitted to the second part of their Confession, about which it was harder to agree. The *Lutherans* agreed to these Points of Doctrine, that Men should not for the future be said to be justified by Faith only, but by Faith and Grace; that good Works are necessary; that Reprobates are included in the Church; that Man hath a Free-will; that the blessed Saints intercede for us, and may be honour'd. In the other seven Articles they agreed, that the Body and Blood of Christ were contain'd in both Elements, and that they would not condemn the Laity, who would receive the Eucharist under one kind only; that the usual Veneration might still be given to the Holy Sacrament; that the publick Mass should be celebrated with the usual Ceremonies, and that they should observe what is essential in the Consecration; that the Fasts on the Vigils might be still observ'd, and some Holy-days kept; that the Bishops should hold their Jurisdictions, and that Parish-Priests, Preachers, and other Ecclesiastical Persons, should submit to them in spiritual Matters; and lastly, that their Excommunications should not be condemn'd. The catholick Divines having made their Report to the Diet on the 22^d. day of *August* upon what Terms they stood with the *Lutherans*, who gave some hopes of uniting again to the Church, 'twas thought that it would be a speedier way to perfect the Agreement to reduce the Deputies to three, and that both parts should chuse two Lawyers and one Divine, *Eckius* for the Catholics, and *Melanchthon* for the *Lutherans*. The Points which still remained under debate were chiefly the Mass, Vows and Celibacy of Priests. The Catholics were ready enough to consent that the Priests that were married might live with their Wives, but they could not relax in the Business of the Mass and Vows: *Melanchthon*, who was very much inclined

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&c.

The Diet of Augsburg &c. to Peace, would perhaps have come nearer if he had been Master; but the rigid Protestants, who were dissatisfied with his condescension already, forbade him to advance any farther (d), and so they could not come to an Accommodation; and the Protestant Princes departed home in October. Before they went they presented an *Apology for their Confession* to the Emperor, drawn up by *Melancthon*, but his Imperial Majesty would not receive it; however it was published the next Year. This is all that passed between the Catholics and Lutherans at *Augsburg*.

The Sacramentarians: Confession of Faith. The Sacramentarians, who were not yet united with the Lutherans, presented also their Confession of Faith to the Emperor in the Name of the Cities of *Strasburg*, *Constance*, *Memmingen*, and *Lindau*. It was drawn up by *Capito* and *Bucer*, and approv'd by the Senate of *Strasburg*. There was nothing about the Trinity or Incarnation, that was contrary to the Doctrine of the Church. About Justification they quite rejected the Opinion of those who teach, that a Man's own Works are necessary to justify him, and hold, that we are justified only by the Merits of Jesus Christ and Faith; but yet they own that that Faith ought to be attended with Charity, and produce the Observation of God's Commandments. Then they maintain that good Works are necessary, but they attribute them to Jesus Christ, who works them in us by his all-sufficient Grace. They acknowledge Obedience to Magistrates necessary, and that they ought to acquit themselves in all the other Duties of Civil Life. They commend Fasting and Prayer, but condemn the Worship of Saints, and their Intercession. They condemn a Monastick Life, as a servile Subjection to human Traditions, and all sorts of Vows in general, as a diabolical Slavery. They teach, that the Power of the Church is only given for Edification, and that Ministers have no Authority but to plant and water, for it belongs to God alone to bind and loose from Sins: That all that feed Christ's Flock with his Word are true Bishops and Priests, and that they may shake off the Yoke of those that do not teach the Doctrine of Jesus Christ. They allow of such Traditions as are not contrary to the Word of God, and define the Church to be a Congregation of true Believers, in which there is a mixture of such as seem to have Faith, but really have none. They also exclude such as teach not the Doctrine of Jesus Christ. Concerning the Sacraments they hold, that God unites Christians in an outward Communion by those sacred Symbols, called Sacraments, not only because they are visible Signs of invisible Grace, but also because they are Testimonies of our Faith. They allow of but two Sacraments, Baptism, and the Lord's-Supper. They teach, that by Baptism we are ingrafted into Christ, united to him in the same Body, regenerated, and washed from our Sins; but it is, according to the Apostle of St. Peter's Words, by a good Conscience, and thro' Faith in Jesus Christ. They grant that this Sacrament ought to be administered to Infants. Concerning the Lord's Supper they say, that Ministers should not meddle with curious Questions, but teach the People only what is profitable for them to know: That being nourished by Jesus Christ we ought to live in him, and by him, and be one Head and one Body, since we are all Partakers in the Supper of that one Bread. They add, that Jesus Christ having instituted his last Supper, that Believers feeding on his Body and Blood might shew forth his Death, and remember thankfully his Sufferings for us, they could not but condemn such as celebrate Masses with an intention to offer Jesus Christ to God as a Sacrifice both for the Quick and Dead, by which means they made a Trade of Masses. They

utterly disapprove of private Masses, because our Lord hath ordered to celebrate the Sacrament in publick. They hold, that our Lord having made himself a Sacrifice once for all upon the Cross, cannot again be sacrificed in the Mass. They think Confession not necessary, and therefore that it ought to be left off, because of Abuses, yet they will have their Ministers to exhort all Persons to confess their Faults. They blame two things in the publick Service of the Church. 1. That such Attributes are given to the Saints as are only proper to God. 2. That it is so long that Men cannot keep up a due Attention and Devotion to it. Lastly, they say they cannot endure Images, upon the account of the Worship and Adoration that is given them. They conclude this Confession of Faith with a long Invektive against the Conduct of the Court of Rome, to render it odious. This Writing is drawn up with much Subtlety and Address, and every Article is supported by Texts of Scripture, and so well expressed, that it is very capable of imposing upon and surprising those that read it.

This *Confession of Faith* was more unacceptable than that of the Lutherans; and the Emperor ordered *Faber* and *Eckius* to draw up an Answer to it, which was read in a full Diet. They charged the Sacramentarians with professing a Religion different from all others, with maintaining an intolerable Error about the Lord's-Supper, with removing Images out of the Churches, abolishing the Mass, and destroying Colleges founded by the Liberality of Emperors and Kings, with encouraging new Sects, whereupon the Emperor commanded them to renounce their Errors, and if they refused he resolved to make use of his Authority to force them. The Deputies of the Cities who presented this *Confession of Faith* desired a Copy of their Confutation, but the Emperor deny'd it them, and charged them to conform to the Doctrine of the Church, and to provide Supplies for the War against the Turk. They insisted upon their Petition, and implor'd the Emperor to suffer them to enjoy their Religion quietly, assuring him that otherwise they could not bring him the Aid he requir'd.

Whilst the Diet sat at *Augsburg*, *Zuinglius* sent to the Emperor and Princes a particular Confession of Faith, compriz'd in 12 Articles. 1. About the Trinity and Incarnation. 2. About the Fall of Man, and Necessity of Grace. 3. About the Mediation of Jesus Christ. There was nothing in these Articles contrary to the Doctrines received in the Church. 4. About Original Sin, in which he asserted, that tho' Adam's Sin was a Sin truly in him, yet it has not the Nature of Sin in Infants, but 'tis rather a Disease, and a State, which makes us all be born Slaves to Sin, Children of Wrath, and Enemies of God; yet he denies not but that it may be called Sin, 5. About the Baptism of Infants he says, that as in Adam all Men are dead, so they are all regenerated by Jesus Christ, and whatsoever we may think of the Children of Heathens and Infidels, yet we ought not rashly to condemn the Children of Christians; who are Members of Christ's Church, and we can't assert that they are damn'd without Impiety, altho' they die before they are baptized. 6. About the Church he saith, that he takes it primarily for the Predestinated, and that all that have Faith are of that Number, tho' they do not know it; but in a more large Sense the Church is taken for all those who profess Christianity; and lastly, 'tis taken for a particular Congregation of Believers. He acknowledgeth that there is a visible and sensible Church, of which the Children of Believers are Members, and he affirms that to be the Reason why they ought to

[d] In the Dispute about Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and the Power of Bishops, *Melancthon* gave way more than many of his own Party, especially the Free Cities would have had him: But it appears from *Seckendorff's* Account of this Matter, when he gives us the History of this Diet at *Augsburg*, that in the Doctrinal Points, wherein the Protestants opposed Popery, *Melancthon* was not to be moved in the least; nay, *Luther* himself in his *Admonition to the Princes of the Empire*, at that time printed, granted that the Power of the Bishops of the Empire, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, might be well allowed, if they would employ it to the Glory of God, not supposing that that would any ways advance the Pope's Supremacy.

be baptized. 7. As to the Sacraments he affirms, that they do not confer Grace, but are only Signs of receiving it. 8. About the Sacrament he tells us, that by receiving it we do acknowledge that Jesus Christ did assume human Flesh, that he suffered truly, and washed away our Sins by his Blood, and so becomes present to us by Faith, but that it is an Error to believe that the natural Body of Jesus Christ is essentially and really in the Sacrament, and that we receive it there. 9. About the Ceremonies he confesses, that such of them as are not superstitious, nor contrary to the Faith of the Gospel, may be tolerated, but says it would be more convenient to abolish them entirely. As to Images he tells us, that it is contrary to the Word of God to give them any Honour or Worship. 10. As to the Ministry of the Gospel, he owns it to be necessary that there should be Ministers to teach the Word of God; but he will not allow the Bishops, whom he calls in scorn *Mitratum genus & Pedatum*, to be true Ministers of Jesus Christ. 11. About the Authority of the Magistrates, he owns that they ought to be obeyed when they manage their Office with Wisdom and Justice, but if they abuse their Authority there is no Subjection due to them, longer than 'till we can find a convenient Opportunity to shake off their Power, and free our selves. 12. As to Purgatory, he rejects it, as being a thing as injurious to Jesus Christ as profitable to those that invented it.

Zuinglius a little after this wrote a Letter to the Protestant Princes to defend his Opinions against *Ecclusius*, and more especially concerning the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

Remarks
upon the
Article
about the
Lord's
Supper.

The Article which is most remarkable in these Confessions of Faith is that which concerns the Lord's Supper. The Confession of *Augsburg* asserts the real Presence in Article 10. but it is not drawn up in the same manner in all the Editions of that Confession. In the first Edition it is delivered in these Terms, *Concerning the Lord's-Supper they teach, that the Body and Blood of Christ are truly present, and distributed to the Receivers, and they condemn such as hold the contrary.* This Doctrine is very catholick; but in the second Edition of it they speak of the Bread and Wine in other Words, *That with the Bread and Wine the Body and Blood of Christ are really given to those that eat at the Lord's Table.* *Melanchthon* in his Apology seems to joyn these two Editions together when he delivers this Article thus: *We acknowledge that the Body and Blood of Christ are truly and substantially present in the Lord's-Supper, and that they are truly given with the visible Elements, that is to say, with the Bread and the Wine, to those that receive the Sacrament.* 'Tis easy to observe that *Melanchthon* had at first drawn up this Article in a Form more agreeable to the catholick Doctrine, but observing that in asserting that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ were truly and really in the Sacrament, without mentioning the Bread and Wine, Men seem'd to understand them as if they allow'd of Transubstantiation, as also that there was no Controversy between the Papists and *Lutherans* about that Article, and also at length the *Lutherans* perceiving that this Exposition was prejudicial to their Doctrine, they added, that the Bread and the Wine were in the Lord's-Supper with the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. *Bucer* drew up this Article of the Supper in such ambiguous Terms that the *Lutherans* might not be condemn'd, but yet without consenting to their Doctrine. He says, that when the Christians received the Supper, which Jesus Christ celebrated before his Death, in the manner that he appointed it, he gave them his true Body and Blood to eat and drink, really to be the Nourishment and Drink of their Souls, that he might live in them, and they in him. He saith not, as the *Lutherans* do, that the Body and Blood of Christ are truly and substantially given, but that the true Body and Blood of Christ are given for the Nourishment of Souls, which are general Terms, such as may be accommodated to the catholick Doctrine,

but they do not determine after what manner the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are given; he also adds, that his intention was to fix the Notions of Christians upon what is of profit and advantage to them, without engaging them in contentious, curious and unprofitable Questions and Enquiries. Lastly, he speaks nothing very plainly against the real Presence, nor indeed any thing that may confirm it, but uses such general Expressions as do rather import a spiritual Presence. To conclude, *Zuinglius* useth no Dissimulation about this Point but expressly denies the real Presence.

The *Lutheran* Divines did not approve of the Doctrine of the *Zuinglians* about the Lord's-Supper more than the *Catholicks*, tho' the Princes, whose Interest it was that the Free Cities should be brought into their League, did all they could to unite them. The *Landgrave* of *Hesse* laying the matter to heart above all the rest, desired the Judgment of *Melanchthon* and *Brentius* upon the Confession, which the *Sacramentarians* had presented to the Diet of *Augsburg*. These two Divines gave their Answer under their Hands, that they could not allow or tolerate the Notion of the *Zuinglians* about the Lord's-Supper, nor joyn with them, or forbear to condemn them till there was a Council held, because their Doctrine was false, and contrary to the Word of God. The *Landgrave* reply'd, that he did not think that the Opinion of the *Zuinglians* ought to be a sufficient Cause of Separation; that he did not desire them to allow of it, but only to bear with it; that the *Zuinglians* not having been heard, or convicted, ought not to be condemn'd, or at least not hinder'd by Force of Arms or Violence from teaching their Doctrine: That he desired them to consider that it was their Interest to keep the Emperor and Popish Princes from making War upon the *Zuinglians*. Lastly, he begg'd of them to unite among themselves, if it were possible: But notwithstanding this Advice *Melanchthon* and *Brentius* held to their Judgment, and would not own the *Zuinglians* for Brethren; *Bucer* was very diligent to promote an Union, and propounded a Conference, but *Melanchthon* and *Brentius* would not accept it: They only published a Treatise to shew that the Doctrine of the *Zuinglians* about the Lord's-Supper was wholly different from the *Lutheran*, whatsoever Ambiguity there was in their Words. *Bucer*, to come nearer to the *Lutherans*, drew up some new Articles, in which he acknowledged that the Body of Jesus Christ was truly present in the Lord's-Supper, and that we are nourished by his Body and Blood; but he adds, that as the Vertue of regenerating is in Baptism, so the Body and Blood of Christ are bestow'd in the Elements of the Lord's-Supper, and received by Faith; and for fear these last Words should displease the *Lutherans* he would not stop there, but said in the following Article, that tho' the Body of Jesus Christ was locally present in Heaven, yet it was truly and indeed present in the Lord's-Supper, yet not after a local but sacramental manner, that is to say, by a Belief in the Words, and by the Elements receiv'd by Faith; the Sacraments being Sacraments only in the Use: That as to the rest, the Condition on which we believe that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are given us under the Bread and Wine concerns only those for whom Christ dy'd, and yet Unbelievers may be guilty of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ present, and not absent, because Sacraments are Signs and Testimonies of Jesus Christ present, and not absent. *Bucer* thought by these Ambiguities, which are full of Contradictions and Dissimulations, to effect an Agreement, such as it might be, between the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians*, and to that end he sent these Articles to *Luther*, with a Letter, by which he desir'd his Approbation of them, and endeavour'd to persuade *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius* to do the same thing, but neither of them lik'd these Articles of *Bucer's*, and so all his Labour to procure an Union were to no purpose, and his earnest Wishes vain.

Luther

The Diet of
Augsburg
etc.

The Car-
riage of
Bucer con-
demned
both by
Lutherans and
Zuingli-
ans.

The Diet of Augsburg &c.
Luther's Writings in the time of the Diet.
Luther was afraid to come to the Diet of Augsburg, and his Friends did not think it convenient that he should be there, not thinking him moderate enough to treat of things calmly, yet he could not refrain from writing, while the Diet was sitting, that he might make the Emperor, Catholick Princes, and Bishops odious to the People and Nobility; and decry the Authority of the Diet. He composed a Treatise upon the 2d. Psalm, in which he apply'd to the Princes met at Augsburg what was said in that Psalm concerning the Assembling and Conspiracy of the Princes of the World against Jesus Christ. In the Conclusion of this Exposition he makes a long Invektive against the Pope, and finds fault with the Emperor for receiving the Imperial Crown from his Hands, when the Princes of Germany were not present. He also at the same time made a Book, which he dedicated to the Bishops and Clergy assembled at Augsburg, in which he bragged that he had cleansed the Church from several Errors, and freed the Bishops from the Tyranny of the Pope. In it he drew up a kind of Abridgment, or short Recital of all the Points for which he had reprov'd the Church of Rome, as Indulgences, Confessions, Penance and Satisfaction. He also wrote particularly to Melancthon about what had passed at the Diet. It appears by these Letters that he was averse to all Proposals of an Accommodation, and that he did not think they would be effectual. Melancthon for his part did all that he could to moderate the Mind of Luther, and stop his Heat.

The Emperor's Proposals to the Protestants.
While these Disputes continu'd the Emperor made use of his Authority to reduce the Protestant Princes and Zuinglian Cities. He sent for the Elector of Saxony particularly, and the other Lutheran Princes, and told them, that he hop'd that all things would go on peaceably, and promis'd to call a Council immediately, but in the mean time order'd them to follow the Religion which he himself profess'd. The Protestants answer'd, that they could not in Conscience submit to all the Ceremonies and Opinions of the Church of Rome. The Emperor then labour'd for a Decree of the Diet, and knowing that the Elector of Saxony was about to depart, he order'd him to attend four days longer. When the Decree was pass'd, he caus'd it to be read in a full Assembly of the Diet, September 22. and allow'd the Elector of Saxony and the Protestant Princes time till April 15 following to consult about their Submission to it, and in the mean time commanded them to live peaceably, to permit no Changes in Religion, to force no Man to receive their Doctrine, to suffer the Catholicks to enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion, and join with the other Princes of the Empire to suppress the Anabaptists and Sacramentarians, assuring them that within six Months he would send out his Summons for a Council to begin the next Year. The Protestants reply'd, that they could not acknowledge that their Confession of Faith was sufficiently confuted; that they had drawn up an Apology for it, which they presented to his Imperial Majesty; that they would not make any Alterations, nor do any thing for which he might justly blame them; that tho' they were persuaded that their Doctrine was true, they would force no Man to receive it; that they had never tolerated the Anabaptists, nor such as contemned the Sacrament of the Altar. The Emperor return'd them Answer the next day by the Elector of Brandenburg, that he was amazed at their Confidence in asserting their Doctrine to be true, which had long since been condemn'd by the Councils, and in openly maintaining that the Catholicks were in an Error, and adhering to a false Religion, and so much the more, because they condemn'd their Ancestors of Heresy; that he caus'd the Decree to be drawn up as favourable to them as was possible; that he would ingage no farther in any Disputes, and if they would not submit to the Decree he would proceed in such Methods as were agreeable to his Dignity and Person. The Elector of Brandenburg

The Diet of Augsburg &c.
farther added, that he knew what Pains the other Catholick Princes had been at to compose their Differences, and that, if they would consider it, 'twas their Interest, as well as the whole Empire's, to obey the Emperor, and if they did it not, all the other Princes and States of the Empire would join with his Imperial Majesty against them, as he could assure them from their own Mouths. The Protestants took no Notice of this Advice, but desired Time to consult, assuring him, that they would behave themselves so orderly till the Meeting of the Council as should demonstrate to all the World that they respected not their own Interest, but the Satisfaction of their own Consciences. The Emperor also signify'd to them by the Elector of Brandenburg, that he could not alter any thing in the Decree he had made, and if they would submit to it they might, but if not, they would oblige him to make another, and to join with the Pope, and other Christian Princes, to root their Heresy out of Germany entirely, and restore Religion; that he order'd them at the same time to restore the Abbots, Monks, and other Ecclesiasticks, whom they had displac'd. The Protestant Princes having receiv'd this Answer went away very much discontented, and after their departure the Emperor call'd the Deputies of the Cities of Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau, from whom he received as little Satisfaction as from the Protestant Princes, for they refused to obey the Decree of the Diet about Religion, as the other had done. The Deputies for the Cities of Ulm, Augsburg, Franckfort, and Hall, also excused their Obedience to it for the present, and earnestly desir'd a Council. At the same time the Deputies for the Elector of Saxony, and the other Protestant Princes, presented a Petition to the Emperor, by which they implor'd him to preserve the Peace of the Empire, and permit no Man to be disturb'd upon the Account of Religion. The Emperor order'd the Elector Palatine to tell them, that since they had deny'd their Submission to the Decree of the Diet he had enter'd into a League with the other Princes, not to assault any Man, but to secure himself; that he had no design to disturb the Peace settled by the Diet of Worms; that he could not oblige himself nor promise not to act against those who should oppose the Decree of the Diet, nor exempt them from the Imperial Ban. Upon this Answer they declar'd that they would not give any Assistance to the War against the Turks, nor bear their Share in the Expences of the Imperial Chamber.

The Decree of the Diet of Augsburg.
At length the Emperor publish'd the Decree of the Diet, November the 16th. which order'd, that the new Doctrine about the Lord's-Supper should not be allowed to be taught, and that publick or private Mass should not be alter'd: That Confirmation of Children should be administred with the Holy Chrism, and Extreme Unction of the Sick continued: That Images and Statues should not be removed out of Churches, and should be set up again in the Places from whence they had been taken: That their Opinion should not be embraced who deny Free-will: That nothing should be taught which could be prejudicial to the Authority of Magistrates: That the Doctrine of Justification by Faith only should be rejected: That the Sacraments of the Church should be preserved in the same Number and Manner as formerly: That the Ceremonies, Rites, Funeral Solemnities, and other Usages of the Church, should be observed: That vacant Benefices should be conferred on Persons well qualified for them, and that married Priests and Clerks should be deprived of their Benefices, unless they would leave their Wives: That Priests should live civilly and inoffensively, and wear such Habits as were agreeable to their Office: That all unjust Alienations of the Goods of the Church should be declared null: That no Ministers should be allowed to preach but such as should be approved by the Bishop: That Preachers should conform themselves to what has been said

The Diet of Augsburg &c. in this Decree: That they should exhort the People to hear Mass, to pray to the Virgin and the Saints, to observe Holy-days, to fast, to live in Abstinence, and give Alms: That they should teach the Monks that 'tis not lawful for them to leave their Profession and Order: In a word, that no Man should make any Alterations in the Faith or religious Worship: That the Goods and Habitations of the Clergy and Monks should be restored to them; that the Pope should be put in mind of appointing a Council within six Months, in a convenient Place, to meet within the Year; that this Decree should be put in execution, whatsoever Opposition or Appeals may be made against it, and that the Imperial Chamber should enjoin all such Persons as would hinder the execution of it by Force, to desist from their Attempts, and if they disobey that, they should be subject to the Imperial Ban. Lastly, that none should be admitted to the Imperial Chamber but such as obeyed this Decree.

The Measures taken by the Protestant Princes. The Protestants knowing that the Emperor had resolv'd to bring them into subjection by Force of Arms if they would not voluntarily submit, took Measures to defend themselves whenever they should be attacked. The Landgrave of Hesse, who first withdrew himself from the Diet, made a League in November with the Cities of Zurich, Basil, and Strasburg. The Cantons of Switzerland, who had received the same Doctrine, join'd in a Confederacy among themselves, and with the City of Strasburg. Lastly, the Elector of Saxony being summon'd by the Emperor to be present at the Election of Ferdinand to be King of the Romans, which was to be made at Cologne, December the 29th. appointed the other Protestant Princes to meet him at Smalkald on

the 22d. of the same Month, where they entred into a League one with another, and with the Cities of Magdeburg and Bremen. The Deputies of the Cities of Strasburg, Ulm, Constance, Lindau, Memmingen, and some others, desired Time to write to the Councils of their Cities, and promised to give their Answer in six Weeks. It was also agreed upon at that Meeting that they should importune the neighbouring Princes, and other Cities of the Empire, to join in their Confederacy. These Resolutions being taken, they wrote a Letter to the Emperor about the Election which he pretended to make of the King of the Romans, that it was against the Laws of the Empire, according to which it was not lawful to create a King of the Romans but after the death of the Emperor, and to require them to chuse his Brother was a Violation of the Liberties and Rights of the Electors. The Elector of Saxony wrote himself to the Electors to dissuade them from doing a thing which might be so much prejudicial to their Authority (e). The Princes and confederate Cities some time after wrote also a Letter to the Emperor to conjure him to take off the Penalties enjoin'd by the Decree of the Diet, and to prevent that the Goods of such Persons as did not put it in execution should be confiscated to the Imperial Chamber, assuring him, that if his Imperial Majesty granted it they would send him Aids for the War with the Turks, and for the other Necessities of State. Notwithstanding their Petitions the Emperor kept to his Resolutions, caused his Brother Ferdinand to be chosen King of the Romans, January the 5th. 1531. and abated nothing of the Rigor of the Decree made at the Diet of Augsburg.

The Diet of Augsburg &c.

[(e) There were other Princes besides Protestants that opposed Ferdinand's Election at that time, particularly the Duke of Bavaria. Luther wrote to the Elector of Saxony to persuade him not to oppose the Election; and Melancthon produced

Examples out of the Roman and German Histories to prove the Lawfulness of choosing a Partner to an Emperor. See *Seckendor. Hist. Luther. lib. Sect. 2.*]

C H A P. XXIII.

Proposals about the Calling of a Council. A Peace concluded with the Protestants at Nuremberg.

Proposals about the Calling of a Council, &c. THE Court of Rome was much disturbed at what had been transacted at the Diet at Augsburg. The calling of a Council, which was earnestly desired both by Catholics and Protestants, made them also something uneasy, and in July the Pope wrote to the Emperor about the Proposal he had made to him, that having consulted with the College of Cardinals, most of them were of Opinion that a Council was needless. First, because Councils were to be call'd only to condemn new Doctrines, and not to debate anew of such Questions as have been determin'd by preceding Councils, as those are which the Hereticks have reviv'd, whose Errors have been already condemned: That to consult afresh about such Questions is to invalidate the Authority of the Church, and that the Council required could not have greater Authority than the Definitions of former ones had. Secondly, because the War with the Turks, which threaten'd all Christendom, would hinder the Proceedings of a Council, and that it would be hard to dissolve it when it was once met. But the Pope added, that he prefer'd the Judgment of his Imperial Majesty before these Reasons, and that he could then promise to summon a Council, provided the Hereticks would not in the mean while teach their Errors, and would engage to submit to the Determinations of the Council. As to the Place where it should meet, he declar'd that it was very indifferent to him, if his Imperial Ma-

Proposals about the Calling of a Council, &c. jesty would be present at it, but in his Opinion 'twas most convenient that it should meet in Italy, which was a Country not to be suspected, and he thought the City of Rome the fittest Place for that purpose, but if there was any Objection made against it he might chuse Bononia, Placentia, or Mantua. However the Pope employ'd his Nuncio's, the Bishops of Vaison and Tortosa, to dissuade the Emperor from holding a Council, and did all he could to persuade him that it would be of no use to allay the Differences in Religion, nor to obtain any Assistance of the Christian Princes against the Turks, yet assuring him at the same time, that if he would have it so he would submit to his Judgment, and call a Council, provided that the other Princes, and chiefly the King of France, would consent to it. The Emperor answer'd the Nuncio's, that both himself and all the Princes of Germany still persisted in their Opinion about the Necessity of a Council, and that he had already written to the King of France about it, and had receiv'd his Approbation of that Matter. Upon this Answer the Bishop of Tortosa propounded to the Emperor the Conditions upon which the Pope would summon a Council: First, that it should meet only to obtain a Supply against the Turks, to recall the Lutherans to their Duty, to suppress Heresies, and punish the Obstinate. Secondly, that the Emperor should be present in Person at the Council, and if he departed the Council should be look'd upon

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on as dissolv'd. Thirdly, that the Council should meet in *Italy*, in one of the Cities which he had mention'd. Fourthly, that those only should have Votes who had a right to vote by the Canon-Laws. Lastly, that the *Lutherans* should propound their Questions to the Council, and promise to submit to the Resolutions of it. The Emperor's Reply to these Proposals was: To the first, that to avoid Calumny it was the wisest course to call a Council without any Reservations, and then it would lye upon the Pope to prescribe the Subjects it should debate upon: To the second, that if the Council was call'd immediately he would lay aside all Business to attend upon it, and would stay as long as his Presence should be thought necessary: To the third, that all the Cities mention'd by the Pope for the holding of a Council were alike to him, but that *Mantua* and *Milan* would please the *Germans* better: As to the fourth, he would observe the Forms and Customs us'd in the ancient Councils: To the last, that he could not hope that the Protestants would yield to what the Pope requir'd, but he thought it not necessary, because the Council was call'd together against them. The Emperor wrote also a Letter to the Pope, after this Answer, to urge him to call a Council, leaving it to him to appoint the Place and Conditions. The Pope yielding to these Importunities, resolv'd at last to signify his Will to all the Christian Princes, that he would immediately call a Council, and to that End he wrote a Letter to them, dated *December 1. 1530.* telling them that he had hop'd that the Emperor's Presence might have recall'd the *Lutherans* into the Bosom of the Church, that such an Union would much promote the Defence of Christendom against the *Turks*; but understanding by Letters from the Emperor and his Legate that nothing could be expected from thence, he had determin'd, by the Advice of his Cardinals, that the most speedy and certain Method he could use was to call a General Council, which the *Lutherans* themselves had desir'd; that he had advis'd the Princes to countenance so holy a Cause by their Personal Presence, or sending their Ambassadors to the Council, which should soon be call'd in a convenient place in *Italy*, and ordering the Bishops of their Dominions to be ready to go thither.

The Protestant Princes, who were united in the League at *Smalkald*, wrote also a Letter to the Christian Kings and Princes, and particularly to the Kings of *France* and *England*, that they would take them into their Patronage, and engage in their Interests. The Subject of it is this, that since very learned Men have for a long time complain'd of the Abuses which are crept into the Church, and desir'd a Reformation, and among others *John Gerson*, and *Nicholas Clemangis* in *France*, and *John Collet* in *England*; and the same thing had happen'd in *Germany* for some Years last past, by means of the shameful Merchandize which some Monks made of Indulgences; that having been admonish'd and reprov'd for these Irregularities by certain learned and zealous Persons, they were so far from amending them, that they have been enrag'd at their friendly Advisers; that this Quarrel had given an occasion to reprove several other Abuses; that in all the Imperial Diets which have been held ever since they could find out no better way to put an End to these Disputes than to summon a free Council from all parts of the Christian World; that the Emperor had approv'd of this Proposition himself, but being come to *Augsburg* he would have made up all Matters without assembling a Council; that they had presented their Confession of Faith, which some persons had undertaken to confute, but would not let them have their Confutation; that they had chosen Arbitrators who could not meet together; that the Emperor had propounded to them the Conditions to be observ'd in a future Council, but they thought that they could not submit to them with a safe Conscience, and without Offence to God; that the Emperor had thereupon

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put out a very severe Edict, from which they had appeal'd to a Council. Then they complain'd that they were loaden with several Calumnies, as that they had seized the Revenues of the Churches, rejected the Authority of Magistrates and Laws, did not allow of the Ministry of the Church, and despis'd the power of the Keys; they begg'd of the Princes to whom this Letter was sent not to believe such foul things of them, and they desir'd them to exhort the Emperor to call a Council in *Germany* immediately to determine these Controversies, and in the mean time to do nothing against them till the whole Matter was decided by the Judgment of the Council.

The King of *France* in his Answer to these Princes, dated *April 21.* declares that he wish'd for nothing so much as the general Peace of *Europe*, and that he concurr'd with them in their Desires of calling a Council, which he thought was profitable and necessary as well as they, and if the rest of the Princes were of the same Mind, and it were held in an unsuspected place, where every one might deliver his Opinion freely, and nothing were transacted with Passion, he could not doubt of a good Effect; that they need not fear that he would suffer himself to be prejudic'd against them by any thing that should be said against them; that *France* had always a very good Understanding with *Germany*, and that it was much better to make a friendly End of these Disputes than to decide them by Arms. The King of *England* also sent his Answer, *May 3.* That he lik'd well of their Design of reforming the Corruptions crept into the Church, either by the Malice or Ignorance of Men, without injuring Religion or Peace; that they had been accus'd of patronizing those mad Men, who sought nothing but Trouble, but he did not believe the Charge; that he could not but commend their Endeavours to heal the Distempers of the Church; that he wish'd for a general Council as well as they, and pray'd God to put the same Desires into the Hearts of all Christian Princes; that he would interpose with the Emperor to find out Expedients of an Accommodation, and also would do himself whatsoever they should judge convenient.

An Assembly of the Confederate Princes at Smalkald.

The Elector of *Saxony* call'd another Assembly of the Confederate Princes at *Smalkald*, to meet *March 29. 1531.* and because he could not be there himself he sent his Son *John Frederick*. Here they renew'd their League, and agreed upon Ways and Means how to put themselves in a Posture of Defence, if they were assaulted. They advis'd with the Divines and Lawyers whether it were lawful to resist the Magistrates and Powers, and their Judgment was, that in the present Case they might; and *Luther*, who had been of another Opinion, alter'd his Mind, and compos'd a Treatise against the Diet of *Augsburg*, in which he maintains it to be unlawful to obey the Magistrates if they commanded any Persons to assault those who would not submit to the Decree made there. They would not admit the Cities of *Zurich*, *Bern*, and *Basel*, into this Confederacy till they had explain'd themselves upon their Doctrine about the Lord's-Supper. Here they also declar'd against the Election of *Ferdinand* to be King of the *Romans*, and appointed another Meeting at *Frankfort*, *June 4.* While these Princes were met at *Smalkald* they received a Letter from the Emperor, to let them know that the *Turk* was making great Preparations to invade *Germany*, and order them to get ready their Aids to resist him. They answered, as they had done before, that they were willing to lend their utmost Assistance to defend the Empire, provided he would stop all those Prosecutions which he intended against them in Matters of Religion; that they begged of the Emperor to grant them that Favour, and if they would do it they would discharge their Duty, as well in relation to the War with the *Turks* as to the other Necessities of the Empire.

The Assembly of the Confederate Cities declared that they would not enter *Frankfort*.

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&c.

The Assem-
bly of
Frankfort.

The Trea-
ties be-
tween the
Emperor
and Pro-
testant
Princes.

ter into a Debate about the Validity of the Election of the King of the Romans, but the Elector of Saxony and other Princes were resolved never to allow it: In this Assembly the Proposal which was made to admit the Cities of *Switzerland* into the Confederacy was rejected, because of the singular Opinion they held about the Lord's-Supper, according to the Advice of *Luther*, who had positively declared that he would have no Union nor Communion with the *Sacramentarians*. But he was not of the same Opinion as to the City of *Strasburg*, and the other Cities, which had given in a Confession of their Faith at the Diet of *Augsburg*, for they having explain'd their Doctrine about the Lord's-Supper in such Terms as made it credible that they approv'd of a real Presence, were admitted into the Protestant League.

While these things were doing the Emperor finding that Severity would do no good, and that he was not strong enough to make War upon the Confederate Princes, and at the same time maintain a War against the *Turks*, offer'd an Accommodation by the Archbishop of *Mentz* and Prince *Palatine*. The Elector of *Saxony*, *Landgrave* of *Hesse*, and the rest of the Confederates, agreed to it, upon Condition that they should not be proceeded against in the Imperial Chamber, and the Emperor having granted this, they chose their Deputies, and appointed an Assembly to meet at the End of *August* to negotiate an Accommodation. At the same time the Emperor sent the Counts of *Nassau* and *Nuenarius* to the Elector of *Saxony* to treat with him. The Propositions upon which they were to treat were reduc'd to five Heads: The Doctrine of the Lord's-Supper, the Ceremonies of the Church, Ecclesiastical Revenues, Aids against the *Turk*, and the Election of *Ferdinand*. The Elector understanding by their Discourses that the Emperor was jealous that he favour'd the *Zuinglians* and *Anabaptists*, told them, that the Confession of *Augsburg* made it evident what his Ministers thought in that Matter, and that he would not have any thing to do with the *Zuinglians* in that Diet, nor would join with them, till they had explain'd their Doctrine; that he was still of the same Judgment, and would remain firm to the Doctrine he had profess'd at *Augsburg* to the End of his Life. The Counts of *Nassau* and *Nuenarius* said that they were satisfy'd in it, and would assure the Emperor of it. As to the other Points, they thought it convenient to put off the Debate of them to the next Diet, and pray'd him to be there himself, or send the Prince his Son. The Elector of *Saxony* would not come to these Terms, but the Elector of *Mentz* and the Prince *Palatine* meeting at a new Assembly held at *Smalkald* about the end of *August* agreed with the Protestant Deputies that they should write to the Elector of *Saxony* and *Landgrave* of *Hesse*, to invite them to a Diet at *Spire* to confer about Religion. The Princes were not averse to it, but answer'd, that they would come to *Spire* with their Divines, if they would allow their Ministers Liberty to preach, and administer the Sacrament according to their Form. The Emperor prorogu'd this Diet, which was to have met *September* 13, to *January* following, and made choice of *Ratisbon* instead of *Spire* for the place of its meeting.

The diffi-
culties in
holding a
Council

While the Emperor was thus negotiating a Peace with the Protestant Princes, he strongly importun'd the Pope to call a Council, because there was no Hopes of Peace in *Germany* without it. Although the Pope had declar'd, as we have related above, by his circular Letters that he intended to call a Coun-

cil, yet he was very hardly brought to perform his promise, and rais'd many Difficulties. The two chiefest were these: First the place where it should be held, for the Pope insist'd upon it that it should be held in *Italy*, but the *Germans* desir'd it might be in *Germany*. Secondly, the consent of the most Christian King, without which the Pope was of Opinion that he could not call a Council, as he signify'd in his Letter to the Emperor, *May* 19. 1531.

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A War a-
mong the
Switzers.

The same Year began a Civil War in *Switzerland* between the five Catholick Cantons and the Cantons of *Zurich* and *Bern*. These two having seiz'd upon the Avenues of the Highways hinder'd the carriage of Provisions into the other Cantons, pretending that they did not stand to the Agreements made with them. The Catholicks being by this means reduc'd to extream Want rais'd some Troops immediately, and proclaim'd War against the Cantons of *Zurich*, and *Bern*. The first Battle they had was in the Territories of *Zurich* *Octob.* 11. and the People of *Zurich*, who were unexpectedly attack'd, were beaten, and lost, as some reported, 1500, but others say but 500 Men in the Fight. *Zuinglius*, who was present at this Encounter, either because it was the custom of the Country, or because he would animate the Soldiers, was slain. There were after this four other Battles between the Catholick Cantons and the *Zuinglians*, but the former having always the Advantage forc'd the latter to come to a Peace, which was concluded upon these Conditions: That each of them should enjoy the Religion which they then profess'd for the future without molesting each other, and that they should renounce the League that each of them had made, that is to say, the Catholick Cantons with *Ferdinand*, and the *Zuinglians* with the *Landgrave* of *Hesse* and the City of *Strasburg*. *Oecolampadius* dy'd towards the end of *November*. *Henry Bullinger* succeeded *Zuinglius*, and *Oswaldus Myconius*, *Oecolampadius*.

Before the Diet was held at *Ratisbon* the Emperor enjoin'd the Elector of *Mentz* and Prince *Palatine* to renew their Negotiations of Peace with the Elector of *Saxony* and *Landgrave* of *Hesse*, and to that End they sent their Deputies to *Schweinfurt*, and afterwards to *Nuremberg*, where it was at length concluded upon these following Articles: That the Emperor should not make War upon any of the Princes or Cities of the Empire under pretence of Religion till the calling of a Council: That the Emperor should take care that a Council be appointed within 6 Months, and should meet within a Year, and if that could not be done all the Estates of the Empire should be summon'd and call'd together, and meet to consult what should be done. That the Emperor should suspend all Processes begun about Religious Matters, and see that no Man be disturb'd upon that Account till the meeting of the Council or the Determination of a Diet. The Protestants on the other side engag'd to send him Aids for the War against the *Turk*, to hold to their Doctrine in the Terms of the Confession of Faith, which they had deliver'd in at *Augsburg* without any alteration (a); not to join with the *Anabaptists* or *Sacramentarians*, not to draw over the Catholick Subjects of other Princes into their Dominions upon the Account of Religion, nor to send their Ministers to preach in their Countries. This Treaty of Peace made at *Nuremberg*, *July* 13. 1532. was confirm'd by the Emperor's Edict publish'd in the Diet of *Ratisbon*, *August* 2. following.

The Peace
of Nurem-
berg.

Peace being thus settled in *Germany* the Protestants sent considerable Aids to the Emperor, and he march'd

[(a) This Matter *M. Seckendorff* has set in a fuller Light out of original Records. The Mediators insist'd that the Letter of the Confession should be the Standard of their Doctrine. The *Lutherans* said this might be a strenghtning of the Word of God, and a Hindrance to all farther Reformation. Besides this would exclude the Cities which had come in at *Smalkald*, and they would stand by their *Apology* which was

offer'd at *Augsburg*, as well as by their Confession: Therefore after a long Dispute it was agreed that no Innovation in Doctrine should be made from their Confession, Assension and *Apology*, nor any Ceremonies introduc'd which should disagree with their Confession and *Apology*. The Word *Assension* was added, to include those Cities which came in after the Diet at *Augsburg*. *Seckendorff. Hist. Luth. Lib. 3. Sect 9.*]

ter'd

with a strong Army against *Solyman*, who was enter'd into *Hungary*, with a design to put *John Sepusio*, who oppos'd *Ferdinand*, into Possession of that Kingdom. *Solyman's* Army, which consisted of 200000 Men, durst not attempt any thing, but contented themselves to spoil the Country as far as *Lintz*. The Emperor for his part stood upon the Defence, and would not hazard a Battle, so that these two powerful Enemies retreated without coming to any decisive Stroke: *Solyman* return'd to *Constantinople*, and *Charles* into *Italy*, to confer with the Pope at *Bononia*, and from thence into *Spain*, leaving the Government of *Germany* with his Brother *Ferdinand*. The Elector of *Saxony* died in *August*, and left his Son *John Frederick* to succeed him in his Dominions and Zeal for the Protestant Party.

The most specious Reason for the Emperor's Journey into *Italy*, and his Interview with the Pope was to consult with his Holiness about such Methods, as they should take in calling of a Council; but the Emperor had a mind besides to renew his Confederacy with the Pope, and the other *Italian* Princes, and to engage his Holiness, to give his Grand-Niece *Catherine* in Marriage to *Francis Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, rather than to the Duke of *Orleans*, second Son of *Francis I.* The Pope made no scruple of renewing the League with the Emperor, but he refused to marry his Niece to Duke *Sforza*, and as to the Request of calling a Council, they agreed upon to two things, first, that the Pope should send his Nuncio with the Emperor's Ambassador to consult with the Princes of *Germany* about necessary Methods to be used in calling a Council; secondly, that he should signify to the King of the *Romans*, and Princes of *Germany*, that at the earnest Petition of the Emperor, he had resolv'd to call a General Council forthwith, but having no Power to do it without the concurrence of all the Christian Princes, he should desire them to yield their consent to it. This Letter bears date *Jan. 10. 1533.*

At the same time he sent *Hugo Rangonus*, Bishop of *Reggio*, his Nuncio into *Germany*, and *Ubalдино Ubaldini* his Nuncio into *France* and *England*, to make Proposals about the calling of a Council. *Rangonus*, who was joined with the Emperor's Ambassador (b), apply'd himself to the New Elector of *Saxony*, as Head of the Protestants, to settle with him the conditions of holding the Council. Those which he propos'd according to the Instructions given him, were, that the Council should be free, and that it should be celebrated in the same manner, as the General Councils of the Church had been from the beginning; that those that should assist at the Council, should promise to submit to its Decisions, that those, who had a lawful excuse for their absence, might send their Proctors to it; that in the meantime there should be no Innovation in Doctrine in *Germany*; that in the first place, they should agree upon the place, where it should be held, because unless that were settled, all other things would be to no purpose; that the Pope propounded *Mantua*, *Bononia*, or *Placentia*, and gave the *Germans* Liberty to chuse which of them they pleas'd; that if after that any Christian Prince refused to send to it, or oppos'd its meeting, that should be no Impediment to the holding of it, and if any laboured to prevent the Assembling of this Holy Council, or should break its Decrees, all the rest should join with the Pope to uphold its Authority: That the Pope having received a favourable Answer in these Points, would appoint a Council within six Months, which should be opened within a Year after, that there might be time for the City where it was to be called, to provide all things necessary, and that those, who were at a great distance, might have time to come.

These Proposals were delivered in Writing to the Duke of *Saxony*, who after some time, which

he desired for Consultation (c), answered, that he was much rejoiced, that the Emperor and the Pope had agreed together to call a Council; that he wish'd it had been in his Power to give them immediate satisfaction as to those Proposals, which they had made to him about it, but several other Princes and Cities, which followed the Confession of *Augsburg*, being concern'd with him in that Affair, he could do nothing till he had consulted with them; that they being to meet at *Smalkald*, *June 24.* he pray'd the Nuncio to wait till that time. The Protestants having conferred together in this Assembly about the Nuncio's Proposals, answer'd, that they gave the Emperor most humble Thanks for the Pains he had taken, in procuring the holding of a Council; that they did not doubt, but he heartily wish'd for it; that they pray'd God to confirm him in that purpose, and bring it to a happy Issue: But that the Council, which he had promis'd them, ought to sit in *Germany*, where these Differences in Religion first began, by means of the Indulgences, whose Abuses had caus'd the discovery of several other Errors; that tho' *Leo X.* had condemn'd the Doctrine of those that had at first discover'd them, yet his Condemnation was oppos'd; that there was a necessity of calling a Council to determine, whether it were true or false, and to reform Abuses; that that Council ought to be gathered either out of all Christendom, or *Germany*; that the Laws of the Pope, and Doctrine of the Schools ought to be no Rules to judge by, but only the Holy Scripture; that this Council ought to be free, but it appears by the Proposals he made, that the Pope intended to govern there; that when he propos'd that this Council should be held after the ancient manner, if he meant, after the manner of the first Councils, whose Canons were made agreeable to the Holy Scripture, they should not be against it, but if they meant after the manner of the last Councils, which differed much from the first, they could not approve of that condition; so that the Pope's Proposals not satisfying the desires of his Imperial Majesty, and the Members of the Empire, they intreated him, that things might be otherwise order'd; that the Pope being either the Accuser, or Person accus'd could not be Judge; that all People were in expectation of a Council, and earnestly required one that they might be eas'd of the Doubts they lay under, and might know the Means of Salvation; that if they were deceived of their Hopes, 'tis easy to imagine what affliction to them it would produce; that it was to be fear'd, that both Church and State would be involved in great Troubles; that the Obligation which the Pope required of them, was captious, and that neither themselves, nor any other Christian Princes could so bind themselves; that if the Pope was left Master of the Council, they would commit themselves to God, and see what they had to do; that if they were summon'd to the Council, and could either go, or send securely, they should not fail to appear and propose, what they should judge convenient, provided they did not yield to the Pope's Demands, nor to the Decrees of a Council, which is not such an one, as is appointed by the Orders of the Diet: That they pray'd the Emperor to impart their Answer to the Pope, and not to take their Resolution ill, but to use his best Endeavours, that the Council might be held in the Manner that was contriv'd by the Diets, and that all this Difference might be ended by Persons unsuspected. The Protestants printed this Answer with the Nuncio's Proposals, and required, that all Prosecutions commenced in the Imperial Chamber against any Member of the Empire upon the account of Religion should be stopp'd.

The Pope having concluded a Marriage of *Catherine de Medicis* with *Henry* second Son of the King of *France*, went to *Marseilles*, *October 10.* to confer

[(b) Lambertus Briardus.]

[(c) Seckendorff says he answer'd the Ambassadors the next

Day.]

with that King. At this Meeting they discoursed about the Business of Religion, and particularly about the holding of a Council. The Pope prayed the King to make the Protestants agree upon the Conditions proposed by the Nuncio. The King spoke himself to the Landgrave of Hesse, who went into France in 1534, to put the County of Montbelliard, which belong'd to Duke Ulric of Wirtemberg, into the King of France's Hands, that he might borrow a Sum of Money to restore that Prince to the Dutchy of Wirtemberg, of which he had been deprived in 1519. by the League of Suabia, but the Landgrave of Hesse would not undertake, that the other Protestants should agree to those Proposals, and all that the King could obtain of him was, that they should be content, that the Council might be

held out of Germany, provided it were in a free Place, and not in Italy. The City of Geneva was propounded, and the King undertook it should please the Protestants, but Pope Clement VII. would not recede from his Proposals, which he had made by his Nuncio Rangonus. The Landgrave of Hesse gained his desires of the King, in relation to the Business of Montbelliard. He put that County into his Hands for an 100000 Crowns, which he borrowed of his Majesty, and returning into Germany presently, levied an Army with that Money, led it against the Troops of Ferdinand commanded by the Elector Palatine, conquer'd them, and after that defeat, made himself Master of most of the Cities of the Dutchy of Wirtemberg, and forced Ferdinand to make a Peace, and to leave Prince Ulric in possession of his Dominions.

C H A P. XXIV.

Tumults and Wars raised by the Anabaptists. How they got Possession of Munster. The Siege, and Taking of that City.

About the same time began another War in Germany more considerable than the former, against the Anabaptists, who had seized the City of Munster, whither the chief Men of that Sect had retreated. The Senate of that City had admitted the Protestant Ministers, in 1532. and had driven out from thence the Bishop and his Clergy. The Bishop to be revenged blocked up the City, and threatened them with a Siege, if they did not return to their duty. The Burghers making a Sally upon the Bishop's Troops took many of them Prisoners, who coming thereby to a Treaty with the Inhabitants made up a Peace between the City and Bishop, by which it was agreed, that Catholicks and Protestants should live peaceably together in the City, and the latter should have six Churches, but the Cathedral should be still left in the possession of the Catholicks. This Treaty was sign'd February 14. 1533. This was the Condition of the City, when John Becoldus of Leyden, a Taylor, and Scholar of John Matthew, an Anabaptist, came thither in November the same Year with one Gerhard, another Anabaptist. John Matthew also himself came thither in the end of the Year, after he had infected the Low-Countries with his Doctrine. Bernard Rotman, the chief Minister of the City, seem'd at first to oppose their Doctrine, but soon after he went over to their Party, and embrac'd their Opinions. They drew in several others in a little Time, and they met together in the Night. The Magistrates having Intelligence of it commanded the Leaders of the Anabaptists to depart the Town, but they were no sooner gone almost but they return'd again, declaring, that God had order'd them to stay in the Town, and labour constantly to settle their Doctrine there. The Government advis'd with the University of Marpurg how they should deal with the Anabaptists. This University condemn'd them, whereupon the Anabaptists made an Apology for themselves, and went on in their seditious way of preaching. The Government, to appease this Disorder, and prevent the ill Consequences, summon'd the Leaders of the Anabaptists to meet in the Town-house, and to come to a Conference with the Lutheran Ministers: Rotman join'd with the Anabaptists, but Hermannus Buschius, and some others, maintain'd the Necessity of Infant-Baptism; and the Senate, after this Dispute, commanded the Anabaptists to leave the City, and never more to return again, but instead of submitting to this Order they conceal'd themselves, and the Magistrates observing that their Party increas'd daily, were forc'd to shut up all the Churches except one, for fear they should get possession of them. And indeed within a small Time after the Anabaptists,

encourag'd by Rotman, drove away Wirthemits, Wickius, Langermannus, and some other Lutheran Ministers, out of their Churches, and to justify their Action desir'd a Conference. The Senate agreed to it, upon condition that they would chuse some equitable and learned Men for Judges, and would submit to their Determination, but the Anabaptists would not come to those Terms, but took a more proper way to establish their Doctrine. One of the chief Men of them, named Rullus, pretending to divine Inspiration, ran thro' the City December 28. 1533. and cry'd out, Repent and be baptiz'd again, or else the Wrath of God will fall upon you, for the Day of the Lord is at hand. Some other Anabaptists followed his Example, and all that were re-baptized by them cry'd the same thro' the City. They led away a great Multitude of People by this means, who were re-baptiz'd, some thro' Ignorance, others for fear of being plunder'd and ill us'd. The Anabaptists, who had hitherto absconded, appear'd at the same time, and this whole Multitude took Arms and seized the Senate-House, crying out, that they ought to massacre those who were not re-baptized. The rest of the Inhabitants of the City got together in one Part of it, and intrenching themselves put themselves into a Posture of Defence. Both Parties remain'd in Arms three days, but at last the Anabaptists, having no hopes of reducing the others by Force, offer'd an Agreement, which was concluded on these Terms: That each of them should enjoy their Religion without Disturbance, and live peaceably for the future, in Obedience to Magistrates. The Anabaptists instead of keeping to this Agreement continu'd in their Design of making themselves Masters of the City, and gave private Orders to such of their Sect as dwelt in the Country and neighbouring Towns to assist them, who came in great Numbers to Munster, having Hopes of enriching themselves there. The chief of the Inhabitants seeing their City full of Strangers fled out of it with their best Effects, so that the Anabaptists had the Town entirely to themselves. The chief Leaders of them were John Matthew, John of Leyden, Knipperdoling, and Rotman. The first thing they did was to create a new Senate, and new Magistrates, among whom was Knipperdoling. Then they ran thro' the Streets crying out, Repent, or depart this Place, ye Wicked; and so they turn'd out all that were not of their Religion. They plunder'd their Houses immediately, and took what Goods they found. John Matthew, who was their chief Prophet, commanded all the Inhabitants, upon pain of Death, to bring forth all their Gold and Silver to the Publick Treasury, and to burn all their Books except the Bible. The Bishop

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and Wars
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the Ana-
baptists,
&c.

J. Becol-
dus made
King.

shop having gather'd some Troops, by the help of the Elector of Cologne and Duke of Cleves, besieg'd the City, and when he would have taken the Town by Storm was beaten back. *John Matthew* being transported with this Success made a Salley, in which he had the like Fortune, but making another he was slain. *John Becoldus* was rais'd to his Place, he quite chang'd the Form of the Government; for pretending, after he had remain'd silent three days, that God had appointed him to set up twelve Judges instead of the former Senate, he put in his own Creatures, and so got the Government into his own Hands. He immediately set up Polygamy, causing it to be determin'd that it was not forbidden by the Word of God. He himself marry'd three Wives, and several others follow'd his Example. The Government of twelve Judges did not continue long, for *John Becoldus* (a) was proclaimed King within two Months by the means of a pretended Prophet, one *Tuscoschierer*, and crown'd June 24. 1534. He took upon him immediately all the Badges of Regal Authority, and order'd Money to be coin'd, with these Inscriptions, *The Power of God is my Strength. For the Kingdom of God a just King is above all things* (b). He was clothed with magnificent Robes, went attended with Guards and Officers, and had a Crown and Bible carry'd on his Right Hand, and a Sword on his Left. He was seated upon a Throne in the middle of the Market-place, and administred Justice there.

The Books
of the An-
abaptists.

While *Munster* was besieged the *Anabaptists* published a Book intitled, *The Restitution*, in which they assur'd the Just and Elect of a Kingdom hereafter with Jesus Christ upon Earth, before the Day of Judgment, and after the Destruction of all the Ungodly. They taught that the People had a Right to depose their Magistrates, to assume the Civil Authority, and settle by Force of Arms a new Form of Government. They asserted that no Man is to be tolerated in the Church who is not a true Christian; that none can be saved if they retain the Property of their Goods; that the Pope and *Luther* are two false Prophets, and that the latter was the worst of the two; that the Marriages of those who are not of the Number of the truly Faithful are unclean, and so many Adulteries. Being rais'd with these seditious Principles, and the Orders of *Tuscoschierer*, they got together to the Number of four or five thousand in the Church-yard of the great Church, to celebrate the Lord's-Supper. They found a Supper ready provided there; and after they had eaten, the King and Queen, who had waited on them all the Supper-time, took the Bread and Wine and gave them to all present, saying to them, *Take and eat, Take and drink, and publish the Lord's Death*, exhorting them all to stand inviolably by one another. When this Ceremony was finish'd, the King ask'd all present whether they would obey the Word of God? And when they answer'd yes, one *Warendorp* a Prophet told them, that it was the Will of God that they should send Teachers unto the four Parts of the World to preach their Doctrine, whereupon he appointed 26, whom he would send immediately into the neighbouring Towns. When they came into them they made most hideous Outcries, and ran up and down the Streets like Fanaticks, threatening Men with present Destruction if they did not repent. When they were apprehended and carried before the Magistrates they spread their Cloaks

The Lord's
Supper ad-
ministred
by the An-
abaptists.

Apostles of
the Ana-
baptists.

Tumults
and Wars
raised by
the Ana-
baptists,
&c.

The Siege
and taking
of Munster

upon the Ground, and threw a Piece of Gold upon them, declaring that they were sent by God to preach the Gospel, and if those to whom they spake would embrace it they must bring forth their Goods, that they might be all in common, but if they refused, they call'd God to witness against their Infidelity, and that that Piece of Gold should be a Testimony against them; that the Time foretold by the Prophets, in which Justice should reign alone upon the Earth was now come; and that when the King should have established that Justice, so that Iniquity should never be found in the Earth, Jesus Christ should then resign the Kingdom into the Hands of his Father. These new Apostles were soon seized, examined, and executed. By them the Condition of the City of *Munster* was discover'd, that they were in great want of Provisions and Ammunition. The pretended King of *Munster* sent *John Geelen* for Aids into *Holland* and *Friesland*, where their Sect was very numerous, and in several Cities had rais'd Seditions; but *Geelen* studied his own advantage more than *John of Leyden's*, and had like to have seized upon *Amsterdam*, but his Conspiracy being discovered he was executed with his Complices. *Geelen* not returning *Becoldus* sent *Hilversum* thither, who was the only one of all the false Apostles that returned to *Munster*, but it was by betraying his own Party, for having Correspondence with the Bishop of *Munster* he fled to him, and carry'd the Money to him which *Becoldus* had given him, and wrote to the Inhabitants of *Munster* to convert them from the Errors they were in, and to shew them that they were deceiv'd by false Prophets.

At the same time the States of the Circles of the *Rhine* meeting at *Coblentz* in December 1534. appointed that Aids should be sent to the Bishop of *Munster*, to recover that City by force, and wrote to the Besieged, that if they would not return to their duty, and be obedient to their Magistrates, and abandon their chimerical King, the whole Empire would unite their Forces to reduce them. The *Anabaptists* return'd their Answer in the beginning of the Year 1535, and directed their Letter particularly to the *Landgrave* of *Hesse*, to defend their Conduct and Doctrine, sending him at the same time their Book called *The Restitution*. That Prince caused it to be confuted, and upbraided them with all their peculiar Doctrines. They replied, according to the wild Notion that they had formed of the new Kingdom of Jesus Christ, that they believed it should soon be set up. *Luther* sent also to the *Anabaptists* of *Munster* a very sharp Book against them, wherein he compares them to *Jews* and *Mahometans*. Several other Tracts were also written on both sides, but they determined nothing. But the Famine daily increasing in *Munster*, *Becoldus* despairing of any Aids, and the Diet of *Worms* in April having granted fresh ones to the Bishop of *Munster*, the City was taken June 24. 1535. by the help of a Deserter, who conducted some Soldiers into it, who after a Skirmish with the Besieged open'd the Gates to the Bishop's Army. *Becoldus* and *Knipperdoling* were taken Prisoners, and suffer'd the Punishment they deserved some time after: *Rotman* was slain in the Battle. Then they made very severe Regulations against the *Anabaptists* at the Assembly of *Hamburg*: The Papists and *Lutherans* joyn'd equally to work their Destruction, so that they were all either banish'd or forc'd to abscond, and their Sect was entirely dispersed.

[(a) Commonly called *John of Leyden*.]
[(b) *Seckendorff* mentions Coins coined by this fanatical King with other Inscriptions: He says that on one

side was inscrib'd, *The Word was made Flesh, and dwelt among us*; on the other, *One Faith, one Baptism*. It is probable there might be several Coins stamped at that time.]

C H A P. XXV.

Bucer's Endeavours to bring the Lutherans and Zuinglians to an Accommodation. The Switzer's Confession of Faith. Articles of Agreement with Luther at Wittemberg. The Opinion of the Switzers about those Articles.

THE Lutherans and Zuinglians were always not only of different Judgments, (as we have above shewn) about the Lord's-Supper, but were disjoin'd and separated as to Communion, the Lutherans denying to have any Union with the Sacramentarians, and they not able to bear the Opinion of Luther; nevertheless there was a third Party gathered out of both, who being sensible that Necessity obliged them not to hold up their Divisions, labour'd to persuade them that their Opinions were not so different as was commonly thought, and that they might easily reunite. Bucer, a Minister of Strasburg, was at the Head of this Party, and undertook, purely out of a desire of uniting the Lutherans and Zuinglians, to draw up a Confession of Faith, which both sides might approve. The Task was difficult to perform. Luther and his Followers had ever asserted that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ were really with the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist. Zuinglius and his Adherents on the contrary held, that the Bread and Wine were only Signs of the Body and Blood of Christ really absent. These two Propositions were directly contrary. Bucer found out a Medium, which he thought might satisfy both Parties, namely, that the Bread and Wine remain'd the same in Substance that they ever were, without any alteration, but by receiving them they did receive the Substance of the real Body and Blood of Jesus Christ by Faith, and spiritually. He made use of the same sort of Expressions, as we have observ'd in the Confession of Faith made by the four Imperial Cities, Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau, and presented to the Diet at Augsburg. He made also the same Declaration to Luther, to persuade him that the Sacramentarians were not of a contrary Opinion to him about the Eucharist: But Luther knowing otherways the true Judgment of the Zuinglians, gave no Credit to Bucer's Account, dissuaded the Elector of Saxony from making an Alliance with the Switzers, and persisted to write more zealously than ever against the Sacramentarians. He wrote a Letter to the Senate of Franckfort upon this Occasion, in which, having clearly shewn the difference between his own Doctrine and the Zuinglian, he says, that the Zuinglians play after a diabolical manner with the Words of Jesus Christ; that they are a double-tongu'd Generation, who say that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are really in the Sacrament; but when they explain themselves say that 'tis spiritually, and not corporally, and so continue in the Error, that there is nothing but Bread and Wine in the Lord's-Supper. He adds, that if any one knows that his Minister is a Zuinglian he had better remain his whole Life without the Sacrament than take it at his Hands, and that the Zuinglians are Arch-Devils, whom we ought to fly. The Ministers of Franckfort made an Apology against this Letter of Luther's, and in it make use of Bucer's Expressions, affirming, that Believers receive the true Body and Blood of Jesus Christ in the Lord's-Supper, and do really eat and drink it for the Nourishment of their Souls; that tho' the Bread and Wine be not chang'd in their own Nature, yet it can't be said that there is nothing in the Lord's-Supper but the Bread and Wine, but that it is the Sacrament of the true Body and Blood, which God has given us for the Nourishment of our Souls. The Zuinglians suspected on the other side

that Bucer was departed from their Opinion, so that in his Journey to Zurich, which he made in May 1533, he was forc'd to remove that Suspicion, by assuring them that he was of the same Opinion which he maintain'd in the Conference of Bern. He added, that he certainly knew and could prove that the Opinion of Luther did not differ from Zuinglius but in Terms, and that the Presence of the Body of Jesus Christ, which he asserted in the Lord's-Supper, was not contrary to the Doctrine of Zuinglius.

The Ministers of Augsburg also complain'd of Bucer, and accus'd him of having chang'd his Opinion, by acknowledging that the Body of Jesus Christ was eaten corporally and substantially in the Lord's-Supper, and exhorting others to subscribe the Confession of Augsburg and the Apology. They plainly told him that they would acknowledge no other Presence of Jesus Christ in the Lord's-Supper than that of which he speaks in the 6th. Chapter of St. John. Bucer reply'd, that the Imperial Cities had not in the Assembly of Schweinsfort departed from the Confession of Faith which they had given in to the Diet at Augsburg, and that by subscribing to the Confession of Augsburg they had not asserted a corporal Eating, but only promis'd to teach nothing contrary to that Confession which in the Article of the Lord's-Supper might agree with the Doctrine of Zuinglius. The Ministers of Augsburg some time after drew up a Writing, in which they set down the Points in which they did or did not agree with Luther. Luther owns (say they) that there are two distinct Things in the Sacraments, 'The Bread and the Body of Jesus Christ, and the Wine and his Blood. We assert the same. He owns that these two Things are united sacramentally, because the Body and Blood are distributed to us in the Sacrament. We acknowledge the same. He thinks that upon the Account of this sacramental Union we may attribute to the Body of Jesus Christ that which agrees to Bread, as to be seen, touch'd, and eaten; and we also own it. He says in the fourth place that our Lord offers himself, and the Minister presents to us the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ when he reciting the Words gives the Sacrament. We are of the same Opinion. The Difference which they make between Luther and them is, First, That they teach that no Man receives the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ but a faithful and true Member of Jesus Christ, whereas Luther and his Followers think that both the Godly and Wicked, Believers and Unbelievers, receive the Body of Jesus Christ. Secondly, In that they make the Eating of the Body of Jesus Christ and his Presence to consist in an Union of the Nature of Jesus Christ with our Souls, whereas Luther seems to make it consist in the Eating of Christ's Body with our Mouths. Thirdly, Whereas Luther says crudely that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are eaten and drunk corporally, and with the Mouth in the Sacrament, they would not use such Expressions without an Explication. Fourthly, that Luther would not allow of the Explications which they gave, nor be contented with their Declarations. Nevertheless they offer'd some Means of Agreement, and declar'd that they were persuaded that Luther and they agreed in the main about the Nature of the Holy Sacrament.

Bucer his Endeavours to bring the Lutherans and Zuinglians to an Accommodation, &c. The *Bohemians* sending to *Luther* about that time their *Confession of Faith*, in which they deny the Corporal and Carnal Presence of the Body of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, he was offended at it, but they declaring withal that they did believe that they received in their Sacrament the true Body and true Blood of Jesus Christ he was a little pacify'd, but would not nevertheless approve of the Expressions they used. At the same time *Luther* published his Book against

Private Mass, in which he relates the Discourse which he had heretofore with the Devil, who would persuade him that private Masses were an abominable Practice, which ought to be abolished. In that Book he doth not spare *Oecolampadius*, and joining him with *Emser*, he says, he believes it was the Devil that inflicted sudden Death upon them. The *Switzers* being concerned for the Honour of *Oecolampadius*, wrote an Apology for their Doctrine, in which they did not spare *Luther*; and they were just going to publish it, when (a) *Wolfgangus Capito* remonstrated to them that if they did it, they would cause great Scandal, and quite break the Measures that were taken to bring about an Union.

The Switzers Confession of Faith. 'Twas to bring this about, that the Ministers of *Strasbourg* importuned the *Switzers* to draw up a Confession of their Faith about the Lord's-Supper. It was compos'd at *Basil* in these Words. 'We acknowledge that our Lord Jesus Christ instituted his Holy Supper in remembrance of his Passion, to publish his Death with Thanksgiving, to shew our Christian Charity and Union in the true Faith. And as in Baptism (when the Minister of the Church offers us the Means of obtaining the Pardon of our Sins, which the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit finish in us) the Water retains its own Nature; so in the Lord's-Supper (in which the true Body and true Blood of Jesus Christ is signified and tendered to us with the Bread and Wine, by the Minister of the Church) the Bread and the Wine remain. Now we firmly believe, that Jesus Christ likewise is the Nourishment of faithful Souls to eternal Life, and our Souls are nourished and water'd by true Faith in Jesus Christ, with his Flesh and Blood. They added in the Margin of that Confession some Words, by which they restrained what they had seemed to say in favour of the Real Presence, to a Sacramental and Spiritual Presence by Faith.

Luther's Confession of Faith. *Luther* being after this suspected to favour the Doctrine of the *Sacramentarians*, made a Confession of Faith in 1534, in which he declares, that he had ever abhorred, and does still abhor their Doctrine; and professes, that he believed that in the Celebration of the Mass the true Body of Jesus Christ is present under the Element of Bread, and the true Blood under the Element of Wine; that it is not a Spiritual Body and Blood, but a true and Natural Body born of the Virgin, who is at the Right Hand of his Father; that not only the Righteous and the Saints, but Sinners also, may receive it Corporally, tho' in an Invisibile manner; and that it is in the Hands, Mouth, Chalice, and on the Patin.

The Synod of Constance. What Opposition soever there was between the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians*, *Bucer* did not despair of effecting an Union; and, to that end, he obtained that a Synod of the Ministers of the Cities of the *Upper Germany* should meet at *Constance* in December 1534. The Ministers of *Zurich* were invited; but not being able to come, they sent a Confession of their Faith in which they express their Sense of the Sacrament in the same Words they had used at the Conference at *Bern*, where they had declared that they could not reunite with *Luther*, unless he would acknowledge that they eat the Flesh of Jesus Christ,

no otherwise than by Faith; for according to his Humane Nature he is only in Heaven, and is only in the Eucharist by Faith after a Sacramental manner, which makes things present not carnally and sensibly, but spiritually, and to be received by Faith. This Form approved by the Churches of *Basil*, *Schaffhausen* and *St. Gall*, was received by the Synod of *Constance*, and was put into *Bucer's* Hands to be communicated to *Luther* and *Melanchthon*. *Bucer* having a Conference with the last of these at *Cassel*, in the Presence of the *Landgrave*, told him, that he owned that we receive truly and substantially the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, when we receive the Sacrament: That the Bread and Wine are exhibiting Signs, and by receiving them the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are given to us, and received by us: That the Bread and Body of Jesus Christ are united, not by a mixture of Substance, but because they are given with the Sacrament. *Melanchthon* was inclinable enough to accept this Exposition; but because he acted in the Names of others, he would not conclude any thing, but obliged himself to give a fair Account of *Bucer's* Words. *Luther*, after this Declaration of *Bucer's*, began also to be more tractable; and by several Letters shewed great Inclination to an Agreement, and to confer about the Means to come to an Union.

An Assembly of the Switzers at Basil. In the beginning of the Year 1536, the Magistrates and Ministers of the pretended Reformed Cantons of *Switzerland*, meeting at *Basil* to draw up a Confession of Faith, *Bucer* and *Capito* went thither, and there propounded an Union with the *Lutherans*, assuring them, that *Luther* was much sweeten'd as to the *Zuinglians*, and desired nothing more than to come to an Agreement with them; and therefore prayed them so to moderate the Expressions of their Confession of Faith, which they were about to draw up, especially in the Articles about the Eucharist, and the Efficacy of the Sacraments, as that they might forward the Union, by omitting such Words as might beget a Contest. This they obtained of the Ministers of *Switzerland* in part, who in the Confession of Faith which they composed, owned that the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's-Supper were not mere Signs, but made up of Signs, and things signified. That the Water was the Sign in Baptism, and the thing signified was Regeneration and Adoption; that in the Eucharist the Bread and Wine are the Signs, and the thing signified is the Communion of the Body of Christ received by Faith; that the Body and Blood of Christ is offered to the Faithful in the Lord's-Supper, that Jesus Christ may live in them, and they in Jesus Christ; not that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are naturally united to the Bread and Wine, or included in the Elements, or carnally present; but because they are Symbols by which we have a real Communion with the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ to nourish the Soul spiritually. This Confession of Faith was also approved in a second Assembly of the Magistrates and Ministers of the Protestant Cantons of *Switzerland*, held at *Basil* in March the same Year.

Some time after the Ministers of *Strasbourg* gave notice to those of *Basil* and *Zurich*, that they had appointed a Synod to meet at *Thuringen*, (b) on May the 14th. where *Luther* would be present, and there they might Treat of an Union about the Article of the Lord's-Supper, and prayed them to send some of their Divines. The *Switzers* did not think it convenient to send any Person as from them, but satisfied themselves in sending their Confession of Faith to *Bucer* and *Capito*, that they might present it to the Synod. *Bucer* and *Capito* carried it to *Eysenac*, where the Ministers sent by the chief Cities of *Upper Ger-*

(a) *Eckendorff* says, it was *Bucer* that prevented the publishing of the *Zurichers* Apology, which they had composed against *Luther*, in Defence of *Oecolampadius*. *Hist. Lutheran. lib. 3. §. 23. num. 4.*

(b) There is no City of that Name. The Place they were to have met at, was *Eysenac*, a City in *Thuringia*, a Province of *Saxony*: but when *Luther* could not go so far, *Grim*, a Town in *Misnia* upon the River *Malda*, was pitch'd upon; and that too was afterwards laid aside, and the Ministers of *Upper Germany* went to *Wittenberg*.

many met. *Luther* could not be there, and so they went to him to *Wittenberg*, where they arrived *May* the 22d. and had a Conference with him. *Luther* required of them, that they would plainly acknowledge, that the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament, were the Body and Blood of our Lord, and that the Good and Bad received them alike. When they met again the next day, *Luther* asked them whether they would not revoke their Opinion? *Bucer* answered him, that they would all willingly condemn that Error, that nothing but Bread and Wine is received in the Sacrament, but they never were of that Opinion; that they had formerly believ'd, that *Luther* held a Natural Union of the Bread and Body of *Jesus Christ*, and upon that account it was, that they had declared themselves not to be of his Opinion; that in short, their Faith and Doctrine concerning the Sacrament was, that by the Institution and Operation of our Lord, and according to the natural Sense of the Words, the true Body and true Blood of *Jesus Christ* were made present, given and received with the visible Signs of Bread and Wine; that they also believed, that the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ* are offered by the Ministers of the Church to all those that receive them; and that they are not only received by the Heart and Mouth of the Godly for Salvation, but by the Mouth of the Unworthy for their Condemnation, which they yet desire may be understood of the Members of the Church. *Luther* having heard these Words, said, that he did not believe, that the Body and Blood of *Christ* were united with the Bread and Wine by any Natural Union, nor that they were locally included in the Bread and Wine, but that he admitted a Sacramental Union of the Bread and Body, and Wine and Blood. Then having consulted privately with the *Saxon* Divines, he returned to *Bucer* and his Brethren, and told them, that if they did believe, and would teach, that the true Body, and true Blood of *Jesus Christ* are offered, given, and taken in the Lord's-Supper, and not mere Bread and Wine, and that this Perception, and Exhibition were made really, and not after an imaginary manner, then they were all agreed, and he would acknowledge, and embrace them as Brethren in *Jesus Christ*.

After this there was a Project of a *Form of Union* drawn up by *Melanchthon*, signifying that they acknowledged that the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ* were truly and substantially present, given and received in the Sacrament with the Bread and Wine, tho' there was no Transubstantiation, nor local enclosing of the Body of *Jesus Christ* in the Bread, nor any durable Union of the Body of *Jesus Christ* and the Bread when it is not in use; that is to say, that when the Bread is given it is the Body of *Jesus Christ* by a Sacramental Union, and consequently then the Body is present, and given likewise, but that when it is not in use, but the Bread is in the Pyx, or is carried in Procession, the Body of *Jesus Christ* is not there; that the Sacrament has no Dependence on the Worthiness of the Minister or Receiver, and that the Body and Blood of *Christ* are truly given to the Unworthy, and received by them. In this *Form* there is nothing said of the Oral Reception of the Body of *Jesus Christ*, and *Luther* concluded, that when the Elements are not in use there is no durable Union between the Body and Blood of *Christ*, and he admitted of the Assertion, That the Wicked and Unbelieving do not receive the Body of *Jesus Christ*.

This *Confession of Faith* was signed by the Ministers of the Cities of the *Upper Germany*. Afterwards on *May* the 25th. they conferred with *Pomeranus* about Images, the Ceremonies of the Mass, Priest's Vestments, Tapers, the Elevation and Adoration of the Sacrament, which were yet used in *Saxony*. *Pomeranus* said, that *Luther* confessed that these things were amiss, but he had hitherto continued them upon the Account of the Weak, and was thinking to abolish them. On the 27th. of the same Month *Bu-*

cer and *Capito* delivered to *Luther* the *Confession of Faith* of the Churches of *Switzerland*, that he might examine it. He took notice of some Words, which, as he said, might offend the Weak. Nevertheless he declared, that he would acknowledge them for his Brethren, if they would sign the *Form of Union* which had been drawn up. *Bucer*, having undertaken to cause it to be received by them, returned to *Strasburg*, and made such an Explication of the Words, as that by softening them he reduced them to a Sense which was not contrary to the Doctrine of the *Sacramentarians*: But though these Articles were successful at *Strasburg*, yet they had not the same Fate in *Switzerland*, whither *Bucer* sent this *Form of Union*. It was there thought obscure, doubtful, and captious, and they would not subscribe it; so that *Bucer* and *Capito* were forced to go themselves to an Assembly of the Protestant Cantons, which was held at *Basil* in *September*. *Bucer* there related, that *Luther* had not disliked the *Confession* of the *Switzers*, but both Parties had judged it convenient to draw up a *Form of Union*; and he undertook to shew that the Doctrine of it was not different from their *Confession of Faith*, and exhorted them to sign it, that the Union might be compleat. But the *Switzers* could not be prevailed with to do it; and all that he could obtain was, that they would draw up a Declaration of the Opinions of the Churches of *Switzerland*, in which they would explain the Articles of the Agreement, and send them to *Luther*. In this Declaration, which is very long, the Articles of the *Form of Union* about the Lord's-Supper are delivered in such Expressions as wholly favour *Zuinglius's* judgment, and are opposite to the real Presence. They there say that *Jesus Christ* is the Food of our Souls, and that his Body is really eaten, and his Blood really drunk, but not carnally, substantially, and corporally, but spiritually, and by Faith, by believing the Promises of God; that the Elements of the Bread and Wine, and the Administration of the Lord's-Supper, are Signs, which represent *Jesus Christ* to us, and put us in mind of his Mysteries; that his Presence in the Supper is not a Corporal Presence, but a Celestial one; that his Body is united to the Bread only in a Sacramental manner; that the Bread and Wine are Figures of the Body of *Christ*, which is discerned by the Mind in the Sacrament, and that those who eat the Bread at the Lord's-Supper by a sincere Faith receive the Benefits which God hath promised, but that those that eat without Faith receive their own Judgment and Condemnation. This Declaration was composed in a Synod at *Zurich*, held in *October*, and approved in another Assembly which met in *November* following, at *Basil*, from whence it was sent to *Luther*, and presented by *Bucer* to the Assembly of *Smalkald*, in 1537. *Luther* being sick when it was delivered to him, did not return his Answer to it till a Year after. He fully approved the other Articles, but as to that concerning the Lord's Supper, he explained himself by saying, that he had never taught that *Jesus Christ* came down from Heaven to the Earth either visibly or invisibly, and that he left it to the Almighty Power of God to effect, how the Body and Blood of *Christ* are offered to us in the Lord's-Supper, keeping himself entirely close to the Words of Scripture, *This is my Body, this is my Blood*: And in short, that since they could not understand one another 'twas convenient they should be Friends, and have a good Opinion one of another, till the Spirit of Contention should cease among them, and so he committed it to the Care of *Bucer* and *Capito* to finish what they had begun.

The *Switzers* call'd a Synod on purpose in *March* 1538. to consult about an Answer to *Luther's* Letter. *Bucer* and *Capito* were sent thither to deliver his Judgment. The Ministers of *Zurich* alledged, that *Luther* in his Writings, and in the *Confession* of *Augsburg*, had maintain'd the real Presence, and

Bucer his Endeavour to bring the Lutherans and Zuinglians to an Accommodation, etc.

The *Switzers* reject the *Form of Union*.

The *Switzers* Opinion about the Lord's Supper. *Luther's* Answer is.

The Debate between *Bucer* and the Ministers of *Zurich* about *Luther's* Opinion.

The History of the Divorce of Henry 8. of England, &c. condemn'd the Opinion of the *Zuinglians*, That these Writings of *Luther* were publick, and the Words clear, and they could not allow of his Doctrine, unless they were certain that he had altered his Opinion, and embrac'd the Truth. *Bucer* was much amazed at this Objection, and reply'd, that 'twas very unfit to press it at this time, since they had long known what was contain'd in *Luther's* Writings, and had never urg'd it before in the whole course of the Treaty: That now things were near an end they had contriv'd to propound it, and so revive the old Quarrel, to hinder the conclusion of the whole Affair. The Ministers of *Zurich* reply'd, that they never desir'd the Ministers of *Strasburg* to concern themselves with this Treaty: That *Bucer* and *Capito* came to find them, and assured them that *Luther's* Opinion about the Sacrament agreed with theirs, and that they might unite with him if they would frame a Confession of Faith, which should contain their Opinion and the Conditions on which they would come to an Agreement with *Luther*: That they had drawn up a Confession at *Basil*, and deliver'd their Opinion about the Lord's-Supper fully: That if *Luther* had approved of their Confession of Faith there would have needed no more to be done towards an Agreement, but instead of that, that *Bucer* had brought them other Articles from *Wittenberg*, and prayed them to sign them: That they had offer'd to do it, provided *Luther* lik'd of the Explication which *Bucer* gave of them; and that at last they had sent a Declaration of their Opinions, which they were resolv'd to abide by, and they would not consent to any thing new or obscure. *Bucer* the next day made a long Discourse, in which he laboured to prove that there was no other difference between the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians* in their Opinion about the Lord's-Supper but in Words and Expressions. But the Ministers of *Zurich* continued to declare, that they would keep close to the Confession of *Basil*, and the Dispute at *Bern*: That the Words which *Luther* had always us'd were directly contrary to their Opinions: That they could not explain themselves in any other terms without force, because they were clear and without Ambiguity: That it was not reasonable to judge of the Opinion of any Man rather by the Declaration of another than from his own Words: That *Luther* in his last Letter had named *Bucer* and *Capito* for his Interpreters, but it was to be fear'd that in the Issue he would blame them for being too easy and going too far, and so would not consent to the Declaration they should make, Then the Ministers of *Zurich* came to debate the Matter with *Bucer*, and brought him to grant that these Words, *This is my Body*, were figurative; that the sacramental Union of the Body of Christ with the Bread consisted only in this, that the Bread signified the Body; that the Body of Jesus Christ is essentially at the Right Hand of his Father, and after a spiritual Manner in the Sacrament. Then they disputed upon this Question, whether the Presence of Jesus Christ in the Lord's-Supper were miraculous? *Luther* had said in his last Letter that that Presence was inexplicable, and an Effect of the Divine Omnipotence. The Ministers of *Zurich* would not allow any Miracle to be in the Lord's-Supper, and maintain'd that it was easy to explain after what manner Jesus Christ was spiritually present by Operation and Efficacy. They urg'd *Bucer*

to sign the Articles on which they were agreed, but he desired time, and instead of doing that drew up a long Instrument in the Form of a verbal Process, containing what had been said on both sides, which was disapprov'd by the Assembly.

The Chancellor of *Zurich* being sensible that if they went on disputing there would be no end, turn'd his Speech to the Ministers of *Zurich*, and said to them, *Do you believe that we receive the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ in the Sacrament, or no?* They all answered him, *We do believe it.* Then turning himself to *Bucer* and *Capito*, he said to them, *Do you own that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ is received into the Souls of Believers by Faith and the Spirit?* They answered, *We do believe it and confess it.* To what purpose then, reply'd the Chancellor, are all your Disputes, which have lasted these three Days? The Ministers of *Zurich* added, that they held no other Doctrine than that which they had expressed in their Confession of Faith and their Declaration; and the Ministers of *Strasburg* solemnly declar'd that they would not oblige them to embrace any thing contrary to it, much less to draw any Person from that Doctrine.

Upon these Declarations it was agreed that an Answer should be sent to *Luther*, which being drawn up was read two Days after in the Assembly. The *Switzers* were very careful that it should be expressed, that in their joyning with *Luther* they would not change their Opinion about the Lord's-Supper, for they there declar'd that they did not enter into that Union till they were assur'd by *Bucer* and *Capito* that *Luther* approv'd of their Confession of Faith made at *Basil*, and the Exposition they had given of it, and because he had declar'd to them that Jesus Christ was at the Right Hand of his Father, and did not come down in any manner into the Lord's-Supper, and that he did not grant any Presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, nor any Manducation contrary to the Christian Faith. They there declared that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ was receiv'd and eaten in the Lord's-Supper, but only so far as they were truly taken and receiv'd by Faith; and that they would not in any wise recede from their Confession of Faith and their Declaration; that *Luther* being of the same Opinion they were filled with extreme Joy, that they might live in Peace and Union with him, and keep up this Agreement, and avoid all Discord. This Letter was dated May the 4th. 1538.

Luther sent them an Answer in June following in general Terms: That he had received their Letter, by which he understood, with much Satisfaction, that they were inclin'd to Peace, and lik'd the Letter he sent them; that there were still some among them whom he suspected, but he would bear with them as much as he could for the Preservation of the Peace, which he desir'd might be settled between them and him. This was the Conclusion of this pretended Treaty of Accord between the *Lutherans* and *Sacramentarians*, a Work of Disguise and Dissimulation, which was as little durable as it was sincere. The *Switzers* continu'd ever after in the Opinion of *Zuinglius*, but the Cities of *Strasburg*, *Augsburg*, *Memmingen*, and *Lindau*, became all *Lutherans* in a little time, by keeping literally to the Expressions of the Articles of Agreement.

C H A P. · XXVI.

The History of the Divorce of Henry VIII. King of England from Catherine of Arragon. Of the Withdrawing of the King and Kingdom of England from their Obedience to the Pope, and of all that passed in England concerning Religion to the Death of Henry VIII.

The History of the Divorce of Henry 8. of England, &c.

WE have hitherto forbore to speak of what passed in *England* about Religion upon the Account of the Divorce of King *Henry VIII.* that we might give a perfect Account of that famous History together, and as in one Draught shew all the Motions and Changes which that Business caused in *England* in Matters that concerned Religion. And to that end we shall be obliged to begin our Discourse something higher, and carry it a little farther than we have hitherto done other Matters.

The Marriage of Catherine of Arragon to Prince Arthur, & after to Henry 8.

Henry VII. King of *England* married his eldest Son *Arthur*, Prince of *Wales*, to *Catherine* the Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*. Their Nuptials were celebrated at *London*, *November* the 14th. 1501. This young Prince dying some few Months after, it was proposed that *Catherine* should be married to *Henry* Duke of *York*, the second Son to the King of *England*, but because this could not be done without a Dispensation, *Julius II.* was sued to for one, who granted it by his Bull bearing Date *December* the 26th. 1503. In it the Pope declares that *Catherine* had been married to Prince *Arthur*, and that perhaps this Marriage was consummated; that nevertheless *Arthur* being dead *Henry* his Brother and She desired to be marry'd together, to preserve thereby a firm Peace between the two Kingdoms; whereupon the Pope adds, that to promote the Continuance of Peace among Catholick Kings and Princes he dispensed with the Impediment of Blood in *Henry* and *Catherine*, all Ordinances and Apostolick Constitutions to the contrary notwithstanding, and allow'd them to marry, and if they were already married he confirm'd it. After this Dispensation was obtain'd, *Henry*, who was still under Age, was married to his Brother's Wife: 'Tis not known upon what account his Father obliged him to enter a Protestation against this Marriage *June* the 27th. 1505. before *Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*, in which he declared, that, being of Age, he now revok'd the Marriage which he had made with his Brother's Widow, that he thought it null, and would have it legally dissolv'd (a). Nevertheless it remained still as it was. *Henry VII.* dying *April* the 27th. 1509. the young King caused the Validity of his Marriage to be examined by his Council, and *Warham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was hardly brought to approve it, but the contrary Opinion being the stronger the King married *Catherine* publicly *June* the 25th. 1509 (b). This Princess was with Child several times, but either her Children proved abortive or lived but a very little while, except one Daughter named *Mary*, who was born *February* the 19th. 1516. whom God preserved to him.

Hen. 8th's Design to divorce Catherine.

Henry lived with *Catherine* till 1525. without any Scruple about his Marriage, for he did not think of a Divorce till 1526. What it was that moved him to begin this Business is not certainly known. He only pretended Conscience; his desire to have Male

Children, who might be Heirs to his Crown, was also a considerable Motive. The Distaste which he took at *Catherine's* Infirmities did contribute to it, but the Love which he had entertained for *Anne Bolein* fix'd his Resolution more than all the rest to require a Divorce from *Catherine* with Importunity, that a way might be found to marry *Anne* (c).

The History of the Divorce of Henry 8. of England, &c.

The Character of Cardinal Wolsey.

This King had at that time for his first Minister Cardinal *Thomas Wolsey*. Never Man of a meaner Extraction arriv'd at a higher Pitch of Greatness: He was a Butcher's Son of *Ipswich*. From Bishop of *Lincoln* he was made Archbishop of *York*, and Cardinal, in the 7th. Year of the Reign of *Henry VIII.* and a few Months after raised to the Office of Chancellor. By this means he was chief Counsellor in all Matters ecclesiastical and temporal, and govern'd all things both in Church and State. As he was enterprising and ambitious, and a great Politician, so he entertain'd vast Designs, and cast his Eye upon the Papacy. As long as *Charles V.* was afraid of the King of *France*, and was obliged to carry it fair with *England*, he fed *Wolsey* with Hopes of procuring for him that new Dignity; but the Emperor not making good his Word, and not treating him with that Respect he had done formerly, *Wolsey* was enraged at this Contempt, and engaged in the Interests of *France*, and resolved to make his Master an irreconcilable Enemy to the Emperor. The Divorce of *Catherine* was a certain way to effect it. She was the Sister of *Joan* of *Arragon*, the Mother of *Charles V.* and it would be an horrid Affront that would fall upon the whole Family to have her despoil'd of her Quality of Queen, and her Daughter thereby declar'd illegitimate, and incapable of inheriting the Crown of *England*. The Emperor was not likely to endure such an Affront patiently, and it was not to be doubted but that the Divorce of *Henry* and *Catherine* was a certain way to make such a Breach between that Prince and the Emperor as could never be compos'd.

The first Step made toward a Divorce.

With this design it was that Cardinal *Wolsey* confirmed the Scruples which *Henry* had about the Lawfulness of his Marriage. He made use of *Longland*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, his Majesty's Confessor, to propound to him that he should have the Validity of his Marriage with *Catherine* look'd into, because some doubted of it (d). The first that was consulted about it was *Richard Pace*, Dean of *St. Paul's* in *London*, who turn'd over this Consultation to Doctor *Wakefield*. Some time after the Bishop of *Tarbes*, the Ambassador of the King of *France* into *England*, when he was concluding a Peace between the two Crowns, represented it to King *Henry*, that several Persons condemned his Marriage with *Catherine*, and that it was for the Interest of his Conscience to have it enquired into. *Wolsey* afterwards going into *France*, where he was received with all the Marks of Honour he could desire, discovered to that King his Master's

[(a) Bishop *Burnet* in his *History of the Reformation* says, that Archbishop *Warham* had so possessed King *Henry VII.* with an Aversion to this Marriage, that on the same day that the Prince was of Age, he, by his Father's Command, made this Protestation. *Burnet H. R. lib. 2. part 1.*]

[(b) Bishop *Burnet* places their Marriage upon *June 3d.* 1509. and their Coronation upon *June 24th.* following.]

[(c) *Anne Bolein* was in *France*, attending upon the Dutches of *Alencon*, when *Henry VIII.* first sued for a Divorce.]

[(d) These are *Sanders's* Surmises. King *Henry VIII.* declared to *Symon Grynaus* in the Year 1531. that he had abstain'd from the Queen for seven Years before, which shews that his Scruples were much ancients than the Reasons here assign'd. *Burnet H. R. part 1. lib. 2. pag. 38.*]

The History of the Divorce of Henry 8. of England, &c. Intentions to sue out a Divorce, and proposed to the French King to give his Master a Princels of France. These Measures being taken King Henry sent Doctor Knight (e) to Rome to joyn with Cassali (f), his Agent at that Court, and prosecute vigourously his Divorce with Catherine. On the other side Catherine

Catherine's Defence. sent one of her Chaplains into Spain, to give Advice to Charles V. the Emperor of what had happened. and to beg his Assistance. The Emperor ordered the General of the Franciscans to treat of that Affair with Pope Clement VII. who was not yet freed from his Imprisonment. This Friar, who was acceptable to the Pope, because he was endeavouring to get his Liberty, got a Promise from his Holiness that he would do nothing in that Affair till he had given Intelligence to the Emperor, and so forestall'd the King of England's Ambassadors, that they could not speak with the Pope till he had got his Liberty. They petitioned his Holiness to order the Dispensation granted by Pope Julius II. for the Marriage of Henry with Catherine, his Brother's Widow, to be examined. The Pope committed the Affair to the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor, and soon after granted a Bull to Henry VIII. to marry whom he pleased, if his Marriage with Catherine were void and pronounced so. This Bull did not promote the King of England's Designs at all, for the Question about the Validity of the Marriage was still to be determined, and he was extremely perplexed what Measures to take, to get the Marriage declared null. He continued earnestly to importune the Pope to grant him another Bull, by which his Marriage might be declared null. The Pope at last resolved to send Cardinal Campegius into England, and to join him with Wolsey, to treat about the Divorce. But to satisfy the earnest Importunities of the King and Wolsey he delivered Campegius a Bull which favoured the King's Cause, but with private Orders not to shew it. The Contents of this Bull are not exactly known, some say that the Pope only promised not to grant no Avocation of the Cause to Rome, but to confirm the Judgment of his Legates; others say that this Bull dissolved the Marriage, provided that the Matters of Fact alledged by the King were found true by the Commissioners. This last was the most probable, because the King of England shewed as much Satisfaction for having this Bull as the Pope did regret his granting it, which was an Argument that it was definitive.

The Trial of the Divorce in England. Campegius arrived in England in the beginning of October 1528, and not being able to prevail with the King to keep Catherine for his Wife, nor with Catherine to leave the King of her own Accord, he began to set about the Trial of this great Affair. The Queen produced a Copy of a Breve containing a larger Dispensation than that of the Bull, upon which the Legates were to determine it, for this gave a Licence to Henry to marry Catherine, altho' her Marriage were consummated with Arthur, whereas in the Bull the Word *forfetan, perhaps*, was added. Wherefore it was necessary to have recourse to the original Breve, and to send Agents to Rome, and into Spain, to examine into the Truth of it. In the meantime the Emperor's Affairs growing better and better in Italy, and the Pope having resolved to enter into a League with him, he sent an Order to Cardinal Campegius to burn the Bull which he had given him, and to proceed slowly in the business of the Divorce. The Legates however proceed to carry on the Process. The King and Queen appointed their Proctors, and appeared personally, June 21. 1529. before the Legates. The Queen falling down upon her Knees before the King endeavoured to soften him by a Speech, but not effecting her Design she satisfied her self in protesting that she would not acknowledge the Legates for her Judges, and so retired, and never would appear before them again; and being summoned the 25th. of the same Month she

sent an Act of Appeal, in which she objected against the Place, the Judges, and her own Advocates, and appeal'd to the Pope. This Appeal was read in Court the same day, and the Queen not appearing was pronounced contumacious; notwithstanding her Recusation and Appeal the Legates went on to form their Process, took Informations, and heard several Witnesses, who depos'd that Arthur's Marriage with Catherine was consummated. During these Proceedings the Emperor's Ministers urg'd the Pope to remove the Cause to Rome, and Campegius used all ways to retard Proceedings, by holding many Sessions, and then putting off the Sentence till October, pretending that it was Vacation time with the Consistory so long. Before that time was come about, News was brought into England that the Pope had granted an Avocation, and order'd the King and Queen to be summon'd to Rome. The Power of the Legates ceasing by this Avocation, Campegius was forced to depart out of England. Wolsey thereupon fell into Disgrace, was turn'd out of his Offices, and accus'd in Parliament for having acted contrary to the Laws, in exercising the Legatine Power, and was arrested, in order to be brought to the Tower of London, but dy'd by the way at Leicester, November 28. 1530.

Henry now hoping for nothing from the Pope apply'd himself to the Universities of Europe, to have their Judgment about the Validity of his Marriage. He found the Divines some for it, and others against it, even in England. There were great Disturbances about it in the University of Oxford, and the Members of that University not being able to agree, the Determination of the Point was refer'd to 33 Divines, both Doctors and Batchelors, who concurr'd in this Judgment, that the Marriage of King Henry and Catherine was void, as being contrary to the Law of Nature. The Seal of the University was put to this Opinion April 8. 1530. but not by the consent of the whole University. The University of Cambridge made not less Resistance; Gardiner and Fox, the King's Commissioners, not being able to bring it to an Issue in a full Congregation of the whole University, procur'd, with much difficulty, the Nomination of ten Doctors, and sixteen Batchelors, with the Vice-Chancellor, and the two Proctors of the University. The Opinion of the Batchelors and Doctors was at first equally divided, but the Commissioners gained their Ends by bringing over four of those that were against the Divorce, and by that means drew up such a Conclusion as the King desired. The Faculty of Divinity of Paris were as much divided as the others, for there were hot debates among the Doctors, Natalis Bedda carrying on a strong Party against the King of England, and Monsieur du Bellay, Bishop of Bajonne, soliciting on the other side for the King. Thus there was 53 Voices for the Divorce, 42 against it, and 5 that thought the whole Matter ought to be submitted to the Pope. The Conclusion was drawn up according to the Majority, July 2. and the Result was sent, notwithstanding the Opposition which Bedda and the Doctors that were of his Opinion made to it. At Angiers the Civilians and Lawyers were of contrary Opinions, the Civilians maintaining Henry's Cause, and the Divines Catherine's. At Orleans, Bourges, and Tholouse, they went on more easily, for the Divines there pronounced the Dispensation granted by Julius II. void. The Universities of Pavia, Ferrara, Padua and Bononia, gave their Judgment for the King of England, and Doctor Crooke, who was sent into Italy by the same King, obtain'd a great number of Italian Divines to favour the Cause of the King his Master. None of the Universities in Germany, the Low-Countries, or Spain, would give their Opinion, and Henry found few or none that favour'd his Cause even among the Protestants, of whom they could not obtain, (tho' it might have been their Interest to

The History of the Divorce of Henry 8. of England, &c.

The Avocation of the Cause to Rome.

The Judgment of the Universities.

[(e) Secretary of State.]

[(f) Sir Gregory Cassali.]

favour him) any Approbation of his Divorce from *Catherine*; on the contrary *Melanchthon*, and the other *Lutheran* Divines maintain'd that his Marriage with *Catherine* was valid. There were only some of the *Sacramentarians*, as *Oecolampadius*, *Zuinglius*, and *Calvin*, who dar'd to assert the Nullity of this Marriage grounded upon the Prohibition in *Leviticus*. To conclude: At that time several Books were put out for and against the Lawfulness of the Marriage of *Henry* and *Catherine*, and the Question was hotly disputed between the Divines and Canonists.

Those who affirm'd, that the Marriage was void, grounded their Assertion at first upon the Nullities, which they pretended to find in the Dispensation of *Julius II.* where he says, that *Henry* and *Catherine* desir'd that Marriage for the Good of Peace, whereas neither of them had any such Thoughts, and that *Henry*, who was then but twelve Years old, could not have any desire of Marriage, nor give order for the obtaining this Dispensation; as also that he protested against the Marriage a little after, and chiefly because it was doubted whether the Marriage with Prince *Arthur* were consummated. Upon this Foot it was that that Question was debated before the Legates. There was no Dispute whether the Pope could not have granted such a Dispensation, but it was urged only that this Dispensation of *Julius II.* was surreptitious, and consequently void. But after the State of Affairs was alter'd, and that the King, by *Crammer's* Advice, brought the Legality of the Dispensation it self into debate, then the Question was, Whether the Law in *Leviticus*, which forbids the Marriage of the Brother's Wife, were founded upon a natural Right, or whether it were only a positive Law? For if it were founded on a natural Right, 'tis plain that the Pope could not dispence with it, and so consequently the Marriage of King *Henry* and *Catherine* was null. Those who were of this Opinion said, that the Laws of *Moses* which concerned Marriage were not particular to the *Jews*, but were for all Times and all Nations; that they are grounded upon natural Decency; that God calls the Breaches of those Laws Wickednesses and Abominations, and threatens the most severe Punishments to such as will not observe them; that the Sin for which the *Canaanites* were rooted out of their own Land, was their being defiled with these Impurities; that the Prohibition to marry the Brother's Wife was not less strict than that of marrying within the other Degrees of Consanguinity and Affinity set down in *Leviticus*; that that Law was never repealed or explained by Jesus Christ or his Apostles, but on the contrary *St. John Baptist* had sharply reprov'd *Herod* for marrying his Brother's Wife; that the Apostle *S. Paul* had shewn how detestable such monstrous Conjunctions are under the Gospel, by condemning the incestuous *Corinthian*, who had marry'd his Father's Wife, so severely, as an Action contrary to the Laws of Nature acknowledg'd and practis'd even by the Heathens; that the first Christians had ever accounted the Laws of *Leviticus* to be inviolable; that *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *St. Basil*, *St. Jerome*, *St. Chrysostome*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Augustine*, and *Hesychius*, had severely condemned the Marriage of a Man and his Brother's Wife, and affirmed, that this Prohibition was not particular to the *Jews*, but general to all Mankind; that the Council of *Neocaesarea* excommunicated every Man who married his Wife's Sister, and the Women that should marry two Brothers, and the same Canon was reinforced by a Council held under *Gregory II.* that in all the Councils which have taken notice of the Degrees of Affinity, within which it is not lawful to contract Marriage, this of the Brother and Sister-in-Law is put among them; that Pope *St. Gregory* being consulted by *Augustine* the Monk, whom he sent into *England*, whether it was lawful for a Man to marry his Brother's Widow, answered, that these sort of Marriages were forbidden, and if any Persons who were lately con-

verted had contracted any such before their Conversion, they ought to be advised not to associate with their Wives; that there never was a more favourable Occasion to dispence with such Marriages than this, if the Church had had Power; that other Popes, as *Calixtus*, *Zacharias*, and *Innocent III.* had positively declared against such sort of Marriages grounded upon the Prohibition in *Leviticus* as upon a perpetual Law. Lastly, they quoted a great number of Schoolmen and Canonists, who had taught that all Contracts of Marriage within the Degrees forbidden in *Leviticus* are void; and they added, that one of the Errors condemned in *Wickliff* was, that the Law of God did not forbid these sort of Marriages.

But because there might be a Distinction between a Marriage consummated and that which was not, and that it was asserted that the Marriage between *Catherine* and *Arthur* was not consummated, or at least it was uncertain whether it was or not, there was some Reason to doubt whether in that Case the Marriage of the Brother's Widow was equally forbidden. They add, that the Validity and Accomplishment of a Marriage did not necessarily depend upon its Consummation, but upon the mutual Consent of the Man and the Woman; and for this Reason it was that *Adonijah* could not marry *Abishag*, because she had been his Father *David's* Wife, tho' he never knew her; and upon this Account it is also that, by the Law of *Moses*, if a Damsel betrothed to a Man abandon herself to another, she was to be stoned for an Adulteress. And 'tis on this Ground that it was held that there was a true Marriage between *Joseph* and the blessed Virgin; and that *Adam* and *Eve* were Man and Wife before they had carnal Knowledge of each other; that the Councils, Fathers, and Divines, make the Essence of Marriage to consist in the Contract, and in the Sacrament; that the most judicious of the Canonists are of the same Opinion; and in short, that the Consummation of the Marriage of *Catherine* with *Arthur* was as certainly proved as a Fact of that sort could possibly be.

The Queen's Advocates answered the Reasons brought against the Dispensation granted by *Julius II.* thus: That there was no Nullity in the Bull: That the Allegations in it were true: That that Marriage was necessary for the Continuance of the Peace between *Spain* and *England*, tho' it could not be proved that *Henry* and *Catherine* had that Intention: That it was not necessary that *Henry* and *Catherine* should make this Demand of the Pope themselves, it was enough that it was done in their Names, and that they did not disown it; that *Henry's* Protestation drew no Consequences after it, and was invalidated by the solemn Marriage which was celebrated afterwards, and their Cohabitation for many Years; that the Pope's Dispensation reached so far as to provide for the Validity of the Marriage, in case the former had been consummated with *Arthur*, tho' that was not certain, and the contrary was proved only by weak Conjectures, for the Queen had declared to the King that he found her a Virgin, and the King did not dare to deny it. Lastly, that the Breve being granted at the same time with the Bull, makes no mention but that the Marriage was consummated, and grants a Dispensation upon that Supposition. This is what was alledged in the Queen's Defence before the Legates.

But when the Question about the Right of the thing was treated on, whether the Pope had a Power to grant that Dispensation, those who defended the Queen's Cause by Writing affirmed; that the Prohibition in *Leviticus* to marry the Brother's Wife was not a Law of Nature, but only a positive Law; that *Moses* had sufficiently shewed that, by commanding in *Deuteronomy* the Brother to marry his Brother's Widow, when he died without Children, demonstrating by this Exception that that Law might be dispensed with, and consequently was not a Law of Nature; that before *Moses* that Law was of no force,

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The History of the Divorce of Henry 8. of England, &c.

The Reasons against the Lawfulness of the Marriage of King Henry and Catherine.

The Reasons against the Lawfulness of the Marriage answered.

force, because *Jacob* marry'd *Leah* and *Rachel*, two Sisters, and *Judah*, after he had marry'd two of his Sons to *Thamar*, promised her the third; that it was not said that the *Canaanites* were punished particularly for not observing this Prohibition, but in general for all the Abominations that they had committed; that in the New Testament *Jesus Christ* approved of the Exception in *Deuteronomy* in his Answer to the *Sadducees*, who had proposed that Law to him; that *St. John Baptist* had reproved *Herod* for marrying his Brother's Wife, either because his Brother was yet living, or because, if he was dead, he left Children; that the Example of the incestuous *Corinthian* made nothing to the Question in hand, because he did not marry his Wife's Sister, but his Mother-in-law; that tho' it was always forbidden in the Church to marry the Sister-in-law, yet it was not look'd upon as forbidden by any Law of Nature; that the Fathers always look'd upon the Law in *Deuteronomy* as an Exception to that in *Leviticus*; that in the ancient Apostolical Canons he that marry'd two Sisters one after another was only put out of the Clergy, and in the Council of *Elvira* only three Years Penance was imposed upon him; that the Ecclesiastical and Civil Laws which forbid these Marriages, prohibit also Marriages within the Degrees of Consanguinity; that there is not certainly any Prohibition of such Marriages by the Law of Nature; that the Popes, who condemned these Marriages, did not deprive themselves of a Power of dispensing in some Cases, tho' they did seldom do it, that there are Examples of Marriages made within the Degrees forbidden in *Leviticus*, which have been look'd upon as lawful Marriages; that the Divines and Canonists have done well in teaching that Marriages within the Degrees forbidden in *Leviticus* were null, but they never taught that that Prohibition was a Law of Nature as to all the Degrees, and particularly that of the Brother with his Sister-in-law, especially when the first Husband dieth without Children; that *Turrecremata*, who is one of those that speak most fully against these Marriages, owns that in that Case the Marriage of the Sister-in-law with the Brother is not forbidden, and that the Pope may allow it; that many have made a great Distinction between a Marriage that is consummated and one that is not; that in the first Case there are two Impediments, the one is Publick Decency, and the other is Carnal Affinity, whereas in the other there is nothing but Publick Decency.

These were almost all the Arguments that were produced on both sides in this great Cause. To give a true Judgment in it 'tis necessary to examine of what nature the Law in *Leviticus* is. To me it seems certain that that Law is not a mere Ceremonial or Political Law, which concerned the People of the *Jews* only. It is more probable it is a general Law for all Men, but it is not necessary that it should for that Reason be of natural Right as to all the Degrees therein forbidden. The *Jews* alledge two Reasons for the Prohibitions of marrying within the Degrees of Consanguinity in *Leviticus*, the one is natural Modesty, which will not allow Fathers to marry their Children in their several Descents, nor Brothers their Sisters, the other is a Fear, that Familiarity between such Persons as upon the account of their near Relation are obliged to dwell together, should give frequent Occasion to Criminal Familiarities. The first Reason is grounded upon the Law of Nature, and concerns all those who are a-kin in a direct Line ascending or descending, and also Brothers and Sisters, but has not the same Obligation upon Kinsmen in a Collateral Line, and particularly such Persons with whom there is only a bare Affinity, and so the Prohibition of contracting Marriage with such is grounded upon the second Reason only, which does not Establish a Natural and Indispensable Law, al-

though that Prohibition was not intended purely for the *Jews*, but in general for the benefit of all Mankind. The exception, which is mention'd in *Deuteronomy* concerns the *Jews* only, being made only for upholding the Distinctions of the Families and Tribes of the Children of *Israel*. The new Law has quite abrogated that exception, but still continues the Law in *Leviticus*, which the Christians have ever valued and observed, and it has very rarely been dispensed with, but since it is not a Law of Nature, it may be absolutely dispensed with upon very Important Reasons. It belongs not to us to judge, whether *Julius II.* had any sufficient Reasons to dispense with *Henry* and *Catherine*, but we may say, that *Henry* having marry'd *Catherine* by virtue of that Dispensation, and lived near 25 (g) Years with her, as his Wife, could not lawfully and in Conscience be parted from her, that he might marry another. And indeed 'tis very probable, his attempt proceeded more from his Politicks and his Passion, than any tenderness of his Conscience.

The Suit about the Divorce being removed to *Rome*, *Henry* ordered the Lords of his Kingdom to write a Letter to the Pope, in which they tell his Holiness, that not only the King of *England*, but all the Realm have Reason to complain that he put off the Determination of a Cause so long, in which they were all concerned, that the Universities of *England* and *France*, and the most able Men of *Europe*, had given their Judgment, that King *Henry's* Marriage was Null; that all *England* hoped, that his Holiness would confirm their Judgment; that it was the only means to divert the Evils that threaten'd it, and prevent the Civil Wars which would infallibly happen, if the King should die without Heirs Male; that they implored his Holiness to grant them what they desired without any further Delays, and if he did not do it, they should look upon it as a refusal, and would seek for a Remedy elsewhere; That they were afraid, that they should be driven to lay hold upon some troublesome Methods, but in short, that a sick Man must seek for ease where he thinks 'tis to be found. This Letter is dated *July 13. 1530.* and subscribed by Cardinal *Wolsey*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, 4 Bishops, 42 Lords, 22 Abbots, and 12 (h) Members of the Lower-house. The Pope returned an Answer, dated *September 27.* He says, that he pardons the sharp Expressions which the Lords had used in their Letter, and imputed them to the concern that they had for their King. He adds, that it was not his fault, that the business of the Divorce was not decided; that he had sent Legates into *England*, as soon as ever they were desired of him. That the Queen would not submit to them, but had appealed from all they had done; that he could not refuse upon her Appeal to hear her Cause; that since it was before him, the King had offered nothing in his own Defence, nor sent his Proctor to *Rome*; that the Queen's Advocates desired Judgment, but he had put it off hitherto in respect to the King; that he would be as favourable to the King, as Justice and Equity would give him leave, that the threatnings at the end of the Letter were unreasonable, and he hop'd they would give over such thoughts; but as for himself he was resolved to do nothing against his Conscience. This Answer from the Pope was no sooner received in *England*, but the King forbade all his Subjects to make any farther Application to *Rome* in any Business, and determined to make use of other Methods to have his Marriage pronounced void.

He called his Parliament *January 16. 1531.* and laid before them the Judgments of the Universities, and the Books that had been made to prove the Nullity of his Marriage. Nevertheless there was nothing determined concerning it in that Parliament, but the King got a thing very prejudicial to the Court of

The History of the Divorce of Henry 8. of England, &c.

The King's and Pope's Letters.

The King of England's Imposition on the Clergy.

[(g) *Henry VIII.* marry'd *Catherine of Arragon* in 1509. He abstained from her Bed in 1525. *Du Pin* seems to have writ-

ten 15 for 25, and then 'tis only an Erratum of the Press.] [(h) Bishop *Burnet*.]

The History of the Divorce of Henry 8. of England, &c. Rome to pass. There was in England a Law which began with these Words, *Præmunire facies*, made in the Reign of Richard II. which forbade the English to obtain from the Court of Rome any Sentences of Excommunication, Bulls, or other Processes contrary to the Laws of the Realm, under the Penalty of Confiscation of Goods, and Imprisonment. Although this Act was never repealed, but on the contrary had been confirmed upon several Occasions, yet it was never put in Execution till that time in the Realm of England; the Popes continuing (i) to send their Legates, to exercise the same Authority there, and to send their Bulls, Excommunications, and other Processes about the Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Kingdom as before. *Wolsey* being made the Pope's Legate in England, did by virtue of his Legatine Power assume the Sovereignty of the Affairs of the Realm, and consequently had acted contrary to the Statute of *Præmunire*. The greatest part of the Clergy of England, having made Application to the Legates Court were almost all involved in the same Crime, and lay Obnoxious to the Rigour of that Law. They might plead for themselves, that that Law was never put in Execution, that the Legate being so very powerful in the Nation, and doing nothing without the Approbation of the King it was not in their Power to deny him their Obedience, but such excuses would not be admitted, and it was declared that the Clergy had all forfeited the King's Protection, and had incurred the Punishments inflicted by that Law. Upon this the Clergy was forced to make their Peace by a considerable Summ of Money. The Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* being then assembled (in Convocation,) petitioned the King's Favour, and to gain it, offered him an hundred thousand pounds Sterling for what he might have exacted from the Clergy for breaking his Laws. It was proposed, that they should give the King, the Title of *Supreme Head, and Protector of the Church and Clergy of England*, in the Superscription of that Petition. This was at first rejected by the greatest part of the Convocation, but *Cromwell*, and others of the King's Officers assuring the Clergy that their Petition would not be accepted, unless they prefix'd that Title, the Convocation were in great perplexities. *Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury* telling them, that their silence would be interpreted for consent, they unanimously replied, *We are all silent*. Nevertheless some were of Opinion, that this Clause should be added, as a Limitation to that Title, *so far as the Law of God can permit*. Some pretend that it was indeed put in, but scratched out again, but however that was, the King would not (k) accept their Petition, unless they would plainly, and without reserve give him the Title of, *The Supreme Head and Protector of the Church and Clergy of England*. The Clergy of the Province of *York* made some scruples in giving him that Title, but at last they followed the Example of that of *Canterbury*, and gave the King also a Summ of Money (l) to be freed from the Punishment which might be laid upon them by the Statute of *Præmunire*; the King having thus obtain'd his Ends, granted them a Pardon, but because the Commons were not included in it, and several Members of their House were liable to the same Punishments, they complained of it to the King, who at first answered them, that he was Master of his own Favours, and could grant them, or deny them, as he pleased, nevertheless after better Consideration, he granted the Commons the same favour, as he had done to the

Clergy, and the pardon of both was confirmed by Parliament.

The History of the Divorce of Henry 8. of England, &c. The Parliament being risen, the King proposed to the Queen to withdraw her Appeal, but she refusing to gratifie his desire, he never would see her afterwards, and ordered her to retreat to some one of his Mannors. In the mean time the Pope published a Breve to forbid the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, all the Bishops and Judges to hear, or determine the business of the Divorce. Nevertheless he granted the King farther time for his Appearance at the Request of the *French* Ambassador, but the time being expired, and *Catherine* making fresh Complaints to the Pope against the King's Conduct towards *Anne Bolein*, the Pope sent another Breve, dated *January 25. 1532.* in which he tells the King, that he was very sorry to see *Catherine* supplanted by *Anne Bolein*; That such a scandalous carriage was so much the more to be blam'd, because he had begun it before the suit was ended, and contrary to the positive Prohibition of the Holy See; that he advised him to put away his Mistress, and to recal his Wife, and in case he obeyed not his advice, he would summon him to *Rome* with *Anne Bolein*, to answer there for the scandal they had given, and because in contempt of the Censures of the Church, they had lived together like Man and Wife. *Henry* would not send his Proctor to *Rome*, because he would not own that Tribunal, but he sent *Sir Edward Carne* with the Title of Excusator, and *Doctor Bonner* was joined with him to defend the King's Cause.

The English Parliament meeting again in the beginning of the Year, gave the Clergy and Pope a fresh Wound. The House of Commons drew up a Bill of Complaints against the Clergy, and particularly against their Proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Courts against such as were accused of Heresies. The King on the other side having brought in a Bill to prohibit private Persons from defrauding himself and the Lords of some just Dues, the Commons refused to pass it, and so there was nothing done in these Matters, and the Session of Parliament was Prorogued till *April*. Yet in this Parliament, both Houses with one Consent passed an Act for the abolishing the *Annates*, or *First Fruits*, of which this is the purport. That the Popes carried vast Summs of Money out of the Realm for *Annates*: That since the second Year of the Reign of *Henry VII.* there had been sent to *Rome* more than 800000 Ducats; that several of the Bishops were very old, and when they died, the Pope would drain the Kingdom of its Money, if they did not take care to prevent the Abuse. For these Considerations the Parliament quite took away the *Annates*, and forbade the payment of them for the future, under the Penalty of Confiscation of Goods, reserving nevertheless to the Court of *Rome* the 20th. part of the first Year's value of the Bishopricks for granting the Bulls, and if the Pope should refuse to deliver them for that price, it enacts that the Bishops shall be consecrated by the Archbishops, and the Archbishops by two such Bishops, as the King shall Commission. Soon after the Parliament meeting again endeavoured to take away the Oath, which the Bishops made to the Pope at their Ordination, and settle another much larger, to be made to the King, in which they were to declare, that they held their Bishopricks of him only. But the King not willing yet to break quite with *Rome*, would not pass that Law. What cause soever the Pope had to be displeased with *Henry*, he still conti-

[(i) *Ant. Harmer* says, That no Cardinals before *Wolsey* procured and executed a Legatine Power in England, since the Laws of *Provisors* or *Præmunire* were made. Cardinal *Beaufort* of *Winchester* indeed had procured it, but could never execute it, being inhibited by King *Henry VI.* by the advice of Archbishop *Chicheley*, and forced to renounce his pretended Power: For the Legatine Power of the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, which was claimed and exercised by them in Quality of *Legati nati*, was not in the least contrary to these Laws, nor ever was so accounted; being annexed perpetually to the See of *Canterbury*, ever since the Year MCC. and always belonging to them,

without any new or distinct Bulls. *Specimen of Errors*, &c. in *Burnet's Hist. of Reform.* pag. 27.

[(k) Bishop *Burnet* proves that this limiting Clause was left in the Petition, and urged by King *Henry* to the Convocation of the Province of *York*, as a Reason why they should own him as Supreme Head of the Church; because the Convocation of *Canterbury* had owned him already with such a Limitation; and accordingly he says, that Bishop *Fisher*, and Cardinal *Pool*, then Dean of *Exeter*, signed that Petition. *H. R. Part. 1. Lib. 2. p. 112, 113.*

[(l) 18840 l. Bishop *Burnet*, *ibid.*]